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ERRATA IN VOL. XXX.

Page 38. In the quotation from Dante, 4th line, *for* "connobbe" *read* "connobbi," and *for* "io accorsi" *read* "io m'accorsi."

Page 189, line 8, before "Wisboro' Green" *insert* "Chaldon, Surrey."

Page 279, line 21, *omit* the dots between the letters T A U.

Page 287, line 16 from bottom, *for* "267" *read* "273."

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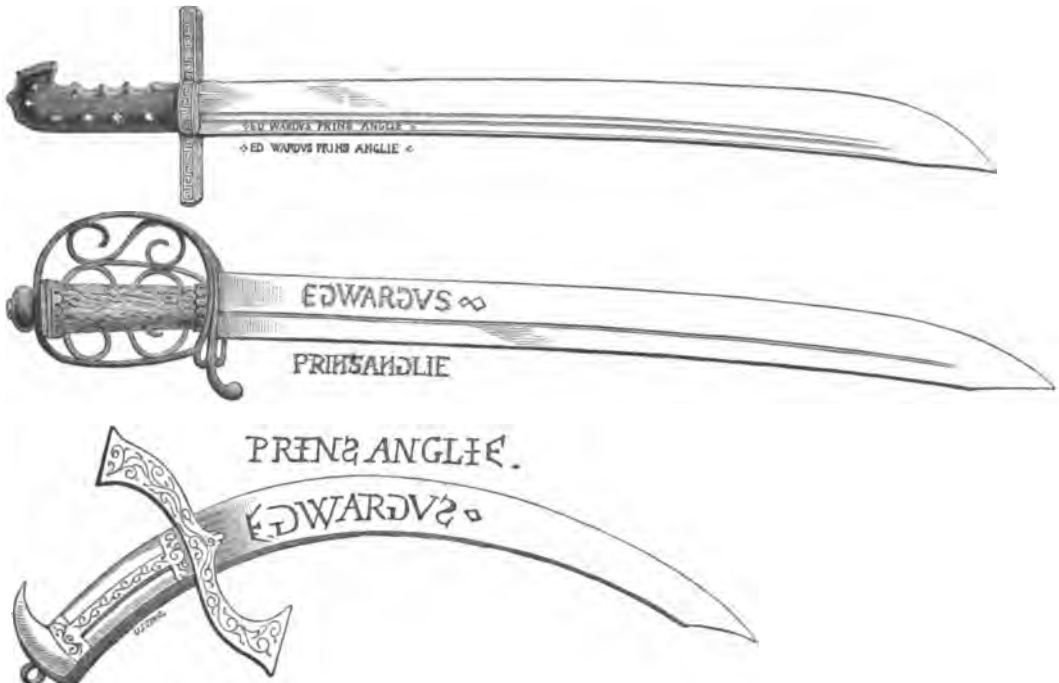

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The Archaeological Journal.

MARCH, 1873.

ON CERTAIN SWORDS INSCRIBED EDWARDUS, PRINS ANGLIE.

By J. P. Earwaker, B.A., F.S.A. (of Merton College, Oxford).

Inscribed swords, or swords bearing on their blades inscriptions or dates, are of very rare occurrence, and have always commanded considerable attention. When, however, the inscriptions which they bear are in themselves curious and difficult to explain, it becomes a very interesting question to attempt to determine to what uses such swords were put, and for what purposes they were so engraved. If, in addition, it is found that not only one, but many swords still exist bearing the same inscription, the inquiry assumes a much more interesting form.

In the present memoir I have to notice five, or probably six, distinct swords, each of which bears the inscription *Edwardus Prins Anglie*, in some cases followed by the rude figure of some animal, probably a wolf, and in some cases without this wolf-mark. It will probably be best to describe these swords in the order of the earliest mention of them; then to describe each sword in detail, pointing out its peculiarities; and then to deal with them as a whole, with reference, first to the uses for which they were probably designed, and secondly, to the meaning of the inscription which they all bear.

To these swords I would give the following names:—

(1) The Doddington Hall sword.
(2) The Armethwaite sword.
(3) Mr. Barritt's sword.
(4) Mr. Whitehall Dod's sword.
(5) Mr. Harford's sword.
(6) Mr. Goldwise's sword.

Of the first three of these swords full-sized drawings were shown at the meeting of the Institute, in November, 1872, and

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Mr. Whitehall Dod's and Mr. Harford's swords were exhibited. In the plate which accompanies this paper the Doddington Hall sword, and those of Mr. Dod and Mr. Harford are illustrated.

(1) *The Doddington Hall Sword.*—This sword is the one of which I find the earliest mention, and it was the peculiarities of it which first led me to inquire into the subject. In one of the volumes of the Ashmolean MSS. in the Bodleian Library, numbered MSS. 854, containing some very interesting Church notes for the county of Chester, I found a long and very valuable description of Doddington Hall, near Nantwich, Cheshire, giving the coats of arms, &c., existing there in 1663, and at the end of this description was a very careful drawing of a curious sword, with the following short account of it: "The figure of a sword now in the hands of Sir Thomas Delves, of Doddington, Baronett, heretofore the sword of Prince Edward." On this sword, of which fig. 1 is a very carefully executed drawing made from a tracing, is inscribed on the one side, *Edwardus*, and on the other, *Prins Anglie*, the letters being as depicted in the drawing. Nothing more is stated, no dimensions are given, but the sword is very carefully drawn, and there is also presented in the same volume of MSS. the rough sketch from which the finished drawing was made. From the handwriting of the volume, and from internal evidence, it is obvious that the drawing is by Ashmole himself, who was through his first wife intimate with many of the Cheshire families, and it is most probable that he saw the sword himself. The accuracy with which other objects in this volume are shown to be drawn, when compared with the objects now existing, obliges us to conclude that, however strange the sword may appear, it is a correct drawing of what Ashmole saw. Its peculiarities will at once strike any one at all accustomed to examine swords, its very peculiar shape resembling most of all an Eastern scymitar, the elaborate workmanship on the cross-guard and hilt, and the curious inscription which it bears. Very careful searches have been made at Doddington Hall for this sword, but without success, nor does any one now living remember ever to have seen or heard of it.[1]

[1] In Gough's Sepulchral Monuments, vol. ii., in the plate opposite p. cxciii. fig. 6, is a very good engraving of th sword, taken from this volume of MSS

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(2) *The Armethwaite Sword.*—My attention was first called to this sword by Albert Way, Esq., F.S.A., who informed me that among the notes he had made of the many interesting facts contained in the private and unpublished minutes of the Society of Antiquaries was an account of this sword. It was exhibited on Nov. 15, 1764, to the Society of Antiquaries by the Bishop of Carlisle, who described it as then existing in Armethwaite Castle, on the river Eden, in Cumberland, then the seat of the Skeltons. Accompanying this description is a very careful drawing of the sword of which Mr. Way very kindly sent me a tracing, which was exhibited at the meeting referred to. On this sword is the same curious inscription as on the previous one, and there is a great resemblance between the two, the letters D and S being in both cases peculiar, and the same in each; but on this sword there is a figure of an animal, which does not exist on the former one. The description given of it states that the length is 28½ in., the handle made of stag's horn, the iron pommel gilt, and the two round terminations of the cross-guard also of iron, and similarly gilt, and the point is probably damaged. The letters are also said to be "punched and filled in with gold wire."

Hutchinson, in his History of Cumberland, writing in 1794, says (vol. i. p. 493), "Armathwaite is a mesne manor within the Forest of Inglewood, held of the King in capite, and is the seat of the Skeltons, who first appear as holding the manor in 35th of Henry VIII. (1545)." He then adds, "Nicholson and Burn inform us 'that at Armathwaite Castle, in Mr. Machel's time, there was a broadsword with a basket hilt; on one side of the blade was this inscription, *Edwardus*, on the other, *Prins Anglie*. It was probably left there in Edward the First's time, at which place the Prince might lodge when his father's head-quarters were at Lanercost.' Probably," he adds, "it was removed by the Skeltons, and is now—January, 1794—in a repository of curiosities in Kingston-upon-Hull. It is of the scymeter form, and the inscription is in gold letters burnt in."

The only difference between these two descriptions is the mention of the "basket hilt," which may have been added in

and described on p. ccxiv. Gough apparently believed it to have belonged to Edward I., and adds, "it has much the appearance of an Eastern sword, perhaps a present to him by some Sultan during the crusades!"

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the thirty years since 1764, when it was first described. The drawing of the sword exhibited by the Bishop of Carlisle, shows a plain stag-horn handle, with no basket hilt. Thanks to Mr. Thomas Walton, of the Royal Institution, Hull, I have been enabled to trace this interesting sword since 1794, when it was in Wallis's Museum at Hull. Here it remained till 1833, when the museum was dispersed on the death of Mr. Wallis, at which sale the sword was purchased by the late T. T. Owst, Esq., of Keyingham, at whose death it passed into the possession of his son-in-law, E. T. Oldfield, Esq., Mount Pleasant, Keyingham, in whose possession it now is, and who recently exhibited it before the Hull Literary and Philosophical Society. In a book recently published by Bell and Daldy, entitled "Weapons of War," there is, on p. 405, a small rough drawing of this sword, taken from the Machel MSS., which I understand are at present preserved in the Chapter House at Carlisle. In this book the inscription is wrongly quoted, being given as *Edwardus Prins Agile* (!), and it is stated in the same line that it belongs to the tenth century, and to Edward II. !—examples of inaccuracy difficult to exceed.[2]

(3) *Mr. Barritt's Sword.*—Mr. Thomas Barritt was a well-known antiquary of the latter half of the last century, who resided at Manchester. His MS. diary is preserved in the Cheetham Library, Manchester, and in it is a small coloured drawing of this sword, a tracing of which was exhibited at the Institute meeting. He believed it to be the sword of the Black Prince, which was stolen from the armour above his tomb at Canterbury, during the Civil Wars. There is no need to enter into this question now; the fact that the scabbard of the Black Prince's sword is quite straight, while Mr. Barritt's sword is curved, proves they cannot be in any way related to one another. He was deceived by the drawing in Dart's Antiquities of Canterbury, where the scabbard is drawn crooked. In my letter in the *Times* of Sept. 25, 1872, I repeated Mr. Barritt's suggestion, but was soon convinced there was not the slightest ground for ascribing the sword to the Black Prince. The following is

[2] In Gough's Sepulchral Monuments, in the plate facing p. cxlviii. is a good drawing of this sword, and the description as above from Nicolson and Burn's History of Cumberland. It is further stated that "it is mentioned in Mr. Machel's MSS. Collections for Cumberland, vi. 677, and in Dugdale's Visitation of Cumberland, 1665."

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the description of the sword taken from Mr. Barritt's Diary :—[3]

"This sword, which came into my hands in 1778, is in length from pommel to point 28 in., though in all probability was once longer, as the point appears too thick and blunt; the blade is 2 in. broad at the guard or cross, which is but small, and terminating at each end with a knob. The handle is stag-horn; the cap of the pommel, guard, and ring in the middle of the handle is iron, and once gilt with gold, which is not yet thoroughly worn away. Upon one side of the blade is written in letters of gold, and in old character, '*Edwardus*,' with the imperfect figure of some animal. On the other side is inscribed, with the same metal and character, '*Prins Anglie*.' . . . I have made what inquiry I can concerning it, and find its being sixty or seventy years ago (*i.e.* circa 1708-1718) in the possession of a gamekeeper at Garswood Hall, the ancient seat of the Gerards, in our county (Lancashire), who made use of it to chop down his venison, and divide it into haunches. The sword was a present to me from a worthy friend, who, suspecting something extraordinary from its shape and inscription, bought it from a miller in the neighbourhood of Wigan, and gave it me, knowing I collect some few antiquities."

The great resemblance which this sword bears to the Armethwaite weapon will be at once perceived, and at one time, in common with Mr. Way, I thought these might be one and the same sword, which had changed hands.[4] But as this sword can be shown to have been in Mr. Barritt's possession in 1793, when the Armethwaite sword was at Hull, it is obvious that, although so remarkably alike, they are not the same sword. On Feb. 8, 1781, the Rev. John Watson, F.S.A., Rector of Stockport, exhibited Mr. Barritt's sword before the Society of Antiquaries. Dr. Kendrick, of Warrington, informs me that in a large quarto MS. volume formerly belonging to Mr. Barritt, and now the property of a gentleman residing near Warrington, entitled "Ancient Armour and Weapons in the possession of Thomas Barritt, 1793,"

[3] The Reliquary, vol. ix. (1868—9) p. 140—141, where there is an interesting account of Mr. Barritt. See also vol. xii. plate xxiv., where there is a further account of him, and a rough inaccurate drawing of this sword. The inscription is drawn too large, and reads the wrong way.

[4] From a letter in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1789, this would also appear to have been at one time the idea of Mr. Barritt himself.

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and containing some fifty pages of drawings of armour and weapons made by his own hands, is another drawing of this sword, of which he kindly sent me a tracing. Mr. Barritt died in 1820, and his collection was dispersed, and although I have made diligent inquiry, I have been unable to learn what has become of this interesting weapon, or in whose possession it now is. Gough, in his Sepulchral Monuments, refers to this sword, and gives its length as 28½ in., the blade 22¼ in., and states that the letters are "puncht with a tool and filled with gold wire."

(4) *Mr. Whitehall Dod's Sword.*—In consequence of my letter in the *Times* of Sept. 25, 1872, calling attention to these inscribed swords, Mr. Whitehall Dod, of Llanerch, wrote to say that he had a similar one in his possession, and he kindly sent his sword for exhibition at the meeting of the Institute. He describes it as follows :—"The blade is 25 in. long, by 1⅝ in. wide, and not varying more than ⅛ in. in the whole length. It is slightly curved and sharp at the point; evidently at some time it has been ground down and pointed on a grindstone. The total length is 31 in., it has a buck-horn handle and an iron basket-guard. On one side is engraved in early characters *Edwardus*, and on the other side *Prins Anglie*. There are slight remains of gilding on the letters. What the history of the sword is, or how it came into the possession of my family, I know not."

Of this sword a drawing made from the original weapon is given in fig. 2; the iron basket-guard is comparatively modern, but the original stag-horn handle is still preserved. The absence of any figure of a wolf after the word *Edwardus*, and the different shape of the stag-horn handle, and the difference in length and width, show that this is not Mr. Barritt's sword, but is a distinct weapon.

(5) *Mr. Harford's Sword.*—This sword, now in the possession of the Rev. F. K. Harford, M.A., F.S.A., minor canon of Westminster, was exhibited at the meeting of the Institute, and is engraved in fig. 3. It has already been once or twice exhibited. In November, 1858, it was shown to the Society of Antiquaries, where it is described as a sword with a horn handle, mounted in silver (see fig. 3), the blade slightly curved, 23½ in. long, and of earlier date than the handle. On *each* side is the following inscription, in comparatively modern letters, *Edwardus Prins Anglie*. It had

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been supposed to have belonged to Edward VI. when Prince of Wales, but it was suggested that probably it might refer to the Pretender—a conjecture most untenable. This sword was also shown in the temporary Museum of the Royal Archæological Institute at the Bristol meeting in 1851, and is described in the printed catalogue as having been found in the North of France about 1760, and from the inscription repeated on each side of the blade, it was believed to have belonged to Edward I. or the Black Prince. Mr. Harford, however, has kindly sent me the following account of it:—"A certain first cousin of my great grandfather's, Captain Adam Goldney, being ordered to America in 1774 or early in 1775, wished to have a sword he could depend on, and was recommended by a sword-smith in the Strand to have an old blade which he had in his shop mounted for use, as being particularly good steel. When it was sent to him, the Captain noticed the words on the blade. He used it through the war, and on his return gave it to my grandfather, Charles Joseph Harford, F.S.A. The present handle of black horn and mounted with silver is of course modern."

It will be noticed that this sword differs from all the others in having the complete inscription repeated on *both sides of the blade*, and, as shown in the illustration, the letters are apparently much more modern than those of the others.

(6) *Mr. Goldwise's Sword.*—Of this sword I regret to say I can learn nothing beyond the statement of Mr. Harford that he remembers a sword with the same inscription being in the possession of Mr. Goldwise, of Bristol, some years ago. I should be glad to learn where this sword is at present, or into whose possession it has passed.

Having thus described in detail the different swords, each bearing the same inscription, which have come under my notice, it only remains for me to attempt to determine the meaning of the inscription and the purposes for which the swords were probably made. Here, however, in the entire absence of historical evidence too great caution cannot be exercised, especially when reasoning from analogy. The figure of an animal which occurs on some of the swords described, and which is also found on many other swords,[5] is,

[5] There is a sword in the Ashmolean Museum with this wolf badge very plainly marked; the handle is stag-horn, and in many ways it much resembles the

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I believe, correctly called the "wolf mark of Passau," being the badge granted, in the first instance, by the Archduke Albert, in 1349, to the armourer's guild at Passau, and afterwards extensively employed by the armourers of Solingen, in Westphalia. But there seems little reason to believe that any of these swords are earlier than the time of Henry VIII. or Edward VI., or the beginning of the sixteenth century. Their curved shape, most nearly resembling a naval cutlass of the present day—the back edge so much thicker than the cutting edge—the stag-horn handle, are all unmistakable evidence of late date, and are rarely, if at all, to be met with before the sixteenth century. In their general shape they most of all resemble swords used in the chase, or those commonly called "Couteaux de chasse," and the stag-horn handle favours this idea. They may very probably have been the insignia of some "forester" or "verderer," who had authority over the woods or forests belonging to the Prince of Wales in different parts of the country. This would do away with the difficulty of finding so many swords still existing, bearing the same inscription. Then, too, it has been suggested that not improbably these swords may have been worn in some pageant or ceremonial, or, again, that they may have been "tenure swords," or swords by the exhibition of which at certain times certain lands were held. Thus Blount, in his Ancient Tenures (1815), gives the following instances of this custom:—

(P. 349) "Bishops Aukland, co. Durham. In 1399 Dionisia, widow of John Pollard the elder, died seized of one piece of land held of the Lord Bishop in capite by the service of shewing to the Bishop *one fawchion or falchion* at his first coming to Aukland after his consecration. This tenure is still performed."

(P. 344) "Sockburn, co. Durham. In 1395 died Sir John Conyers, Kt., who held the Manor of Sockburn of the Lord Bishop in capite by the service of showing to the Lord Bishop *one falchion*, which, after having been seen by the Lord Bishop, was to be restored to him in lieu of all other services. It was so held in 1771, and is so held to this day." [6]

swords I am describing, but it has no inscription. Swords with this wolf or fox mark became common in the sixteenth century: thus Shakspeare, Henry V., Act iv. scene 4:—

"Thou diest on point of fox.'

[6] See Archæologia, vol. xv. plate 26.

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(P. 318) "Plompton, co. Warwick. Temp. Hen. III. Walter de Plompton held lands in Plompton, &c., by a certain weapon called *a Danish axe*, which, being the very charter whereby the said land was given to one of his ancestors, hung up for a long time in the hall of the capital messuage in testimony of the said tenure."

These instances show that curved swords or falchions were employed as "tenure swords" to a comparatively late date.

Now, finally, a few words as to the inscription itself. For a long time it was believed that no such title as *Princeps Angliæ*, of which *Prins Anglie* would be the contracted form, was ever applied to any royal personage in England. Sir Edward Smirke has, however, examined very carefully into this question, and has very kindly placed the results of his researches at my service. It would appear that the heirs-apparent to the English throne were, as they are still, created Princes of Wales and Earls of Chester on attaining their majority. In the documents used at this creation the heir-apparent at the present day is styled "Prince of Great Britain and Ireland." Previous to the Union he was styled "Prince of Great Britain," and previous to the time of James I. he was styled simply "Prince of England."

Thus Judge Doddrige, in his book on the Titles of Princes of Wales (2nd edit. 1714), gives the following patent of the creation of the son of George I. as Prince of Wales:—"Sciatis quod filium nostrum (modo principem Magnæ Britanniæ) principem Walliæ facimus et creamus, &c." Sir Edward Smirke has also found in the Rolls of the Receiver General's accounts, called "Computus Ministrorum" of the Duchy of Cornwall, in the 30th and 31st Henry VIII., that the king's son Edward is there called "*Princeps Angliæ et Dux Cornubiæ.*" This does not occur in a single instance only, but in many places.

The title of *Prins Anglie*, which was believed to be without precedent, and never to have been an English title, is thus shown to be a correct designation, and the establishment of this by Sir Edward Smirke is one of the most interesting facts elicited by the discussion about these inscribed swords. Unfortunately, however, at present, in the absence of any historical evidence of any kind, we are unable to determine satisfactorily the purposes for which these curious swords were so inscribed.

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THE EXCAVATIONS AT SILCHESTER.

By the Rev. JAMES GERALD JOYCE, B.A., F.S.A., Rector of Strathfieldsaye.

Being a revised Report of the Discourse given at Southampton, August 5, 1873, preliminary to the visit of the Institute.

SILCHESTER was visited by the Archæological Institute twenty-two years ago, at which time none of the recent excavations had been attempted. A valuable paper upon the general topography of the site was then contributed by Mr. Maclauchlan, accompanied by an excellent map, and by some remarks upon the Roman relics which had then been discovered, from the able pen of Mr. Albert Way. These were published by the Institute in the volume of Memoirs which appeared in 1854; and consequently some points which have reference to the position of Silchester and to its more remote history which are there touched upon, have not been repeated here.

At present it may be enough to state that there is ground for assuming that the prehistoric name of Silchester was Caer Segeint (or Segont), and that it was originally a stronghold of the Sægontiaci, a native British race, who were driven westward before a wave of invasion, when a tribe of Belgic Gauls called Atrebates overflowed out of their own territories into Britain, and securely established themselves in this country, still retaining their ancient settlements in Gaul. During the Atrebatian period, Silchester, according to a concurrence of opinion among our own best archaeologists, bore the name of Calleva, a name retained by the Romans, and by which it continued to be known up to the date when the Itineraries were compiled. Its present appellation, as the word itself indicates, is of a later age.

Occupying as it does an extensive table-land of considerable elevation, which commands the surrounding country on every side for many miles, it was peculiarly adapted for Roman use. Roman military roads are still traceable without difficulty, which issued from its eastern gate to

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London, and from its southern to Winchester, with a bifurcation to Old Sarum. The Roman road which made its exit from its western gate, and that from its northern, are not capable of being so clearly traced.

The town is to this day still encompassed by its Roman wall, which, after braving seventeen centuries, demonstrates the amazing durability of Roman masonry when of good character; for where a few great fragments have fallen from it, they have not crumbled or parted, but remain like pieces of some homogeneous rock. The *enceinte* is slightly incomplete in places, but saving these few gaps, the circuit continues entire, and its profile is nowhere obliterated. The outline of the wall is not rectangular, nor in fact regular, but consists of a figure enclosed by nine sides, no two of which are of precisely the same length. The extent of its circuit may be set down as 2,670 yards. With regard to the structure of this wall, which is venerable even to weirdness, and in itself is an object of the most extreme interest, its upper courses have been wanting for ages, and its lower in many parts appear to have been used as a quarry, always accessible, containing an inexhaustible supply of building material for Saxon, Norman, or Englishman. Nearly a century and a half ago (in 1744), a little to westward of the south gate, the height, as then measured, was about 18 ft. from the sward, showing six courses of flint wall bonded together by seven courses of flat stones.[1] At the present time, not far from the same gate, there are now five courses of flint, bonded together by six of flat stones. A course of flint, measured so as to include along with it the bonding course above, is generally 3 ft. in height; but there is some variation, not only in this particular, but in the method of laying the materials previous to grouting. In some portions of the wall the materials (not always of flints) which form the course are laid herring-bone fashion, whilst in many other parts there is no indication of such a purpose. The general thickness appears to have been 9 ft., and it presents, in certain places, a rather unusual feature, in having supports to strengthen it inside at regular intervals. These supports are strong buttresses with perpendicular faces, which appear to be integral portions of its original construction.

The wall was surrounded by a wide fosse, which is still

[1] Dr. Ward's paper. Philosophical Transactions, 1744.

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perfectly visible round a great portion of it. The width of the fosse, as estimated by the surveyors of Her Majesty's Ordnance Office, was 100 ft.; its actual depth at present, measured from the level of its summit to its deepest part, is about 12 ft., but there is every reason to think that it was considerably deeper.

Outside the walls, at the north-east corner, is the amphitheatre. This is still unopened, and remains nearly as it has been for centuries. The following is an extract from an ancient description of it, supplying particulars, some of which are not now to be traced:—"There are five ranges of seats above one another at the distance of about 6 ft. on the slope. It has two passages into it, one towards the town and the other opposite to it."[2] The diameter of the area of the amphitheatre is, according to the Ordnance survey, 150 ft. in its longer, by 120 ft. in its shorter dimensions.

The great gates, by which the town was entered through this circuit of wall, were four in number, answering to the cardinal points. The north and south gates are directly over against each other upon the straight line of the great *via* which entered from Winchester, and passed northward without the least deflection, traversing close by the Forum, and going out at the opposite side. The east and west gates are not difficult to identify as regards position, and bear a relation to each other nearly similar though not perfectly the same. The exact site of the great east gate has been recently ascertained, and the foundations of the gateway, showing very distinctly its form and dimensions, are at present open for inspection. As this gate offers a very complete example of such a Roman work, some short description in detail may be interesting, even though the masonry which remains is little higher than the footings.

The great east gate of Silchester, as approached from outside the walls, presented to view, when perfect, a curtain wall 46 ft. wide, recessed from the line of the main wall so as to fall back about 9 ft., that is to say, about one thickness of the wall itself. Where the curtain wall was thus recessed it was flanked at either side by cheeks rounded off, so that the main wall where it turned inward offered no quoin or projecting angle. In this curtain wall was a very massive gateway, the opening of which measures 28 ft. 6 in. in

[2] Dr. Ward, *ibid.*

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width; its depth inwardly, from the extreme outside to the extreme inside, is about the same—viz., 28 ft. 3 in. The depth inwardly represents, of course, the side of one of the great piers which enclosed the gateway. These great piers were not exactly the same in their dimensions, though both were 28 ft. 3 in. deep; the one was 13 ft. 2 in. wide, and the other 12 ft. 2 in. Within the thickness of each pier were a pair of guard-rooms, one behind the other; the two guard-rooms within the south pier being smaller than those in the north. The smallest of these four chambers measures 5 ft. 8 in. by 5 ft. 3 in., and the largest 8 ft. 4 in. by 6 ft. 3 in. The walls of these guard-rooms are 4 ft. to 4 ft. 7 in. thick at the back of the pier, and 3 ft. to 3 ft. 4 in. thick on the face next the passage through the gateway. We did not succeed in discovering what one might have reasonably hoped to find in its place, the socket-stone for the gate-post, on either side.

In connection with this great east gate, so recently exposed, there is a somewhat curious fact to be mentioned. Every care was taken, when the present excavations were commenced, to trace out, and as far as possible lay down correctly, the lines of street as shown from time to time in the crops, and which were already known to run at right angles to each other. Now the great *via* from west to east across the town, which was, in fact, the road to London, was very distinctly traceable along a considerable part of its length, and notably so about the point where it intersects the other great *via* from north to south, close by the north-west angle of the Forum. But upon following its traces, it is plainly impossible that it could have traversed the town without a bend in its direction, if it issued out through the great east gate. It appears to bear nearly direct for another opening in the wall, which is, in truth, as examination has proved, a gate leading to the Amphitheatre. Its course can be followed, with a very near approach to certainty, till it arrives much closer to the small east gate than to the large one, although it does not pass straight out by either. The opening of the great east gate leaves no doubt that the approach from London must have been by that, and, unlikely though it may appear, we are left to the conclusion that the great London road soon after it entered must have deflected to the right, to strike the straight line of the

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principal *via* from the west, still so plainly visible. There appears also to have been a second and an important street parallel in direction to this last, and about 150 yards from it, which led direct from the east gate to the middle of the Forum. It has been already explained that the existing features of the ground show plainly enough, at this present time, where the great *via* passed in a straight line, without any bend, along the northern face of the Forum at a short distance from it.[3]

Passing from walls and gates to buildings within the town, it may be desirable first to advert, in a very few words, to the circumstances under which the recent extensive excavations were begun.

Archæology is deeply indebted to the munificence of the present Duke of Wellington, the owner of the estate, for the very important contributions which Silchester is now yielding to our knowledge of the Roman period in Britain. As far back as 1833, portion of a Roman residence, within the walls, was discovered accidentally on the southern slope of the town, by some workmen employed in laying a drain. This circumstance re-awakened public interest, which had flagged considerably, after having been very warm about the middle of last century. Four, or at the utmost five, rooms only of this residence were then opened, and they remained uncovered merely long enough to admit of their being seen by a few persons and accurately planned. The then occupier of the land, the late Mr. Barton, subsequently to this event, made a collection of such Roman relics or coins as were brought to him by his workpeople, and this collection ultimately became by purchase the property of the Duke of Wellington, upon Mr. Barton's decease, in 1863. In the course of the year following, his Grace was induced to give consent to excavations being commenced upon a systematic plan, not far from the centre of the town (upon the northern side of it), as it was ascertained that the plough had very recently encountered there a smooth hard pavement of considerable length, over which the share had glinted. The

[3] Before the great east gate was discovered, I was led to suppose, from the direction of the main *via*, that the gate nearer the Amphitheatre might be the actual east gate itself. It appears now clear that it was not so, but was, in fact, the gate to the Amphitheatre, and to the beautiful spring of water which was close by it. Mr. Maclauchlan considered that the bend in direction occurred at the Forum, but this does not appear to have been the case, as the *via* passes straight along the northern face of that building.

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result of this commencement proved immediately that numerous and important remains of buried edifices were lying quite near the surface, and the discoveries were possessed of so much interest that by the generous liberality of the Duke the excavations have been carried on ever since without intermission, beyond such as is unavoidable during the more inclement portions of our English winters.

The several parts excavated, though lying near together, are not actually contiguous, and have been distinguished from one another under the name of "blocks." This course has been adopted, because in carrying out the work of excavation upon an extensive scale, it is obviously impossible, when new lines of foundation are struck, to conjecture whether the still-unopened portion may include one edifice or many. The classical term "insula" properly describes a group of houses, or one house surrounded by shops, standing apart from others. This term could not in all cases be correctly applied to the distinct portions of the Silchester works, and as it is desirable, for convenience of reference, to have a specific name for each excavation from its earliest commencement, the term "block" appeared the simplest and most intelligible, with the addition of a distinctive number in every case. It should be understood, however, that the great east gate has not been considered to need any other distinctive name than its proper designation.

The blocks excavated up to the present date are in all seven. Nos. I., II., III. and IV. are dwelling-houses, or portions of them. No. V., which covers a very extensive area, is the Forum, including within its lines a basilica of most imposing dimensions, and a series of public offices. No. VI. comprises a group of small houses to the south of the Forum. No. VII. contains the foundation walls of a great circular temple,[4] the most recent of all our discoveries as yet, and by no means the least interesting.

The blocks numbered I., III. and IV. have been covered in again recently, and the land brought back into cultivation. Fortunately for the interests of archæology a careful record of each is preserved, and the two which are most important have been described with accurate plans in the "Archæologia"

[4] This circular temple was not open at the date of the visit of the Royal Archæological Institute, but was uncovered very soon after.

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of the Society of Antiquaries: as these records are attainable to any student, it may suffice to have here called attention to the fact that all important details are accessible, though the Roman remains themselves are no longer open to view.

Block II., which is by far the most important dwelling that has yet been uncovered, has also been partially filled up again on its northern side. The greater portion of its area, however, remains still exposed, and the house contains so many points of interest as to merit some more detailed description. Its lines present us with the ground plan of a very large structure, covering an area of about 150 ft. in length by 110 ft. in breadth, and which may in general terms be spoken of as containing for its centre an open rectangular space, round three sides of which ran a suite of corridors or long narrow passages, having the various apartments on their outer side. It will be found, in the course of the remarks which follow, that important alterations were carried on in this building from time to time; and it may simplify a correct understanding with respect to these, to say here that the changes so made were consequent upon successive enlargements of the central rectangular space. This open area was increased on its north and on its west sides, the addition to it being made by taking into it the original first corridors and throwing the new ones further from the centre.

The chief interest attaching to this house, besides its great size, is the probability that it was the official residence of a Roman of some rank. The grounds on which such a supposition rests are these. It stood closer to the Forum than any other dwelling of any importance, being about 120 yards distant from the northern face of that building, and directly in front of it. In the space between ran the great east and west *Via* (the London road), whilst the north and south *Via* passed along its other side; and this house may be said to have occupied, with its attached buildings, the same position on the north of the intersection of the two great *Viæ* that the Forum did on the south. A second particular which gives a curious interest to this house is the series of alterations it underwent. The ground plan when first uncovered appeared to exhibit (in the northern portion) walls either running in the same direction with, or intersecting, each other in a very confused and inexplicable manner; those which ran in the same direction were not parallel, though

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near together, and clearly did not enclose passages; those which crossed were not intended to form rooms with others which they intersected. Floor levels were different, but without any trace of steps or regular ascent; doorways appeared to have been filled up and disused. On more mature examination this apparent confusion was cleared up. It became obvious that the walls belonged to one mansion of great size and importance, in fact the mansion which had been for ages—certainly for three centuries—the principal dwelling next the Forum, and which, without its site or general design being much altered, had undergone important changes throughout the ages that rolled by. Each change left its traces hidden in the earth, beneath its new successor, and when we excavated to the footings of the lowest walls, we exposed these traces all at one time. The walls lowest down, though not actually eradicated, had been *razéed*, and differed not only in level but in width from the series next above, being more slender in construction. The courses of flints in the second series were laid by the builder so as to mount upward in curving lines to override these *razéed* first walls, showing most indubitably that the one had been cut away by a Roman mason to make room for the other. A third alteration, affecting all rooms on the north side, was indicated by a slight change of square in the series of walls belonging to it, the whole of the rebuilt portion being slightly canted round in the line of its direction, so as to be no longer square with the original plan. A fourth series, at a still higher level, showed wider walls and larger rooms, but very inferior work, the flints being laid only in dark mud and not in mortar.

One naturally longs to light upon some clue to the periods when such alterations were effected. The only possible guide is to be found in the dates of the coins discovered at the several levels, and as coins (especially of the earlier Emperors) continued in use after the time of the Imperial person whose head they bore, they can give but an approximate indication. In the deepest portion a coin was found as ancient as the reign of the first Claudius; it was much worn and had been long in circulation, but was capable of being identified as that struck by him in honour of his mother Antonia, the date being about A.D. 50.[5] Among the

[5] Cohen. Descr. Hist. des Monnaies. Antonia 6.

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walls of the second series, coins of Antoninus Pius and of Commodus occurred. In the third series many pieces were met with of the period of Gallienus, Victorinus, and Claudius II. In the uppermost of all lay a numerous crop of "*folles*," and of small bronze, of the reigns of Diocletian, Maximianus, Carausius, Constantine, and his successors, and in fact most of the succeeding Emperors down to the withdrawal of the Roman power from Britain. Whilst, however, these alterations affected the northern side, some portions of the oldest walls remained throughout unchanged on the southern. It does not appear unreasonable to consider that a mansion of such magnitude, built on such a site, close to the Basilica and council-chambers, and continuing evidently to be of a growing importance throughout three centuries, was not unlikely to have been an official residence, and in all probability was the actual home of one of the "Duumviri" of Silchester.

This house was enriched with mosaic pavements,[6] and contains two hypocausts. One of these hypocausts, which is extremely curious, belonged to the earliest state of the residence as originally built. Its construction suggests rather the uses of a vapour bath than of an ordinary Roman room warmed by artificial heat. At some very remote date (perhaps when the other hypocaust was introduced into the plan, for it was not in the original house) its floor had been broken up, its sunk chamber filled with rubbish, its furnace walled up, and it so continued lying as it would appear under the new floor of some other apartment. When opened by us, five tiles of extraordinary size and thickness, which had been a portion of its original floor, lay amongst the rubbish which filled up the sunk chamber. These tiles are nearly 2 ft. square and 4 in. thick, and have been burnt with such great perfection that they are to all intents absolutely imperishable. The bottom and sides of the sunk chamber were lined with a facing of pink concrete, intensely hard, and such as would have been used to contain water.[7] Round the

[6] The concrete in which these mosaics were laid was entirely rotten, and their faces uneven, owing to the irregular subsidence of the gravel below them. They were, therefore, removed from a position where exposure must have speedily destroyed them. They are now placed in the floor of the hall at Strathfieldsaye House.

[7] A round hole, apparently for a plug, was formed in the concrete, but no pipe was within it.

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walls are flues for ascending heat, or rather the elbows (formed by flanged tiles, laid inclining upwards, at an angle of 45°), where the heat entered the flues. In this room, only 13 ft. 4 in. by 6 ft. 7 in., there were five such flues ascending on one side, three on the opposite (the entrance occupying the place of two more), and at each end (apparently) three others, fourteen in all. It is impossible now to ascertain how heat was applied; the brickwork of an arch was traceable in the exterior wall, *at each end,* below the level of the bottom of the sunk chamber, but the arches had been removed, and the wall built up, the ground being made quite solid with rammed gravel at the date of the alteration, to prevent subsequent subsidence.

The other hypocaust is very perfect, and furnishes an excellent example of one method used by the Roman builders for warming a *triclinium* or dining-room. In the case of this hypocaust, the floor of the room did not rest, as is so frequently found, upon a number of short pillars, but was principally supported by banks of earth faced with masonry, the floor being about 20 ft. square. The construction was effected in this manner. Outside the room on the south was a small sunk chamber, in which was the door of the furnace. The heat, being created here, entered beneath the floor of the *triclinium.* It passed first through a middle channel cut into the centre, and diverged from thence, or rather radiated, by other heat-ducts in every direction (following in design the pattern of a union-jack), till it reached the walls of the apartment. Having done duty underneath the floor, the heat then ascended in flues let into the thickness of the walls, each of the heat-ducts having the mouth of an up-cast flue below the floor level, corresponding to its termination. The banks of earth which were left, between the divergent channels under the floor, were also pierced through their narrow ends horizontally, to admit of a better circulation of the heat. One pillar only stood at the exact centre, so as to support the *suspensura.*

Attached to this *triclinium* was a small *exhedra,* or withdrawing-room. It formed almost a part of the larger apartment, being separated from it only by piers, and, when the house was inhabited, by a curtain. In its floor there had been a mosaic of excellent workmanship, but unfortunately so very near the surface (only 5 in. beneath it), that it long

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since perished under the plough, with the exception of the border at one end.[8]

A great number of coins were found during the excavation of this important house, those of the later Emperors being much the most frequent. A small hoard of forty-two lay together upon the still existing floor of coarse tesseræ, in a room next to the *triclinium*, upon the west; they were chiefly of the reign of Carausius, and several among them were curious from the unusual circumstance that they are palimpsest impressions, being, in truth, the coins of Gallienus, Postumus, and some other Emperor, passed through the mint of Carausius, and re-struck; retaining, however, quite enough of their original impressions to be easily identified. Among other articles of minor interest, there was found here a fragment of a glass quarry, which had been in use as window glass,[9] and had been cast as a quarry. In the dirt which choked the heat-channels of the larger hypocaust, there was buried an interesting ring. It is not of very uncommon character, but is extremely perfect as a specimen. It is one of those which combines with an ornamental purpose the more useful one of being also a key. The attached key is particularly well cut and clean in workmanship, and singularly resembles in pattern those which are now made by the celebrated locksmith, Mr. Chubb; it implies, in fact, a high amount of skill in the locksmiths of an age when such a key and the lock it opened were in ordinary use. The material of this ring is fine bronze.

The most amusing relic, perhaps, of man's ordinary life which was met with in this mansion, was a broken fragment of a flanged roof tile. The tile-maker, like many a potter since, was in love, and was thinking of the maid he worshipped whilst his hands were thick with clay. He scribbled, with a bit of stick, on the face of a moist tile before it was fired, some snatch of poetry in hexameters about her, and in the fragment found by us there is left the last syllable of the last dactyl and the final spondee, to tell the potter's tale. The line which the potter had scribbled, in cursive uncials, ended upon the lowest corner with "PVELLAM."

Directly over against this large mansion, on the opposite

[8] It has been already stated that this was removed to Strathfieldsaye House to preserve it.

[9] Skilled archæologists may consider that this implies the house to have had an upper story.

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side of the principal *Via*, and at about 120 yards distant, stretched the northern face of the Forum. It presented a straight line of unbroken wall, without a projection, having one entrance at some hundred feet from its western termination. Between the entrance and that western end rose the basilica, towering over all other buildings, and over the Forum itself. Against this wall of the basilica, close to the intersection of the two great *Viæ*, was an inscription affixed (*more Romanorum*) in honour of the enchorial god, the Sægontiac Hercules.[1]

The Forum proper was, therefore, on the left hand at entering by this northern doorway, and the basilica and council-chambers on the right. Confining ourselves first to the Forum properly so called, and excluding for the present any other buildings which lie within its plan, the visitor, immediately upon passing through the entrance, would have found himself standing in an ambulatory, which stretched away to his left hand, and might be followed, without a break, completely round three sides of the entire edifice, making the circuit until it arrived on the southern side, at an exit corresponding to the doorway on the north; any one walking along it, however, must pass by the great entrance, which was at the centre of the eastern side. The range of shops extended the whole way along the inner part of this ambulatory, forming a sort of bazaar, except on the south side, where the rooms were larger, and had other uses. Within the range of shops, again, was a second line of ambulatories, enclosing on three sides the great central court or quadrangle of the Forum. The general plan may, therefore, be described as a rectangular court, open to the sky, encompassed round three of its sides by symmetrical ranges of not very lofty buildings, which contained a double row of ambulatories, having between their lines a series of chambers, used for shops or for public business. The fourth side of the central court was formed by the side wall of the basilica, which extended its whole length. The range of

Dr. Ward's paper, Philos. Trans., 1744.

DEO HER * * * *
SAEGON * * * *
T . TAMMON * * * *
SAEN . TAMMON * * *
VITALIS * * * *
OB . HONO * * * * *

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rooms lying between the double line of ambulatories, on the south side, was not used for shops, but for the offices of the public departments, to which there would be perpetual resort out of the Forum. These rooms are more stately in size, and were probably loftier than the shops; they also are only five in number, and are distinguished, by their arrangement, as a group constructed for an especial purpose. The central and the two end rooms (all alike in size) are rectangular, but those on each side of the central room have semicircular ends, implying that they were built for the reception of boards or committees, with a President and assessors. In this group of public offices the business of the ædile, the quæstor, and the revenue (*vectigalia*) was carried on.

The inner ambulatories at each side opened into the basilica, and there was most likely also an entrance to it from the central court. Passing now, therefore, out of the Forum proper into the basilica, the first particular which at once arrests the attention is its magnitude. Including the two tribunals, which face each other at the extreme ends, this basilica extended entirely across the Forum. Its total length consequently, measuring from the outside of its north end to the outside of its south end, was not less than 276 feet; or, omitting the tribunals altogether, the central space is about 230 feet long by 60 feet wide. This, however, by no means fills up the plan between the wide party wall next the Forum and the west exterior wall. Along the whole west side of the basilica were spacious chambers (to certain of which uses have been assigned from the articles found within them); that at the centre being unequivocally the curia, or principal hall of council. This latter was quite open to the basilica along its entire front, was always a lofty room,[2] and at Silchester was ascended by two steps; the back of it was formed by a wide shallow semicircle, so as to accommodate a large council board, and it was lined with a dado of white Italian marble[3] sawn in thin slabs, and secured by small iron clamps. The largest room, however, along this range was a great apartment 60 feet long, which occupies the

[2] The length and greatest width are nearly the same (about 32 feet), by Vitruvius's rule it should have been 48 feet high: "Si quadrata erit quantum habuerit latitudinis, dimidia addita constituatur altitudo." Vitruvius, on the Curia of a Basilica. Lib. v. cap. 2.

[3] "Saccharine Marble, Foreign." Report of Sir Roderick Murchison, forwarded from the Geological Survey, 22d December, 1866.

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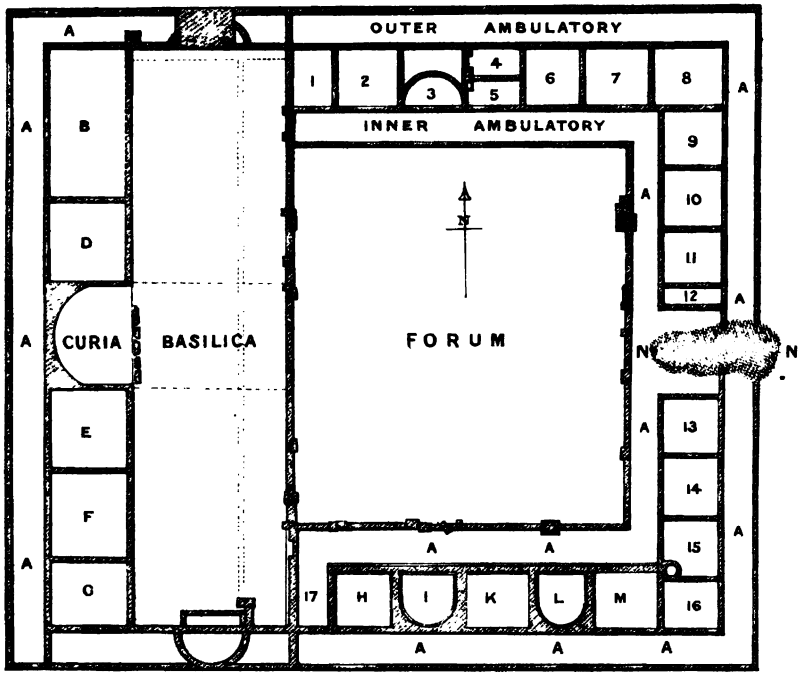
SILCHESTER

PLAN OF THE BASILICA & FORUM.



Scale, 1/8th Inch to 10 Feet.

REFERENCES.

A.A.A. *Ambulatories, surrounding the entire edifice, externally & internally.*

B to G. *Range of large halls attached to the Basilica, of which the Curia or Great Council Room at the centre is the chief.* **B.** *The Hall of Merchants.* **D.E.** *Committee Rooms.* **F.** *Tabularium or Record Office.* **G.** *Ærarium.*

Basilica. *Two Courts with their Tribunals, for the Duumviri. Between the two Courts & in front of the steps of the Curia was a space for Assemblies, about 60 ft. by 45 ft.*

Forum. H to M. *Offices of the Departments connected with the Forum, as* **H.** *Vertigalia, or Public Revenue.* **I.** *Quæstor, or Pro quæstor, Military pay, & Allowances.* **L.** *Aedile, Weights & Measures, also Streets & Buildings. Shops. 4. 5. 6. Tabernæ argentariæ. Money changers & jewellers. 9. 10. 11. Butchers. 14. Dealer in Poultry & Game. 15. Fishmonger. 1 & 17. Entrances. (N.N.S)*

N.N. *Walls injured. A deep cutting existed here before recent excavations. Her*

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northern end, and to which, from the connection Vitruvius mentions between merchants and basilicæ, the name of the Hall of Merchants has been assigned.[4] It must not be forgotten that of these spacious chambers nothing remains but the outline of their several floors.

To revert to the great basilica itself, it might with propriety be described as consisting really of two courts placed end to end. No *septum* or division, nor any indication whatever of one, has been discovered, but the dimensions (that is to say, the length as compared with the breadth) almost indicate that such was the purpose of its original designer. A Roman basilica was built upon such a plan that its nave or central area (which was very lofty) had on either hand an aisle in two stories. The lower story of the aisle was formed by a colonnade of large pillars, and the upper by a gallery behind a parapet, having along its front a range of smaller pillars, which stood symmetrically over the large ones. The colonnade below had thus to support an enormous weight, and it was usual to give strength and firmness to the bases of the columns by placing them upon a massive substructural wall, which wall, built beneath the floor of the basilica, kept all the columns true to the level, and greatly aided them to bear the superincumbent pressure without sinking. At Silchester nave and aisles are obliterated; the splendid colonnade is represented by a few blocks of weather-worn shafts, and by some fragments of well-wrought capitals; but the massive substructural wall on one side of the basilica, which supported its long range of pillars, remains embedded still in the ground, and is no less than five feet wide. Of the corresponding wall, upon the opposite side of the centre, not the slightest vestige has been recovered, though carefully sought for. Portions of shafts of two sizes (as might be expected) lay about among the *débris* in the centre. The diameter of the largest was 3 ft., that of the smaller 1 ft. 10 in. Parts of two bases also have been met with, one of them having the torus mouldings fairly marked still, but both being more or less defaced. Fragments of capitals of a very enriched style, and excellent workmanship, have also been discovered, and,

[4] Merchants (*i.e.*, wholesale dealers in contradistinction to the tradesmen of the Forum) appear to have used the basilicæ as our merchants do the Exchange. Vitruv. de Foro. Lib. v. cap. 1.

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judging from the character of the execution, they might well be assigned to as early a date as the reign of Hadrian. They are such as could not have been produced in the time of Diocletian or of Constantine the Great. These few fragments of broken capitals, whilst they eloquently bespeak the perished splendour of the building, serve only to make us regret the more bitterly, alas! that not one pillar, nor even a base, has been found standing where the Roman workman originally placed it. Everything here has not alone sustained the shock of time, but has also passed through an ordeal of violence and fire.

The plan of the whole is completed by an ambulatory running outside the range of chambers on the west side, which was parallel to the great north and south *via*, and stood almost upon it.[5]

Intensely interesting to us as the uncovering of this very perfect Roman Forum and basilica is, it is disappointing in one particular. It might have been reasonably expected that statues, or at any rate their bases, that altars to the gods, and inscriptions of some kind, would have rewarded our search. But in these respects the ground has proved almost barren. Close to the steps forming the ascent to the curia, or principal council-chamber, one mutilated lump of carving was disinterred. At first sight it was difficult to identify what remained with any intelligible purpose, but subsequently this twice-destroyed lump (for it had been evidently mended once) resolved itself into a portion of a colossal head of some Emperor; it is but just the line of forehead above the eye-brow, with a few locks of thick and curling hair, ably carved. Not a morsel of sculpture besides has ever come to light. And so also with inscriptions; a few letters, of the best shape generally, carved in thin slabs of Purbeck marble, have been dug up. On one fragment are five perfect letters and some portions of others, on another four letters, on a third some half letters, on two others a very small part of a single line —nowhere any record that could be laid hold of, except by the most vague conjecture.

Much curious iron work has from time to time been found in the Forum. Amongst other things, the keys of the

[5] There is great reason to think that all the west side of the basilica, and the chambers along it, were destroyed and rebuilt long before the final destruction of the edifice; the masonry is of inferior character to the rest.

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shops in the ambulatories, the styli with which the tradesmen kept their accounts, door-hinges (one especially, which appears to be made to keep a door closed by a spring at the back), snap-lock bolts, rings in pairs for the handles of double doors, nails of every size and sort, some of them fully earning the name of "*clavi trabales.*" A small iron axe,[6] knife-blades of various sizes, the hooks of the butchers' steel-yards found in the shops of the butchers, and the blade of an oyster-knife[7] in the fishmonger's.

The bronze articles consist principally of fibulæ of various patterns—small armlets, piece of a chain bracelet with a snap, some playthings, such as a toy anchor, a tiny game cock, a quaint little long-legged horse, meant apparently to rock by balancing on a small sphere of metal (no metal sphere now remaining), a *securicula*, or diminutive axe (probably one of a set of pendent ornaments), a *simpulum* for libating, a scale bottom, some very small hand-bells, toilette implements, studs of curiously modern shape in some instances, and some few other matters of which the uses are not very apparent.

The great prize, however, of all that has been recovered within the Forum is the bronze eagle of the basilica. This most valuable bird was disinterred in October, 1866, in the chamber next to the tribunal upon the south (which is supposed to have been the *ærarium*), and, after his long entombment, he re-entered the upper air from beneath 10 in. deep of burnt timber, not much the worse for his sojourn there. Previous to his having left the hands of his last custodian, the eagle appears to have been torn by sheer violence from the stand or staff on which he had been borne,[8] and his wings to have been wrenched away, doubtless in order that he might be the more easily secreted in the timbers of the ceiling, beneath which he ultimately found a safe resting-place, and a grave. Upon a careful comparison of the relative size, modelling, and posture of this bronze with the legionary eagles sculptured on Trajan's

[6] This iron axe was lying on the floor of the Council Chamber: some daring speculator may hint that it might once have been tied up in the fasces of a lictor.

[7] An extraordinary quantity of oyster-shells having been found in the floor of one shop, and under the floor of the ambulatory outside it for several yards in length, and about a foot in depth, this shop has received the designation of the "Fishmonger's." It contained in one corner a large shallow pan set in masonry.

[8] If this was a legionary eagle, the talons grasped a thunderbolt. The talons were left attached to what they held on the summit of the staff.

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Pillar, there is good reason to consider that to it belongs the unique interest of having once been the principal standard of a Roman legion.

So large is the number and so various the attributions of the coins found within the Forum and basilica, that it can only be here said that the series commences with Caligula in A.D. 37, and ends with Arcadius about A.D. 405, offering an almost unbroken line of succession throughout, and representing upon the obverses the coinage of not less than sixty-four Emperors or Empresses. The coins of the earliest Emperors (as Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, and Nero) were found frequently either close to the walls, or amongst the mortar; some of these are so crusted with mortar that it is extremely difficult to remove it. The most copious supply is yielded by the period of Constantine the Great, a considerable variety of whose reverses has been obtained. By far the larger proportion, in all instances, has been bronze, and no example of a gold coin has occurred.[9] Many of the coins were in a fine state of preservation, and some of the impressions so sharp that the piece of money must have been nearly new when lost.[1] It is a most important fact to notice that not one British coin, nor the faintest trace of British occupation, has been anywhere recognised.

Such is a description in outline of the Forum and basilica of Silchester, and of some of the results attained in uncovering them. Though the tide of Roman life was not here arrested in a moment, yet it bears in one particular a curious similarity to Pompeii, and one in which scarcely any other Roman remains can be said to participate to the same extent. Silchester has never been lived upon, or built over, by any subsequent civilization. It remains at this hour exactly as it was when the hand of destruction first overtook it. Hence almost every detail of plan and dimension is complete. It is needless to add that so unique a relic possesses almost more than a national value, for it has a peculiar charm for every educated man, whatever be the language he may use to express his thoughts.

POSTSCRIPT.—Since the visit of the Archæological Insti-

[9] A fine gold Trajan, and a very beautiful gold Valens, had been found before the recent excavation; these are now in the collection.

[1] This was singularly the case with regard to a silver coin of Julian the Apostate. It was so clear and sharp that it looked as if it had not been ten years struck when it was found.

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tute in 1872, a group of small private houses has been exposed, south of the Forum (Block VI.). The circular temple has likewise been opened ; it consists of two rings of good masonry, one within the other, the larger having a diameter of 66 ft. These rings are not round, but represent a figure which is a regular polygon, having sixteen sides (Block VII.).

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NOTES ON AN UNIQUE IMPLEMENT OF FLINT, FOUND, AS STATED, IN THE ISLE OF WIGHT.

During a recent residence of several months in the Isle of Wight, my curiosity was much excited by an object of flint now preserved in the Museum at Ryde. It had been recently exhibited by Colonel Lane Fox, at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries,[1] and also submitted to the Ethnological Society. I believe that the impression has been that it is an object of questionable authenticity. I know, moreover, that Mr. Evans, and some other archæologists, on whose judgment I have entire reliance, were unable to regard the relic as ancient, or to admit it within the range of the Palæolithic period, namely the time of Unpolished Stone, to which probably it might otherwise have been with little hesitation assigned.

Having obtained a cast of this unique implement through the kindness of the late Miss Bloxam, of Ryde, for presentation to the Blackmore Museum, at Salisbury, I took occasion, in exhibiting that accurate reproduction, to invite the attention of the Institute to the remarkable character of the relic. I have also to acknowledge the obliging assistance of Mr. Hodder Westropp, of Ventnor, through whose recommendation the cast was made by that lady, and who has rendered me valuable assistance in the investigation of the alleged discovery.

The implement, as will be seen by the woodcut, for which, I am indebted to the courtesy of the Society of Antiquaries, is of a form that may be designated *tribrachial*, having three branches radiating from the centre, where the flint is somewhat thicker (about 2¼ inches) than in other parts. The diameter is about 8 in., measured from one extremity to the other, in one direction, and about 9½ in., measuring from

[1] On March 23, 1871. A short notice has appeared in their Proceedings, second series, vol. v. p. 113, where the implement is figured.

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the end of one of the limbs, which is somewhat longer and thinner than the other two, and may possibly have served as a handle, or as the part adapted for hafting the implement, if, as some suppose, it may have been affixed in a cleft stick, or the like. It has, however, been imagined that this rather elongated portion of the object may have been the apex, and that it was held or hafted between the two divergent limbs, that would thus present in some degree the appearance of barbs.

Flint Implement found at Ventnor, Isle of Wight; now in the Ryde Museum. (Scale ¼ linear.)

No probable suggestion having hitherto been offered, in regard to the use for which such an implement (if its authentic and ancient character should be admitted) could have been intended, it may suffice here to point out these general features, and leave them for the consideration of those who may take interest in the alleged discovery. I will only take occasion therefore to observe, that it would be not less unreasonable in our imperfect knowledge of various vestiges of prehistoric antiquity, to reject any object hastily, because it is of unique fashion and of a type wholly unfamiliar, as it were to conclude that it must necessarily be spurious, because no probable purpose can be ascribed to it.

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It should also be remembered that, even at the present time, as regards the stone implements of the drift, those vestiges of a remote race, that a few years since were types unknown to us, although now comparatively familiar to the student of Palæolithic Antiquity, our most sagacious antiquaries are almost as undecided, in the question of their precise use and adaptation, as we are in the present instance in the attempt to suggest what may have been the intention, whether perchance warlike or for every-day uses, of the strange tribrachial article under consideration.

The existence of this eccentric object has been known to me for several years. A drawing long in my portfolio is endorsed as follows :—"Object of flint found on the beach near Ventnor, Isle of Wight, and now in the museum at Ryde." I have unfortunately no record of the source whence I obtained the sketch ; it must have come into my hands subsequently to 1850. In that year the Isle of Wight Philosophical and Scientific Society was established at Ryde ; the actual arrangement of the museum, in Melville Street, may have been somewhat later. It was a purpose in which the lamented Prince Consort took lively interest. In Mr. Charles S. Lockhart's "General Guide to the Isle of Wight," published in 1870, the following mention of the implement is found.—"In the museum at Ryde is a Flint cut into the shape of a warlike instrument, as used by the ancients ; presented by Dr. Martin, of Ventnor. This well-chipped weapon was found at Ventnor by Dr. Martin, and looks like a barbed spear-head. It is large and heavy, and of rare (if not unique) shape—an unpolished specimen."[2]

The relic is now described, in the Ryde Museum, as having been obtained, not at Ventnor, but on Ashey Down, near Brading, where there were found various remains,—urns, bronze objects, &c., in British grave-hills excavated about 1854, by Mr. Benjamin Barrow, President of the Philosophical Society at Ryde.[3] I believe that the change in the description, namely the statement that the find occurred at

[2] Guide to the Isle of Wight, by Mr. Lockhart; published by Virtue, 1870, p. 36. It should be here observed that when a cast of this supposed weapon was exhibited to the Institute in May, 1872, it was observed by Mr. Hewitt that there is little reason to consider it as a warlike weapon. In this opinion, and also in Mr. Hewitt's suggestion, that probably its very singular form may be partly natural and partly artificial, I entirely agree. Arch. Journ., vol. xxix. p. 278.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 94.

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Ashey Down and not at Ventnor, was made on the authority of that gentleman, who takes the part of Curator of the collection. It is, however, remarkable that in the relation of his researches on the Down, which was communicated to the British Archæological Association in 1854, no allusion is found to the unique tribrachial implement, as having been there brought to light.[4]

On the other hand, the discovery on the beach at Ventnor, as above stated, is not mentioned by the late Dr. Martin, long resident at that place. This is doubtless a remarkable omission, but it must be observed that in his "Guide to the Undercliff" his purpose was almost exclusively to set forth the advantages of that salubrious region, and especially of Ventnor, as a shelter for invalids. He was a well-informed naturalist, but does not appear to have paid much attention to antiquarian subjects; it is probable, moreover, that the curiously-shaped flint may not have been regarded as an object of any special interest, in days when the vestiges of the "Stone Period" had not as yet excited attention. I am informed by his brother, Mr. J. B. Martin, that he distinctly remembers the implement as existing in Dr. Martin's house at Ventnor, not less than thirty years ago.

In the absence of any record, in Dr. Martin's valuable work on the Undercliff, of the actual circumstances of the discovery of so singular a relic, and the source whence it had come into his possession, I wish to make special mention of the courtesy of his brother and also of Mr. Hodder Westropp, who have spared no pains in the endeavour to elucidate a difficulty of so much interest in connection with the antiquities of the Island. In a recent examination of the registers of the Ryde Philosophical Society, Mr. Martin has found, as I have been informed through Mr. Westropp's kindness, the entry, that the flint *tribrach* was presented to the collection by the late Dr. Martin in 1853, with other objects from Ventnor, and as having been obtained on the shore at that place. The locality where the find occurred appears thus to be undeniably established.

It is scarcely needful here to point out that the crafty deceptions subsequently perpetrated by "Flint Jack," and

[4] Journ. Brit. Arch. Ass., July, 1854, p. 162, where a map of the barrows on Ashey Down, representations of urns and other relics are given. See also Dr. Williams' Early History of the Island, Newport, 1859, p. 52.

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others of the same treacherous fraternity, were unknown in the early days of Popular Archæology, about 1840; and, had any "flint-knacker" at that time existed, capable of fabricating so elaborate, skilfully-wrought a production as the remarkable object under consideration, it may be confidently affirmed that he never would have come to the remote villages of the Undercliff to dispose of his forgeries, nor would any encouragement have there been shown to him.

These considerations have led me to believe that those who have recently had the opportunity of inspecting the implement in London, and whose eyes are also familiar with the strange fallacies circulated by "Flint Jack" in later years,—flint saws and fish-hooks, weapons and articles of very eccentric types,—may have too hastily come to the conclusion that the implement before them was merely a masterpiece of the same knavish artifices.

A few observations must be offered, in conclusion, on the material and the condition of the object. The only articles known to us, that present a certain general resemblance in character and bold chipping, although in form quite different, are the remarkable stone relics obtained in the Bay of Honduras, in South America, in 1794, as related in our Journal, and also by Dr. Daniel Wilson, of Toronto.[5] Of these one is in the British Museum, but the most striking specimens are now in the Blackmore Museum at Salisbury, and their peculiar character is well set forth by Mr. E. T. Stevens, in his "Flint Chips," an admirable guide to prehistoric archæology, where the objects in question are figured.[6] It has naturally been suggested that the Ventnor tribrach, if possessing any claims to authenticity, must be of the same class of exotic antiquities, from the New World, and that it might have been casually thrown upon the southern margin of the Channel. In regard to this conjecture, I am enabled to assert, not merely from personal examination, but on the distinct assurance of two experts residing at Ventnor, and thoroughly cognisant of the question, that the material of the object at Ryde is unquestionably an Isle of Wight flint, from the lower portion of the upper chalk, such as might be

[5] Arch. Journ., vol. viii. p. 422; ix. p. 97, Wilson, Pre-historic Man, vol. i. p. 214.

[6] Flint Chips, p. 289. Three objects of similar character purchased at Roughham, Suffolk, are described in the Journal of the Suffolk Institute of Archæology, Jan., 1869, p. 8.

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obtained from the Bembridge Down, near Sandown, and elsewhere. My information is derived from a well-known lapidary at Ventnor, Mr. Billings, who won the commendation of our friend, Canon Venables, in his Handbook for the Isle of Wight; the other being Mr. Norman, a well-known local geologist and collector of fossils, whose intimate knowledge of the strata of the Island is undeniable. There are moreover to be seen in the implement some small fossils, and especially a choanite, of common occurrence in the flints of the district. The material of the objects from Honduras, repeatedly brought before the Institute by Mr. Brackstone, is perfectly different; it is a compact-grained, opaque cherty substance, and does not present any resemblance to the somewhat translucent flaky appearance of the flints of the Island.

If, as I am disposed to consider most probable, the triple-branched implement was actually found on the shore at Ventnor, and not in the Northern parts of *Vectis*, I would observe that the objection suggested by some persons, that it must have suffered, in that case, much greater injury and accidental fractures, especially of the sharp edges, than can now be noticed on the relic, it may be stated that the masses of flint now frequently dislodged from the cliff, along the Ventnor shore, rarely present any great amount of fracture from rolling amongst the pebbles of the beach. There are, moreover, many vestiges of early occupation of that sea-margin, several kitchen-middens, and the like, and from some of the sides of the littoral shelters of an ancient race, the tribrach may unquestionably have become dislodged, and, having fallen on the shore beneath, have been by good fortune observed and rescued, before its fragile edges had become much damaged through friction and water-wear.

Such an incident actually occurred. In 1851 an implement of dark flint, as described, was found near Plumbley's Hotel, Freshwater, and it was supposed to have come from the Down by "foundering of the Cliff." It is now in the Newport Museum, and is described in Mr. Lockhart's Guide to the Island as a "remarkably fine Celtic spear-head." [7]

Mr. Evans, our most erudite and sagacious authority in all questions that arise in the investigation of implements of

[7] Mr. C. Lockhart's Guide to the Isle of Wight, published by Virtue, p. 35.

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stone, has informed me that he regards this implement as of exotic origin. His conclusion, founded on the supposed origin of the material employed, may doubtless in that instance dispose us to regard the relic from the Freshwater Cliff as one of those remarkable waifs from foreign lands, occasionally occurring upon our shores, and which the archæologist is wholly unable to associate with the relics or vestiges of early British antiquity.

In regard to the supposed occurrence of certain ancient objects found in the British Islands that must be regarded, on account of their material or other circumstances, to be of exotic origin, I would here advert to the observation of one of our most sagacious archæologists, Mr. Franks, that this may occasionally have been owing to their transport as ballast from one country to another by shipping. In this manner he is of opinion that foreign types of stone implements may sometimes have been removed from one country to another, even far remote, and that it is scarcely to be wondered at that a few antiquities should have thus been displaced, and perplex antiquarians by the unexpected positions in which they crop up.[8]

In concluding this brief notice of a very remarkable relic, it is with gratification that I am permitted, through the courtesy of the Society of Antiquaries, to place before the Members of our Society a fresh example of the singular boldly-chipped implements of flint from Honduras, of which certain specimens, as above noticed, were formerly figured in this Journal. It is a horse-shoe-shaped object (see the accompanying woodcut), that was brought from the West Indies some years ago by a naval officer; except in its smaller size, and finer workmanship, it resembles one of those curious relics from Honduras now in the Blackmore Museum at Salisbury, and formerly in possession of Mr. Brackstone.[9] With the exception of these implements from the far West, no object has, so far as I am aware, been pointed out that presents any analogy in its general fashion, as compared with the unique "tribrach" from Ventnor.

ALBERT WAY.

[8] Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, second series, vol. v. pp. 233, 361.

[9] Frontispiece to Flint Chips, by Mr. E. T. Stevens, Hon. Curator of the Blackmore Museum.

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Flint Implement, and Section. Found in Honduras.
(Scale ⅜ linear.

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ON RECENT DISCOVERIES OF WALL-PAINTINGS AT CHALDON, SURREY; WISBOROUGH GREEN, SUSSEX; AND SOUTH LEIGH, OXFORDSHIRE.

By J. G. WALLER.

THE last few years have produced numerous discoveries of ancient tempera paintings during the restoration of our churches. A considerable addition to our knowledge of mediæval ecclesiastical art has been thereby attained, and very much more might result if means were taken to secure a good survey of those not destined to be preserved, or an accurately recorded account of those which have a better fortune. By means of photography and tracings, where practicable, a permanent record might be made in all cases, which could not fail to prove valuable to the history of art. The works on which I am about to offer some remarks have all of them special claims, but none equal to that of Chaldon, Surrey, which is an unique example. Next to that is the Crucifixion, &c., at Wisborough Green, Sussex, which has details which are peculiar, and part of a subject hitherto unknown to us. Lastly, those of South Leigh, Oxfordshire, which, though containing no new subject, yet are worthy of remark on account of the important character of their execution.

The subject of the Chaldon picture is the "Ladder of the Salvation of the Soul and the Road to Heaven," a title found in the Greek Guide[1] now in use by the monk artists of Mont Athos. Examples of it are sometimes seen in manuscript illuminations, the most remarkable being that in the Hortus Deliciarum lately in the public library at Strasburg, but which unhappily perished during the siege of 1870. For an account of this and some general information on the subject, see vol. v., "Collections of Surrey Archæological Society," pp. 279-80, &c.

The picture is on the west wall of Chaldon Church, and

[1] Discovered by M. Didron, and a translation into French published by him in 1847.

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is divided into two parts by a horizontal band, *nebuly*, to use an heraldic term, a usual convention for clouds in mediæval art, which separates the place of torment from that of salvation. In the centre is a ladder, stretching from the base to the summit, at which is the figure of our Lord, the right hand in benediction, the left holding a cross; it has the cruciform nimbus, and is within a wavy aureole; the sun on the right, the moon on the left. Up this ladder the souls are ascending, or endeavouring to do so. As far as the boundary between the upper and lower divisions, it is a struggle: some are falling, others clutch at the rungs; but when past this, they ascend without fear.

But the key to the subject is the tree on the left side, amongst the upper branches of which a serpent is entwined. This is the "Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil,"[2] and on the wall of the respond of the north arcade were some other figures, unhappily destroyed during the absence of the Rector, which possibly carried out the obvious idea of representing the Fall of Man; and it will be seen that the intent of the whole was to show, both punishment ensuing, and also mercy and redemption. Between the ladder and the tree, about midway, is the figure of the Usurer: he sits amid flames, he is without eyes: around his neck hangs a money-bag, and three are round his waist: his right hand holds up a coin; pieces of coin are dropping from his mouth, out of which lolls his tongue, and he is catching them in his left hand. Two demons on each side are tormenting him with pitchforks, vaulting aloft and making a fulcrum of his head. All these details are explained by stories from Cæsarius and Herolt: the first a Cistercian monk of Heisterbach, who wrote in the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century; the latter a Dominican, and a compiler of the fifteenth century.

Cæsarius[3] gives a story of a knight of Cologne, named Theodoric, a usurer, who, being very ill, was moving teeth and mouth, when his servant said to him, "What are you eating, my lord?" He answered, "I am eating money." It seemed to him as if demons poured money into his mouth.

Another story by the same author is of one Godescalc, a

[2] In the account of this picture in the Collections of the Surrey Archaeological Society, I have confounded this with the "Tree of Life."

[3] Dialogus Miraculorum. Wherever Cæsarius is quoted it is from this work.

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miller, and has extremely curious incidents, showing how he was taken to hell by a demon, and the *fiery seat* prepared for him was pointed out. As regards the conspicuous want of eyes, it may be explained by another story from the same writer. The novice asks of the monk how he, who had *no* eyes, could have contrition, as without eyes he could not weep. The monk answers, very prettily, "Contrition is not in tears, but in the moving of the heart."[4]

Herolt,[5] in "Exemplum XLVI.," gives a tale of a usurer of Brabant, who had greatly spoiled the poor, and who saw at his death two huge dogs of darkness about his bed: he then thrust out his tongue to about a *foot* in length, and thus miserably died. The "dogs of darkness" are, doubtless, the figures who are tormenting him with forks. "Exemplum XLVII." is a story of two sisters who, at their mother's death, divided their patrimony. One put out her portion to usury, and cared not for her poor sister, but, making a chest, collected her money in it. At length she fell ill, and, feeling herself at the point of death, went to her chest, and taking two bags of money from it, bound them about her naked body, concealed beneath her clothes. She then bade her sister, that no one should examine her body after her death. But suspicion having arisen from its weight, a horrible disclosure took place, and it was found that there was a huge serpent, who frequently spat fire and sulphur into the woman's mouth.

In the curious vision of the Monk of Evesham, said to have occurred in 1196, a goldsmith is introduced as tormented for his avarice, and saying: "Trewly often tyme y haue ben caste downe hed longe into a grete hepe of brennyning money amonge the whiche y brent ful intolerably. And tho fyrye pensys y was compelled to deuoure with an opyn mowthe that y felte alle my bowellys to brenne in me. And hethir to often times y am compellyd to telle hem and of the towchyng of hem myne handys and fyngers ben sore peynde."[6]

The bearing of all these stories upon the composition of this figure is obvious enough. (Fig. 1.) The artist has

[4] Perhaps this idea of the novice may have arisen from the very frequent use of "effusio lachrymarum" by monastic writers on contrition.

[5] Herolt, Exemplum Exemplorum.

[6] See Mr. Arber's curious and accurate reprint of the old English version.

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made use of them to symbolize the Usurer and his punishment in after-life. If we trust to the numerous stories of a similar kind which abound in all collections of the monkish moralities, no person was more hated. Shakespeare's

Fig. 1

play of the Merchant of Venice was partly founded upon one of these tales, and among the numerous characters satirized by Dante and placed in the infernal regions, the usurers (*mesta genta*) are conspicuous, and the poet indicates individuals by arms on the bag hanging about the neck.

> " Cosi ancor su per la strema testa
> Di qual settimo cerchio tutto solo
> Andai ove sedea *la gente mesta*
> * * * * * * *
> Non ne connobbe alcun ; ma io accorsi
> *Che dal collo a ciascun pendea una tasca*
> Che avea certo colore e certo segno."
>
> *Inferno*, c. 17.

It was probably a common custom for the money-bag to be carried about the neck ; the word " crumena," used by Herolt, is rendered, " a leathern bag worn about the neck."

On each side this figure are groups of a male and female embracing, each male figure having behind him a demon, as if urging or inciting him on. One would indicate a youth, the other a man of mature age ; the demon to this atter is coloured *red*. There can be no doubt that the sin

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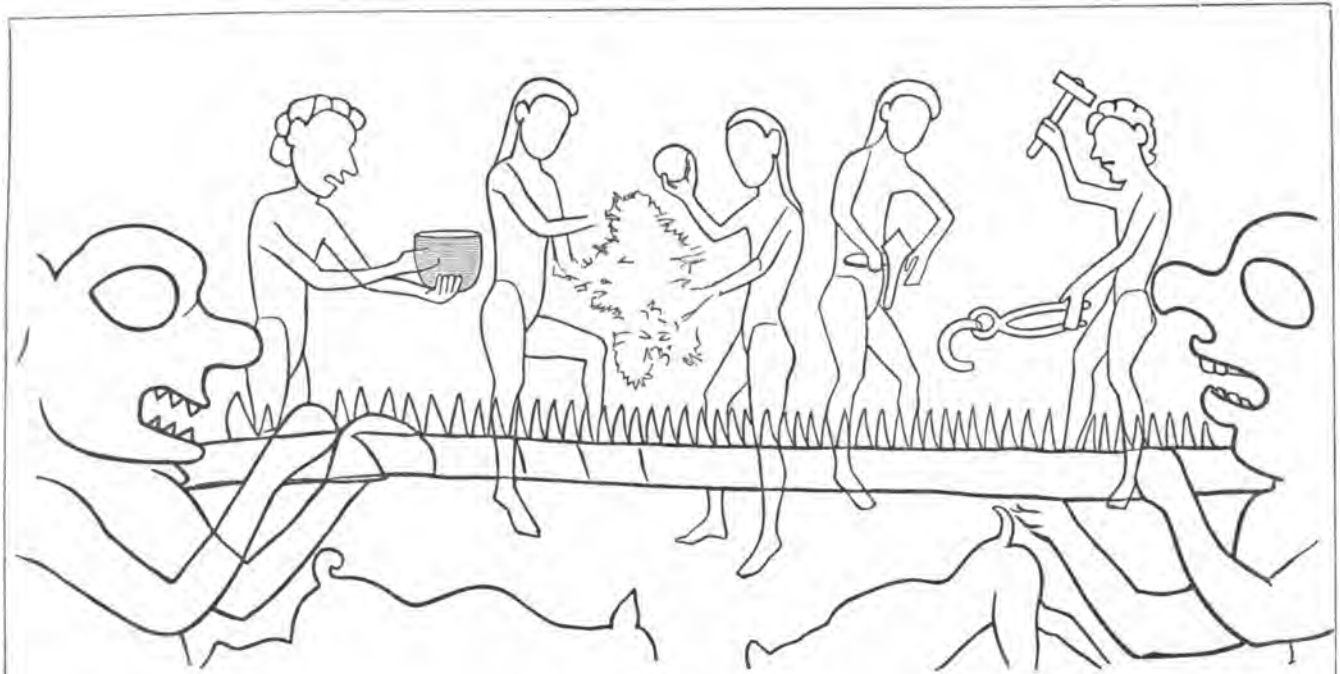

Fig. 2.

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here symbolized would be illicit affection. The red colour has doubtless a meaning. The rust (*rubigo*) of sin is a frequent expression, and the colour may be to denote intensity. The demons here shown as suggesting evil belong to the ancient doctrine of an evil and a good spirit attendant upon man, which found its way into Christianity in the earliest times, though long previously entertained. The second book of the Shepherd Hermas, written in the Apostolic Age, as some suppose, called "His Commands," says, "There are two angels with men,—one of righteousness, the other of iniquity." In each case here we have, then, "the angel of iniquity" prompting to sin.

But the most curious part of all in this singular work is, without doubt, the bridge of spikes, which is immediately above the figures just described, and is a serrated beam sustained by two large demons, one by the "Ladder," another by the "Tree." Over this souls are attempting to cross, their feet represented as slipping over: let it also be remarked that they are moving in opposite directions. (Fig. 2.) At one end is a figure about to ascend the bridge, holding a bowl, apparently of milk, anxiously with both hands, as if fearful of spilling it. Then we have two female figures going in opposite directions to each other, in the centre of the bridge. Unfortunately, what they hold is effaced, except that one has a ball in her left hand, which I cannot doubt was intended to represent a ball of spun wool, the clew, as it was formerly called, and still so in Scotland, and in the northern parts of England. The female figures possibly then bore with them the appropriate distinctions of woman's occupation. In "Vives' Instruction for a Christian Woman" is the following illustrative passage: "What a foule thing is it to see a woman instead of hir wool-basket to handle the table-board, and for hir spindle, the dice; for hir *clewe*, or prayer-book, to turn the cards." There are two other figures at the opposite end which also face each other: one is unmistakably a smith, holding a horse-shoe by pincers in one hand; in the other uplifting a hammer, as if in act of forging. He seems quite regardless of him who comes in the other direction, holding, as it seems, a mason's pick, and who appears as if shrinking from impending contact on the narrow bridge. The smith, and that at the opposite end both show profiles which are really

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expressive: the only other instance is one of the embracing figures just described; features are omitted throughout, except in special cases, as here or in the figure of the Usurer.

This punishment of the Bridge is of the most remote antiquity in Oriental systems of religion. There is the bridge of the Mahometans, called in the Arabic Al Sirât, said to be laid over the midst of Hell, and to be finer than a hair and sharper than the edge of a scimitar, an idea probably borrowed from the religion of Zoroaster, where the bridge is called Pûl Chînevad, *i. e.*, the strait bridge, over which mankind will be obliged to pass at the last day. In the "Times," December 14, 1872, a correspondent speaks of a representation of Hell in a temple at Wuchang, China, where is a bridge "over which wretched souls are being urged by green demons." The Jews also have a bridge of Hell no broader than a thread. The idea has widely spread, and appears in many ways in mediæval mythology; but in that of the Vision of Tundale we get the illustration apt and close for our purpose, and its date, 1149, is not much antecedent to the Chaldon painting.

This Vision of Tundale is but one of a series in which the plan of Dante's poem is anticipated—an angel performing the part of guide, as Virgil in the Divina Commedia. Tundale was an Irishman of noble rank, who fell dead in a fit of rage, and is conducted through Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise by his guardian angel. In his progress he comes to a bridge, which, in the English metrical version, is thus described:

"Over that lake then say thei lygge
A wonder long narow brygge
Too myle of leynthe that was semand,
And scarsly of the bred of a hand.
Off scharpe pykys of yron and stell
Hit was grevous for to fele.
Ther myght passe by that brygge thare
But yett her feet wer hyrt sare."

He then perceives one on the bridge carrying a "burden of corne" on his back, who "pleynud his synne full pytuysly," and whose feet by the pikes were "pykud full sore." Inquiring of the angel the meaning of this, he is answered:

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"For hym is ordyened this payn,
That robbyght men of hor ryches
Or any gudys that herys is
* * * * * * *
And he that thou syst on the brygge stand
With the schevis so sore gretand
Fro holy chyrch he him stale."

Tundale is then told he must now go over the bridge, and lead with him a wild cow, a punishment enjoined for having stolen the "gossypis cow." He essays the difficult task, tumbles about, and in his dire strait meets the other unfortunate with the sheaf coming in the opposite direction, and neither could go back, and they suffered sorely, but at length Tundale is rescued by his angel.

This is very illustrative of the painting, especially in the incident of the souls meeting on the bridge, and being unable either to pass or go back. The punishment is also for robbery, and it especially points out the crime of robbing "holy chyrch," *i. e.*, not paying tithes. This is evidently what is meant, and is quite in accord with mediæval writers, who denounce these people as guilty of theft. Now, applying this view to the painting, it would suggest to us a number of individuals marked out by their symbols of occupation as guilty in this respect—as the smith, mason,[7] cowherd, or even the *spinster* with her spun wool, &c., a class to be surely found in the smallest of country communities.

Fig. 3.

On the other side of the ladder is a large caldron standing upon a brandreth, and a fire burning beneath it. It is filled with souls, which a demon on either side is stirring up with forks. According to Tundale's Vision, it is the punishment of parricides and fratricides. Close by this is a remarkable figure (Fig. 3): it holds a bottle of wine, and the bottle is

[7] Perhaps a quarryman.

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shaped exactly like the champagne bottle of the present time. In this point of view it is interesting, for I do not ever remember to have seen another representation of the glass wine-bottle of so early a date. Immediately beneath is a pilgrim's staff. The original story, for the explanation of this figure, occurs in Cæsarius, and is so remarkable that it is worth giving complete. It is entitled "The Punishment of the Abbot of Corbey":—

"At the time of the schism between Otto and Philip, Kings of the Romans, a certain pilgrim coming from parts beyond sea, selling his cloak for wine, which in those parts is very strong, drank so much that, being drunk, he went out of his mind, and was thought to be dead. At the same hour his spirit was led to the place of punishment, where, upon a well covered with a fiery lid, he saw the Prince of Darkness himself sitting. In the meantime, among other souls is led forth the Abbot of Corbey, whom he much saluted, as he presented to him a sulphurous cup in a red-hot chalice. Who, when he had drunk, the lid removed, was sent into the well. But the pilgrim,. as he stood before the infernal threshold, and, seeing such things, trembled, the devil loudly called out, 'Bring over to me that lord who stands outside, who, of late, selling his garment of pilgrimage, got drunk.' Which being heard, the pilgrim turning to the angel of the Lord, who had led him thither, promised that he would never more get drunk, whilst now at that hour he delivered him from the imminent peril. Who presently returning to himself, noted the day and hour, and returning to his country, knew that the aforesaid Abbot had died at the same time. I saw the same Abbot at Cologne, and he was a very secular man, more conformable to a soldier than a monk."[8]

Now we see by this that Cæsarius speaks of it as a fact, not mincing even the mention of names, a very common circumstance with him. And a drunken man having a hideous dream has nothing improbable about it. Doubtless this is the first and original story of the drunken pilgrim. Much interest therefore belongs to it in connection with the history of this picture, as here we have materials for giving it a date, in so far that it cannot be earlier. The schism or

[8] Cæsarii Heisterb.: Dialogus Miraculorum, Dist. 12, cap. xl.

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dispute between Otto and Philip lay between the years 1197-8, so that it inevitably carries the execution of it, at the very least, to the end of the century.

But to proceed. Near the Ladder stands a female soul, at whose hands a dog is jumping up with open mouth. A passage in one of Herolt's sermons, "De pœnis inferni, cxxv.," concerning the punishment of a lady for her sins in life, explains this completely. Dogs devoured her hands, because she says, "I stretched out my hands in giving to dogs those things which I ought to have given to the poor; that is to say, meat, cakes, and other things; and even I adorned them luxuriously with rings and gems." Close by the Ladder stands a large demon with cloven feet, having carried off an unhappy soul with a fork, and intimidating by cries and gestures those endeavouring to ascend. Behind him, above the lady just spoken of, is a group of two figures, conspicuously male and female, who are falling down backwards. The male figure carries a large horn, which the female also places her left hand upon, whilst in her right she holds out a coin to him. This is extremely difficult to solve satisfactorily, and I have not yet discovered the special story, which doubtless exists, for its interpretation. The horn is like the warder's in shape, or very similar to that sometimes seen in use by the gleemen or jongleur of the Middle Ages. The female is clearly offering money, not receiving it. Might it imply one in trust betraying that by female seduction? The way in which the woman lays one hand upon the horn, and offers money with the other, seems to show it is to get possession of it. Horns represented tenures, as that of Ulphus at York; may it not symbolize some betrayal of trust, or surrender of property of the church? It is a vague surmise, but it is the best I can offer.[9]

But one portion of this division now remains for description. At the extreme end a demon wolf, lying on its back, is tormenting the feet of a group of souls by biting at them. The figures represent dancers, for dancing seems to have been a most grave offence with the monkish satirists, and very numerous are the stories and the punishments inflicted on them for that sin. A figure falling down from

[9] The suggestion given in the account in the collections of the Surrey Archaeological Society is, I fear, still less satisfactory.

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above, and some faint indications of which nothing can be made out, complete this lower division.

The upper portion of the painting does not involve much difficulty. The subjects are known, but at the same time the correlation with each other are by no means of common occurrence. Over the "Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil" is the "Descent into Hell," and rude as the work is, it has far greater claims for its design than the majority of later productions. Christ, holding the cross with banner, symbol of victory, in his left hand, is moving forwards, trampling upon Satan, who is prostrate and manacled, and thrusting the point of the cross on his head, agreeably to the text: "The seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head." A number of figures all facing him appear as in acclamation: he takes Adam by the hand, and the female figure close by must be Eve. Hell is represented according to the usual convention as the jaw of a monster; *beneath* it are some flames of fire, representing Purgatory, out of which also a few figures are rising. An angel above, flying towards the Saviour, carries a scroll, significant of the fulfilment of the Prophecies or of the voice from Heaven: "Open ye gates, &c." There is another by the Ladder, also with a scroll, apparently introducing two figures, who ascend the ladder by the side, not in the usual way, representing the two patriarchs, Enoch and Elijah, who did not descend to Limbo, being translated to Heaven. On the other side of the ladder, above is an angel, bearing a small figure in his arms, the Penitent Thief, to Paradise or Heaven.

The authority for this explanation is chiefly found in the Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, but we must glance a little at mediæval theology on the subject as given in Herolt's "Sermones Discipuli de Tempore," cxlvi. As soon as the soul of Christ was separated from the body, it descended to the Limbo of the Patriarchs, and remained there from the hour of his death until the hour of his Resurrection, when he led forth the Patriarchs from Limbo, and on the day of his Ascension produced their souls in heaven. At the day of Christ's passion there were four receptacles of souls: the Hell of the damned; the Limbo of children who had died in original sin; Purgatory, from which he liberated those souls who were sufficiently purged of sin; the Limbo of the

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Patriarchs, the fourth and highest, into which he descended, broke and destroyed it, leading forth those who were therein imprisoned.

The Gospel of Nicodemus in the following passages describes this event, as from the sons of Simeon, Leucius, and Karinus :—"There suddenly appeared the golden glow of the sun and a purple ray of light shining upon us. And immediately the father of the human race with all the patriarchs exulted, saying, this light is the author of eternal light, &c. . . . There was suddenly a sound as of thunder, and a crying of spirits. Lift up your gates, ye princes, and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors, and the King of Glory shall come in, &c. . . . The Lord of Majesty came in the form of a man, and illuminated the eternal darkness, &c. . . . Then the King of Glory, in his majesty spurning death and seizing Satan, the prince, delivered him to the power of Hades, and drew Adam into his glory, &c. . . ." An altercation then takes place between Hades and Satan, in which the former, reproaching him, says, "O prince Satan, possessor of the keys of the Under-world, those thy riches which thou hast gained by the tree of prevarication,[1] and the loss of paradise, thou hast now lost by the tree of the cross." . . . Then he went to Paradise, holding the forefather Adam by the hand, and delivered him with all the righteous to the Archangel Michael. . . . On the way they meet with Enoch and Elijah, and also the Penitent Thief bearing his cross. In conversation with the latter, he informs them that the cross was the sign of his admission to Paradise, which, when shown, he was taken in by the Angel, and placed on the right hand. In the picture, as before said, the Angel is bearing him in his arms to the *right* of Heaven, as represented by the demi-figure of Christ within the wavy aureole. It is the same interpretation that mediæval art gives in the subject of the crucifixion, where the soul of the Penitent Thief is received by an Angel.

The subject of St. Michael weighing souls occupies the centre and greater part of the right side. It is in itself one of the most common representations found in our mediæval

[1] I here use the translation made by B. H. Cowper, which is, perhaps, in this case literal: but it clearly refers to the tree of the forbidden fruit, or the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil. The classic term "Hades" is used for "Inferus," and "Underworld" for "Inferi." For our purpose the familiar expression "Hell" in reference to this event is certainly better, though perhaps not so accurate. See "Apocryphal Gospel," by B. Harris Cowper. 1870.

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churches, and must have been popular everywhere, for Herolt, in his Sermon on the Angels, says, "that Michael the Archangel, has the office of weighing the merits and demerits of souls, according to the pictures which are the laity's books, that he may know which are full and which are empty: as Daniel says, 'Thou art weighed in the balance and art found wanting.'" Here St. Michael, in long tunic and mantle, holds the balance, opposite to him is a huge demon advancing, having bound at his back a large bundle of souls, and he is attempting to depress the scale, in which the demerits are placed, whilst the soul standing at the feet of the saint implores aid. A similar incident is also seen on the vaulting of St. Mary's, Guildford. But in later times another development took place, and was exceedingly popular, which I shall describe with the paintings recently discovered at South Leigh. Three female figures, being conducted by an Angel to the Ladder, seem as if they had passed the ordeal of the balance. The angel carries a tablet, the record of good deeds, whilst the purse, hanging at his girdle, is intended to indicate that he bears the alms-giving of the faithful. These must be the three Marys, associated as they are in the narrative of the Resurrection, and who play so important a part in the mediæval mysteries. Having already at some length treated of the great antiquity of "soul-weighing" in all the ancient oriental religious systems, I must refer to my account of this painting in the collections of the Surrey Archæological Society, vol. v., for further particulars. But I may here at least state that on the Egyptian Sarcophagus, in Sir John Soane's Museum, we absolutely have a representation of both "Soul-weighing" and the "Ladder to Heaven," which takes us back, in rough numbers, to 3,270 years from our time, 500 before Homer penned the Iliad, and 900 before Herodotus composed his history. A reverend antiquity indeed! Can we want a further proof of the value of preserving such records as these, when they thus illustrate so dark a passage in the history of human culture?

Before we leave this interesting painting, some few words are necessary upon its execution and date. It is to be remarked that, except in the few instances noted, there are no features given to the faces, nor are the divisions of fingers or toes indicated. This is not the result of any inability in the artist, for his flowing lines, the contrast of attitude shown

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on the ladder, and the general dexterity throughout would entirely disprove such a view. In fact, it is nothing more than a piece of art-writing: nothing is done but what is absolutely necessary to tell the story. The "Ladder" is an ancient ecclesiastical convention, but looking to the power exhibited of combining together a numerous collection of stories into his scheme of setting forth the struggle between vice and virtue, and future punishment and reward, none of the examples, which have come under my notice, can compare with the amount of thought that has been infused into this. In fact, the discovery of this painting has been a large addition to our knowledge of mediæval art.

As regards its date there are details that we are accustomed to attribute to the twelfth century. But this nevertheless is extremely vague, and must of necessity be so. Let it be understood, however, that before we leave that era, we cannot fix with certainty upon any distinctive style. It was an age of transition; between the earlier portion and the later some changes may be traced, but they are few; it is in the succeeding century that the onward progress of art is made manifest, and in that we lose the earlier conventional treatment. From the data already given, it is obvious that this work could not have been done previous to 1198, so we are brought at once to the end of the century. The early English style of the architecture of the church is also that of the same period. But we cannot, at any rate, place its execution many years later, and the few first of the thirteenth century would be the extreme to which we could be warranted. There can be little doubt that the artist was a monk, as none other could have received instruction in art, still less in the knowledge of the numerous monkish narratives which illustrate this picture. Moreover, it may not be a very wild suggestion to suppose, that he may have belonged to the same order as Cæsarius, whom he so often uses: otherwise one can hardly see how he would have become acquainted with his writings early enough to have made this use of them. The Cistercian Order was at this time in its highest repute all over Europe, and we may be sure that art was cultivated in its cloisters. Indeed Cæsarius gives us an account of a monk painter of the order, which is so interesting as illustrative of the practice of art in those times that I give an abstract from it:—"A certain monk of the Black Order, from the diocese

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of Mayence, died a few years ago. He was a good painter, and so devoted to our Order, that he painted, for nothing, crucifixions of wonderful beauty at several altars in many of our houses, only receiving his expenses. For our crucifixions he almost always made, not requiring any payment from us."[2] It would have been pleasant to have recorded the name of this early labourer in art, for without doubt his practice illustrates the mode in which our humblest churches were decorated during the middle ages. The Chaldon painting retains the evidences of the Greek ecclesiastical school, that was soon to give way to one of progress, which ended not until the whole system culminated in the sixteenth century, from which period there was a rapid decline.

We will now turn to the paintings in the church of Wisborough Green. These consisted of symbolic representations of the seven deadly sins, in which a figure is surrounded by figures of a dragon, which tortures each offending member of the body, wherein each sin is supposed to reside; and one of the Crucifixion, with remains of another subject above. There is something remarkable in the treatment of these latter subjects. The figure of Christ has a peculiarly shaped crown upon his head, which is intended to represent the crown of thorns, but is altogether dissimilar to those familiar to us in later art, being woven to form a triple-leaved tiara: it has the crossed nimbus, and the hair is long and flowing. The body is attenuated, the ribs being strongly marked, and the loins are covered with drapery hanging to the knees. The right side of the composition is gone, but there yet remains a portion of the head and arm of the Virgin Mary, upraised towards the head as in grief, and the spear and one leg of the soldier about to pierce the Saviour's side. On the left is a figure holding a jar or bottle in one hand, whilst with the other he holds up a sponge, but not upon a reed, according to the sacred text. St. John in a chasuble, crossing his hands upon his breast and holding a book beneath his arm, stands on the left of this figure; and lastly, comes that of the dying thief, but as this is on the left side of the Saviour, it must be the Impenitent Thief, Gestas, as he is called in legendary story.

This latter figure is very remarkable: instead of the arms extended upon the cross, which, I may observe, is but a con-

[2] Dialogus Miraculorum Distinctio, 8vo, cap. xxiv.

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tinuation of that of our Lord, a singular deviation from our ordinary conventions, they are placed over it, brought round in front, and tied with a rope or thong, the body being thus suspended. In ecclesiastical art the thieves are not shown as crucified in the same way as the Saviour,[3] and I cannot but think that we have here the popular influence of the Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, for its narrative has many points of agreement, and we must all remember, that the names of the thieves, Dismas and Gestas, as well as Longinus, the centurion who pierced our Lord's side, first occur in this gospel, and how completely mediæval art has accepted its narrative it is scarcely necessary to show. Now the Greek version, the earliest certainly to which we can refer, though not probably earlier than the fifth century, thus relates the event :—" And Jesus went out of the Prætorium, and the two malefactors with him ; and when they came to the place, they stripped him of his garments, and put about him a linen cloth, and they put a crown of thorns on him about his head. And they crucified him, and at the same time they *hanged* the two malefactors with him. . . . And the soldiers mocked him, coming and offering him vinegar and gall, &c." It is certain that this term " hanged " has been interpreted as a different mode of punishment, and has had a very common acceptation. The omission of the " reed," but offering the sponge with the hand may be referred to the same ; nevertheless, the reed and sponge have been associated among the instruments of the Passion long previous to the thirteenth century, to the first half of which this picture may be referred. The background is diapered, and the gable ends above the cross indicate the distant Jerusalem.

It is much to be regretted that a large portion of the subject which surmounts this is gone, yet we are, so far, fortunate that what remains is probably the most interesting. There is a small fragment of the figure of our Lord, showing the head with the crossed nimbus, and the left hand holding a cross, like that of an archbishop. Opposite to this is the figure of St. James, habited in a long tunic, over which is a mantle or cloak, having at the fastening a large escallop shell. He holds in his left hand a similar cross to that of Christ, and at his girdle hangs a large pouch or scrip, upon it, heraldically disposed, a cross patée between three escallops,

[3] There are, however, some exceptions.

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one and two. He is turning towards a group of figures, all habited as pilgrims, like himself, each with his bourdon or staff, an escallop upon his scrip, and wearing a slouched cap for the head, commonly used by peasants and wayfarers in early ages, and often seen in miniatures of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries. In fact, this cap, the "chapournet" of heraldry, forms the arms, variously differenced, of the great Lombard families of Capello or Capelletto, the Capulet of Verona, and of Shakspeare's "Romeo and Juliet."[4] The attitude of the saint's right hand shows that he is introducing these pilgrims to our Lord, now in the heavenly kingdom, and the indication of buildings above their heads is in accordance with the text, "in my Father's house there are many mansions." The wavy base, which separates the upper from the lower compartment, is to indicate the heavens.

It is obvious that we have here a subject quite away from our ordinary experience. That it has a special object and a special meaning cannot be doubted, for we must always bear in mind that ecclesiastical art never acknowledged the whim or fancy of the artist. We must seek directly for the interpretation in the legendary histories of St. James of Compostella, and of the celebrated shrine in the Spanish province of Galicia. Of all the shrines in Christendom, none exceeded this, not even that of Loretto. It is even possible that the very term pilgrim, in its religious sense, was first applied to one who had travelled to the shrine of St. James. For Dante, in his "Vita Nuova," makes a specific distinction, and only allows the name of pilgrim to him who went beyond seas as "to the House in Galicia." And the escallop-shell has become the badge of a pilgrim in a general sense, although truly it only belongs to the shrine of Compostella. For instance the effigy of the pilgrim at Ashby de la Zouch, Leicestershire, has the sign of St. James, *i. e.*, the escallop-shell, upon his cap and scrip. Also the arms of the Veronese family of Pellegrini, as given upon a tomb in the church of St. Anastasia, in Verona, is a pilgrim in full habit with the escallop upon his cap. In the Peninsula the importance of the shrine was immense. It was a received opinion

[4] Capello, capelletto, chapeau, *chapournet*, and our English cap, are synonymous terms, differing only in form by diminution and augmentation.

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that you must at one time make a pilgrimage thither, if not in body during life, then in spirit after death, and to those performing this good work, the Milky Way was said to be a guide by night, pointing as it were, in its starry course, the road to heaven.

> "Namque ferunt vivi qui non hæc templa patentes
> Invisunt, post fata illuc, et funeris umbras
> Venturos, manusque istud præstare beatis
> Lacte viam stellisque albam, quæ nocte serenâ
> Fulgurat, et longo designat tramite cœlum."
> *V. Bartholome Pereira, Paciecidos*, lib. vii. p. 117.

I have no doubt whatever, that the subject of this part of the painting has reference to an incident in the legendary account of the transportation of the body of St. James into Spain. It is much too long to give entire, but a short abstract from it will be sufficient for our purpose. "Whilst the ship was passing by a village in Portugal, a marriage festival was taking place, and the bridegroom was about to take part in the sport of throwing the cane. But his horse became ungovernable, and plunging into the sea, sank, yet soon arose again close to the ship, the knight's garments and the trappings of his horse being now covered with scallop-shells. Much astonished, seeing the disciples of the Apostle, he asked of them how he came there. 'Certes,' they replied, 'that Christ, through the merit of a certain servant of his, whose body they were transporting in that ship, had chosen to manifest his power upon him.' The knight then seeks to know who Christ is, and is forthwith instructed. He then addressed them thus: 'Friends and Sirs, you who have served Christ and his holy Apostle, ask him to show for what purpose he has put these scallop-shells upon me, because so strange a marvel cannot have been wrought without some great mystery.' With that the disciples prayed, and afterwards heard a voice from heaven, which said unto the knight, 'Our Lord Christ has thought good to show by this act all persons present and to come, who may choose to love and serve this his servant, and who shall go to visit him when he shall be interred, that they take with them from thence other such scallop-shells as these with which thou art covered as a seal of privilege, confirming that they are his, and will be so from that time

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forward. And he promises that afterwards in the day of the Last Judgment they shall be recognised of God for his, and that because of the honours which they have done to this his servant and friend, in going to visit him and to venerate him, he will receive them into his glory and his Paradise.'"[5]

The application of this legend to our painting is not difficult. Its teaching is to show that all who go to the shrine of the apostle, and there worship the friend and servant of our Lord, will be received by him into the heavenly kingdom. So we see the saint himself introducing his faithful followers to Christ in Paradise, all bearing the distinguishing sign of the escallop-shell. Those parts, now gone, might have given us still further interesting details, but I feel that we have preserved, that which is the most important. It is worth while now to ask, how so curious a subject should be found in England? I think the answer is, that this work must have been suggested by one who had returned from a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James. The cross and escallops on the scrip of the figure of St. James are disposed in an heraldic fashion, and might be the arms of some family. In Spain there are many who claim descent from the knight of the legend, and whose arms contain escallops. That of Ribadineira adds also a cross, as in the figure of St. James. It may be that some research into the family history of the county might help us in this inquiry.

Let us now proceed to the consideration of the paintings discovered at South Leigh, Oxfordshire, during a recent restoration of the church. Having seen a long notice of this discovery in one of the papers, with an intimation, however, that they had been restored, and finding that photographs could be had by application to the Rev. G. Moultrie, the incumbent, I at once wrote for them. With them came a description, which, unfortunately not being written by one acquainted with the principles of ecclesiastical art, had of necessity some errors. The misinterpretation which will invariably follow when this is the case, has led, in one instance, to a false restoration, wherein the original painting was obscure. With this exception, after giving the photographs a close inspection, I believe, as Mr. Moultrie

[5] Quoted by Southey in his notes to the "Pilgrim to Compostella."

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has told me, that the restoration was effected line for line; always remembering, however, even to do this thoroughly requires the operator to be acquainted with the conventions, if he would avoid error; and it is easy to suppose you follow a line when, nevertheless, you may be deviating in some details of importance. It would have been far more interesting, in an archæological point of view, could we have had photographs previous to any retouching.

It is not often we get so much out of one church, and I am informed that the paintings now preserved had been covered by others of a subsequent date. They consist of the "Resurrection," or rather of the "Last Judgment," "St. Michael weighing Souls," without doubt the most important example yet discovered; the figures of St. Clement of Rome, and a symbolic representation of the Virgin Mary. These last are the latest in date, belonging to quite the latter part of the fifteenth century. The arrangement of the subjects places the "Last Judgment" over the chancel arch, its usual position, carrying also a portion of it on to the south wall of the nave, and on to the corresponding wall of the arcade of the north aisle. Beneath this is a highly decorated diaper, composed of foliage with birds interspersed —probably parrots, as has been well suggested in allusion to the name of Perrot, a family who lived at North Leigh, and who may have been at the cost of the work. The large painting of St. Michael, &c., measuring 11 ft. by 10 ft., occupies the space between a window on the south wall and the south entrance.

With this latter I will commence the description. The figure of St. Michael, with wings above displayed, is habited in a closely fitting embroidered jupon, the arms and legs in plumose scales, a convention in very common use in the representation of the Heavenly Host in the fifteenth century; his mantle is fastened by a morse on the breast; in his right hand he holds the balance, in his *left* he brandishes aloft a sword. In the scale on his right is a half-draped figure of a soul kneeling on one knee with hands conjoined in prayer; in that of his left side is a demon blowing a horn, a frequent convention; another sits upon the end of the beam to weigh it down; another with wings is flying downwards with an instrument of torment, as if to render assistance. This end of the scale hangs over the open jaws of Hell, in which other

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demons are aiding with a hook or rope attached to the scale in order to depress it. On the other side stands the figure of the Virgin Mary, with long golden hair and crowned, having over her gown a super-tunic, and a mantle richly embroidered with stars of heraldic fashion; she stands upon a crescent moon, twelve stars are said to be above her head, and in her left hand she holds a rosary. The whole is richly framed within a border of foliated ornament, and the background of the subject is diapered with round spots.

I have described this subject as it is now restored by Messrs. Burlison and Grylls; but there are details here so utterly inadmissible that I wrote to Mr. Moultrie, and correcting the appropriation of the subject, told him I was sure that the moon was a mistake, that there were no stars above the head, for had they been so intended they must have been in the form of a corona, and not following the lines of the diaper. That the figure of the soul kneeling on one knee and partially draped, were both against accepted conventions; that the rosary in the hand of the Virgin should rest upon the end of the balance; and that details of ornament had been introduced not in accord with the period. I received a very courteous reply, admitting that the portion I had spoken of was originally obscure and indistinct, and a diagram was enclosed to indicate the part, which was one corner, comprising the lower half of the figure of the Virgin. But my informant said that they certainly were stars, twelve in number overhead, and that the rosary did not rest on the balance.

I do not for one moment question the good faith of this statement, nevertheless my experience tells me how easy it is to glide into error in matters of this kind, with the full conviction of your truthfulness. In point of fact, a close examination shows me that these are not stars at all, but a form of diaper, and that it was not continued throughout must be referred to one of those accidents of which there are many analogies. Then, as to the rosary, it is a matter of two or three short lines, which, if obscured, would have naturally been omitted by a restorer with no special knowledge for his guidance. Indeed, the rosary resting upon the end of the beam is essential to the story. It weighs down the balance; it is the opposing force in opposition to that of the demons on the opposite side. The

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examples we have had of the subject are too numerous to admit of any doubt on this matter. Two have been discovered during the last few years in the adjoining county of Buckinghamshire.

In all cases of the latter class the incident is evidently the same, and the intent is obviously to show the efficacy of invocation to the Virgin Mary. The story, to which it must be referred, belongs to a large class, of which compilations exist, not only in the Latin, but in most of the vernacular dialects of Europe. Possibly our English examples were destroyed at the Reformation. Many of the stories are of very great antiquity, but I know of no compilation earlier than the twelfth century. In that beautiful MS. volume called Queen Mary's Psalter, in the British Museum, there are many marginal illustrations of these miracles of the Virgin. Among them that of the Pious Painter and the Pious Thief, of which Southey made an amusing paraphrase. But in the Lady Chapel at Winchester Cathedral is a very large series of subjects, now almost obliterated, including the last mentioned and a number of others of singular curiosity, a full account of which I gave in 1845.[6] Many of them have a similar tendency, showing that, however great the sinner, the power to save is in the hands of the Virgin Mary. It is to one of this kind that this painting belongs, and it refers to an Italian usurer, a hated class, whose evil deeds were on the point of weighing down the scale. Whereupon the Virgin Mary appears and certifies that he ever invoked her, saying his "Ave Maria," and casting her rosary upon the beam she restored the balance in favour of the guilty soul. A story of much greater antiquity, but of a similar tendency, occurs in the Golden Legend under the head of the Assumption. It is too long to give entire, but it is of a knight who had made a compact with Satan, for large sums of money, to deliver up his wife. She being devoted to the Virgin Mary, the latter takes her place, and the demon is discomfited. He then claims the man's soul, and a long altercation takes place, when the matter is referred to the supreme Judge. The story takes somewhat of a dramatic form, after the fashion of the ancient moralities. Two characters are introduced, Truth and Justice. After much dispute, our Lord commands that the scales

[6] See Winchester volume of the British Archaeological Association.

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should be brought, and all the good and evil deeds weighed. But Truth and Justice said to the sinner, "Recur with thy whole mind to the Mother of Mercy, who sits beside the Lord, and endeavour to invoke her to thine aid." Which when he had done, the Blessed Mary came to his assistance, and placed her hand upon the balance, and that part wherein were but few good works. Also the devil on his side endeavoured to draw it down. But the Mother of Mercy prevailed and liberated the sinner. The above story is conceived entirely in the same spirit, but it has not the later development of the rosary. In the painting discovered at Lenham, in Kent, the rosary is distinctly lying upon the end of the beam, and I cannot doubt but that it was so here. In point of fact were it not, there would be no obvious meaning in the introduction of the figure of the Virgin, nor in the rosary in her hand; nor should we have the reason of the beam being depressed on that side in favour of the soul. An operator not knowing these facts would be sure to err, as he would naturally argue that perspective demanded that the beam should be in front of the rosary. Whatever view may be entertained on the subject of restorations, it is certain that none should ever be undertaken without a record of the previous state.

On examination of the painting over the chancel-arch one is at once impressed with the fact of all the upper portion being gone, for it is the "Last Judgment," not the "Resurrection," which does not occur as a separate subject. The depressed roof at once explains this, for when this was substituted for one of a higher pitch it must have cut off all the upper part, which contained the figures of our Lord, the Virgin Mary, St. John the Baptist, &c. What now remains is but the base of the picture, representing two angels descending on either side sounding trumpets; that on the right is clothed in white, that on the left is in the dark raiment of sadness or of mourning, and figures of the dead arising from their graves. Of those on the right, some cast their eyes upwards towards, what would have been, had the painting been complete, the figure of our Lord in judgment. Some look towards the right, where is shown the heavenly Jerusalem, with St. Peter guarding its gates. On the left side a large group bound around with a coil are being urged onwards by demons to the mouth of Hell. Above, the forms

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rising from the graves, are in attitudes of despair; one, a female with long hair, covers her face with her hands. As is usual, the mediæval artist never fails to represent all orders of society. Kings and queens, mitred prelates, monks with the shaven crown, as well as laymen; he is most impartial, equally distributing them on the right, as on the left. Eighteen naked figures rising from their graves represent the saved. Among them a king and queen, a Pope in his tiara, a bishop in his mitre, a monk with the tonsure, a merchant with the cap of maintenance. Above them a scroll inscribed "Venite, benedicti Patris mei" ("Come, ye blessed of my Father"). On the south side of the chancel-arch the lost are represented. In the upper part of the painting three figures rise from their graves weeping and lamenting. The group of the condemned contains twelve figures:—among them a king, a queen, a noble, a monk, and a bishop. Above the painting is a scroll containing the words "Discedite, maledicti" ("Depart, ye cursed"). By the latter group, on the ground, is Satan in the form of a serpent in many a coil. The photograph does not show the Heavenly Jerusalem, as it is not on the same plane, but on the return wall of the arcade. But, from the printed description sent to me, it seems to show a very usual convention. St. Peter holding the keys is habited in a black cope with morse, behind is an open archway with groined roof in a castellated building; over the battlements of which are seen angels with outspread wings, and the spires of the Heavenly Jerusalem in the background.

Without doubt we have here a very remarkable relic of mediæval art. There is a great deal of power shown in the expression of the various figures, which reminds us, though at a distance, of some of the work in the Campo Santo at Pisa. The subject of "Soul Weighing," just described, is properly a part of the Doom, and is very frequently represented in the sculptures at the west front of cathedrals on the continent, as at Notre Dame, Paris, Amiens, &c., but here it is separate and constitutes a supplement. In fact with its special treatment it is always distinct in our churches after the thirteenth century.

The other subjects have no importance. They are late examples of the fifteenth century, and by no means of the best work of that time. The figure of St. Clement of Rome

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is beneath a canopy, attired as a Pope in chasuble, dalmatic, alb, stole, amice, and the triple tiara. His right hand is in the act of benediction, and pendant from his wrist is an anchor, the symbol of his martyrdom. In his left hand he holds the triple-formed cross. It is an ungainly and ill-designed figure. The waved lines beneath represent sea.

Under a similar canopy is a representation of the Virgin Mary, holding a lily, and the dove, symbol of the Holy Ghost, is descending upon her. It would not be correct to call this "The Annunciation," as none other of the accompaniments exist, and there is no relation shown to any other figure, as, for instance, the Angel Gabriel. It is in fact a symbolic representation, like that of St. Clement. It is of the same character and age, and not much better than the other figure in its execution.

The date of the "Last Judgment" and that of "Soul Weighing" cannot be before the fifteenth century, and the details of the angel in the latter are precisely similar to the treatment observed in the sculptured figures of the Heavenly Host in the Beauchamp Chapel, in St. Mary's, Warwick. When we commend the care which has preserved these works, one would like to impress upon all to whom such office pertains, that the value of them depends entirely upon their illustration of the past. As works of art they tell us nothing, and when restored their value is lessened, because we lose the testimony they would otherwise present.

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NOTES ON VESTIGES OF ROMAN WORKINGS FOR COPPER IN ANGLESEY.

By the Hon. WILLIAM OWEN STANLEY, F.S.A., M.P.

OUR knowledge as to the ancient working for copper at Amlwch, Parys Mountain, is so slight, that we can affirm nothing more than that ancient workings are or were to be found, with large boulders from the sea-shore, bearing traces of having been used as pounding stones. Some of these are notched or grooved round the centre, for the purpose of fastening handles to them, bound probably with twigs or sinews. Charcoal also was found in abundance, which marks the way in which the mineral was detached, as described by Tacitus. The early workers first heated the rock, then cast water upon it, after which they easily detached the ore with stone hammers.

That copper was exported from Anglesey previously to the landing of the Romans, is hardly to be doubted. That the mineral wealth of Anglesey, in a great measure, tempted the Romans to establish themselves in Mona, may indeed be argued with a fair probability of truth. Positive evidence that the Parys mines had been actually worked by the Romans was, however, wanting, until recent discoveries occurred. It is true that a cake of copper had been found with a Roman inscription,—SOCIO ROMÆ,—but heretofore it was uncertain whether, as repeatedly stated, it was discovered at Caerhun, near Conway, or as other authorities lead us to conclude, at Aberfraw.

In 1871, however, a man discovered four cakes of copper on the north-west side of Parys Mountain, and Mr. T. F. Evans, the intelligent lessee of the Marquis of Anglesey's portion of the Mona mine, got possession of them. They are all of the same circular shape, each cake weighing about 29 lb. 6 oz., measuring 12 in. in diameter at the top, and 2 in. in thickness. One of these cakes, in my possession, which was given to me by Mr. Evans, has, on a

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circular stamp, the letters—IVLS—and, as if to make up a certain fixed weight, there are three dabs of copper, one over the other, each having been stamped with the same letters. May we not conjecture that this was a tribute cake of a prescribed weight?

The copper is pure and soft; not having undergone the process of refining, as used at present. The ancients had not the same powers of the furnace and blast that are now employed.

The earliest discovery on record of a *massa*, or cake, of copper in Anglesey, occurred about 1640. This cake, now at the seat of Lord Mostyn, at Mostyn, Flintshire, was first noticed by the learned Edward Lhwyd, keeper of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, in his additions relating to Wales, given in the edition of Camden's "Britannia," by Bishop Gibson.[1]

Pennant, in the course of his tour in 1770, visited Mostyn, and he mentions, amongst the valuable antiquities there brought together by the late Sir Thomas Mostyn,[2] the cake of copper stated to have been found at Caer-hên; he notices it again in his "Observations on Mining in Roman times."[3] Pennant describes the mass as found at Caer-hên, the ancient *Conovium*, and probably smelted from one of the Snowdon Hills, where of late years much had been got. It is in shape, he says, of a cake of bees-wax; on the upper part is a deep concave impression with the words SOCIO ROMÆ; across, there is impressed obliquely, in lesser letters, NATSOL. I cannot explain it, Pennant observes, unless NAT stands for *natio*—the people who paid this species of tribute, and SOL for *solvit;* that being the stamp-master's mark. These cakes might be bought up by a merchant resident in Britain, and consigned to his partner at Rome.[4] The weight is

[1] The first edition of Bishop Gibson's "Camden" was published in 1695; the second, most frequently cited, appeared in 1722, in two vols. folio. See vol. ii. p. 802, and the engraving by Kip, p. 831, where the cake is very inaccurately figured. See also the edition by Gough, vol. ii. p. 588.

[2] Pennant, "Tour in Wales," vol. i. pp. 11, 63, pl. ix. The place where it was found, namely, at Aberfraw, and not, as affirmed by Pennant, at Caer-hên, appears by a letter from Lhwyd, in 1693, to Richard Mostyn, at Pembedw, Flintshire, on the authority of Mr. Davies of Newburgh, Anglesey. It came into the hands of Owen Wood of Rhosmon, and was presented by him to Archbishop Williams, by whom it was given to Lady Mostyn. See also Angharad Llwd's Hist. of Mona, p. 181, where the erroneous account of the find having been at Conovium is corrected.

[3] Ibid, p. 63.

[4] See also the remarks by Dr. M'Caul, of Toronto, one of our most learned authorities in Roman epigraphy. Britanno-Roman inscription, pp. 228, 279.

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42 lb., diameter of upper part 11 in., thickness in the middle $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pennant accompanies this account with a more accurate representation of the *massa*, and a profile to show the thickness.[5] In his account of copper mines on Parys Mountain, Pennant observes that "it is certain that the Romans were the undertakers of these mines," and it is very probable that they sent the ore to Caer-hên to be smelted, the place where "the famous cake of copper" was discovered.[6] "They might likewise have had a smelting hearth in this island (Anglesea), for a round cake of copper was discovered at Llanvaethlle, a few miles from this place (Parys Mountain). Its weight was 50 lbs., and it had on it a mark resembling an L." Lewis, Topog. Dict., gives the weight as 54 lbs., and says that it was found in 1757. Charcoal and scoria of copper are often ploughed up.

The second cake was found about 1840, at Cery Ddwi, a farm of Sir R. Bulkeley's, in Llangwyllog, Anglesey. It is circular in form, and weighs 35 lb. $15\frac{1}{2}$ oz.; it measures 13 in. in diameter, 2 in. in thickness; it has no mark stamped upon it. Sir R. Bulkeley gave it to me. The third was found in 1827, at a farm called Cefn in Llanbeulan, Anglesey; it weighs 30 lb. 8 oz., the diameter is $12\frac{1}{4}$ in., the thickness 2 in. This cake has a dab of copper on the top, as if to make up some deficiency in the weight; it has no inscription or mark upon it. This object belongs to Mr. Turner, of Plas Brereton, Caernarvon. There is a tumulus called Byn Gola near the spot at which it was found.

In 1869, three cakes of copper were found at Castellor by a labourer; one was broken up and sold; the Rev. W. Wynn Williams and the Rev. Hugh Prichard obtained the other two. They are figured in the Archæologia Cambrensis. One of these cakes weighs 49 lb., the other 34 lb. The first measures in diameter at the top, 13 in., at the bottom 10 in., and 2 in. to $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. in thickness. The second measures in diameter 11 in. at the top, 10 in. at the bottom, and 2 in. to $2\frac{3}{8}$ in. in thickness.[7]

There is mention of a cake being found at Llanfaethlu, and of another at Llenfairynghormy, which was unfortunately

[5] Pl. ix. at p. 63—this may have been drawn by Moses Griffith, a draughtsman mentioned by Pennant as his "worthy servant."

[6] Vol. ii. p. 165.

[7] Arch. Camb. Fourth series, vol. ii. p. 57.

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smelted at Amlwch. It was stated that it had the letter—L—marked upon it. Of these two *massæ* no traces can now be found.

It does not appear that the Romans worked to any depth; the process used by them was mostly surface-working, as the ore thus obtained is usually more carbonaceous, and easier to smelt, than the deep-seated ores, which require all the present appliances of art and skill to reduce them to metal.

A LIST OF COPPER CAKES FOUND IN ANGLESEY.

1. Found, as reported by Pennant, at Caerhên in Caernarvonshire, but since that time the statement by Lhwyd, in Camden's Britannia, edit. by Bishop Gibson, and the notices by Miss Angharad Llwyd have shown that it was found near Aberfraw, in Anglesey; it is now at Mostyn, in the possession of Lord Mostyn; bears a Roman inscription, "Socio Romæ;" weighs 42 lb.; diameter at the top, 11 in.; 2¾ in. thick.

2. Found about 1850, at Cerig Ddewi, Llangwyllog Parish, Anglesey—a farm of Sir R. Bulkeley, Bart., and now in my possession, having been presented to me by Sir R. Bulkeley; weight 35 lb. 15½ oz.; diameter, 13 in.; 2 in. thick; saucer shaped; no mark upon it.

3. In the possession of Thos. Turner, Esq., Caernarvon; found at a farm called Cefn, in Llanbenter, Anglesey, near Aberfraw; weighs 30 lb. 8 oz.; has a bunch of copper on the upper side; measures 12¼ in. diameter; 2 in. thick; saucer shaped; no mark; found in 1827.

4. Three cakes, found at Castellor in 1869 by a labourer. One was broken up; two saved; one in the possession of the Rev. Hugh Prichard, of Dinan; the other the Rev. W. Wynn Williams, Menaifron, described in Cambr. Arch., 4th series, vol. i., p. 67. One cake, 13 in. diameter at top, 10 in. bottom; 2 in. thick; weight, 49 lb. The other, 11 in. diameter at top, 10 in. at the bottom; thickness, average 2 in.; weight, 34 lb. This find occurred in Llanburlog Parish.

5. Three cakes, found at Bryndu, near Amlwch, weight 29 lb. 6 oz.; 12 in. diameter; 2 in. thick. Two of them had letters—I V L S—in a circular die; the other, none. The bunch of metal on the top, supposed to be from the slow flow of metal from the furnace, not to make up weight, as had been supposed; once cold, the freshly molten metal would not adhere.

W. O. S.

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ON THREE COPPER CAKES FOUND AT BRYNDU, NEAR THE RHOS GOCH RAILWAY STATION, IN THE PARISH OF AMLWCH, ANGLESEY.

By THOMAS F. EVANS, of Amlwch, Anglesey.

FEW subjects have been discussed more warmly or more frequently by those who have devoted their attention to the mining interests of the county of Anglesey, than the question whether the island for the whole or a great portion of its extent forms a fair field for exploration, or may be regarded as having the whole of its metalliferous wealth concentrated in the great orey districts which have been worked for so many years at the Parys Mountain. The arguments on one side have usually been of a negative character. Those who support the theory that, with the single exception of the extensive mines referred to, the island may, from an economic point of view, be designated non-metalliferous, assert in confident terms that had lodes or deposits of value existed they would certainly before this have been discovered, in a district in which so many intelligent and able miners have spent so much time in examination and so much money in trials. Those who maintain, on the other hand, that there is in all probability a great mining future in store for Anglesey, point out the numerous *backs* or outcrops of lodes which traverse the country, and cite instances in Cornwall and elsewhere in which wide areas containing ore in two rich mines were for ages condemned as otherwise utterly barren, and have subsequently developed into the busiest centres of mining industry. The explorations made here and there are, as they say, mere surface scratchings; no company of sufficient means and permanency has as yet undertaken the development of the numerous lodes which may be traced upon the surface, and it is, they assert, totally at variance with the observations of the most experienced miners that a district, which has been proved to contain such enormous masses of ore, should be rich at

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one point only. They seldom fail, moreover, to strengthen their case by referring to the numerous remains of mining operations which have from time to time been discovered, and they assert that mines which were worked by the ancients have rarely proved unsuccessful when resumed in modern times. However interesting the discussion may be, and however important an enquiry into the general question at issue, we are forced now to confine ourselves to the consideration of the archæological point advanced as an argument in the controversy. We turn to it with pleasure. Modern mining, by laying open ancient workings in the Isle of Anglesey, has discovered a field of enquiry full of interest to the archæologist, and it is possible that a review of certain discoveries recently made, which throw some light upon the mining knowledge and the metallurgical processes of the ancients, may be in time of some slight service to the mining engineer of our own days. The writer therefore hopes that the remarks which he proposes to make on the subject, and more especially on the recent discovery which has elicited them, will prove of interest to the practical miner as well as to the archæologist to whom they are specially addressed.

About two years ago I received by post, from the Rev. W. Wynn Williams, of Menaifron, in Anglesey, a small piece of metallic copper, broken, as he told me, from a mass which he had been so fortunate as to buy from the finder—a peasant living near Ty Croes Railway station. I saw that it was coarse and unrefined copper, but owing to the smallness of the morsel and its battered condition, I could not say with certainty whether the fragment was from a specimen of native copper or the result of metallurgical treatment of copper ore. Some time afterwards, when at Menaifron, I saw one of the pieces of copper from which the fragment sent to me was broken, and I then perceived at once that it was a round cake of smelted copper. The cakes of which this was one have since been described in an interesting memoir by the Rev. Hugh Prichard, in the "Archæologia Cambrensis," fourth series, vol. ii., p. 57. With very slight modifications, the description there given by him of these cakes may be taken as supplying a good general idea as to the form and size of those which the writer has now the good fortune to bring into notice.

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On the 22nd of June, 1871, a countryman came to my house and asked to see me; on being told that I was not at home he left a small piece of copper. On my return I found at once that it was a portion of a cake similar to the one which I had seen at Menaifron; and being anxious to save any others that the man might have discovered from the battering process which had procured for him that piece, I went to his cottage early next day. He told me that he had found three round cakes of the metal. One of these he had smashed with a pick, in order to see what it was made of; the other two he produced in the condition in which they were found. I soon bargained with him for the three, and in a very short time was at home cleaning the specimens that were in perfect condition, and putting together the pieces of the broken one. After some time spent in this operation I found that one of the undamaged cakes and the broken one bore, in characters of unmistakeable distinctness, the letters—I V L S—which had evidently been stamped upon the hot metal while it was soft by means of a circular die, and I perceived that the find was not much less valuable than that of the famous cake of Caerhun. I informed the Hon. W. O. Stanley and the Rev. W. W. Williams of the discovery thus made, and have been urged by these gentlemen to write a few remarks upon the cakes and the manner of finding them. I have not, however, had leisure until lately to comply with their request.

The cake which bears the most distinct impression of the letters is in the possession of the Lord-lieutenant of the county, the Hon. W. O. Stanley, M.P.; the two others I have presented to the British Museum. The accompanying engraving is a beautiful and truthful representation of the first.

The distinctness of the lettering is not in the least exaggerated, while the pimply appearance of the surface is shown with admirable exactness. The upper impression is made upon a hunch, a portion of which appeared to have been flattened down upon the tops of the letters L and S. The broken cake bears a similar hunch, which is stamped in the same way, but not so distinctly, while the second entire cake has neither hunch nor stamp upon the surface. On examining the spot in which these cakes were discovered I found, by the impression still remaining, that they had lain

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obliquely one upon another, like thrown quoits, and that their upper edges must have been almost level with the surface of the soil. I examined the place carefully, in the

Copper Cake, found at Bryndu, Anglesey.

hope of being able to find the marks of ancient smelting in the shape of slags or cinders, but failed to discover any indications that the cakes had been smelted on the spot. I am, however, strongly of the opinion that the furnace or furnaces in which they were produced could not have been far away.

There are ancient mine workings only a few score of yards to the south of the spot, close to the road leading from Pengarnedd to Gareglefn; and I am told that a man, when raising

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stones a few years ago in a quarry in the same place or small field, collected a bag full of rich portions of yellow copper ore. There is also a tradition in the neighbourhood that important mines once existed there, and I was told by the tenant, that in comparatively recent times, application had been made to the landlord by several parties who were anxious to obtain permission to explore the ground and take a mineral lease of the property. About twenty years ago copper ore, in sufficient quantity to be sent to Amlwch to be smelted, was raised on the land of "Four Crosses" farm, a few hundred yards on the other side; and the cutting of the Anglesey railway, a little to the north of Rhosgoch station, lays bare a very pretty little string of the same ore. The recurrence of the ore in the neighbouring rocks, and the existence of traces of ancient mine workings in such close proximity, make it almost a matter of certainty that the ore from which the cakes were produced was reduced *in situ*. Each cake formed, doubtless, the whole charge of the furnace in which it was melted, and they have every appearance of having been run out at so low a heat that the latter portion flowed into the receiving mould with difficulty; from which we may infer that the furnace and its accompaniments were of very simple and primitive construction as compared with those employed by the smelters of our days. The *modus operandi* must have resembled closely the processes practised in the present time by some of the natives of certain parts of Asia, and it may reasonably be inferred that the treatment of the ores, prior to the commencement of the metallurgical process, was something similar. Dr. Percy, in his great work on copper smelting, observes: "In tracing the history of a metallurgic art nothing is more striking than the gigantic scale of operation in the present day as compared with that of ancient times. But in some cases no progress has been made, and smelting processes are carried on just as they appear to have been at their commencement. The principles, however, upon which many of these processes have been founded, and the manipulations practised, have remained substantially the same in all ages." It is, therefore, highly probable that the descriptions he gives of the modes of smelting now practised by the natives of Sikkim, Himalaya, and Singhana, in India, give a good idea of the smelting processes anciently carried on in Anglesey, with the only

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difference that the Anglesey smelter of the Roman period worked on a larger scale than the modern Asiatic. At Sikkim the ore raised was copper pyrites; the vein stone was loosened by means of fire setting, and afterwards broken up with the hammer and gad. The ore was separated as much as possible from the adhering rock, and then pounded down with a heavy stone mallet, another stone serving as a "knockstone," a term still used for blocks of cast iron serving a similar purpose, on the centre of which, after each blow, the ore was swept together. The ore when pounded was washed in small tyes, and then taken to the furnace. The furnace was formed of a sandy clay, and consisted of a shallow square cavity. The bellows, of which there were two, were seamless bags of goatskin, and formed the skin of the body and fore limbs of the animal. The mouth of the bag was gathered in so as to leave a small opening only, and was worked by a boy, who by alternately loosening and tightening his grasp, as he raised and depressed the bag, produced an effectual though intermittent blast. Charcoal was the only fuel used. The metal *regulus* thus obtained was pounded and kneaded with cow-dung into small balls, which were dried in the sun and then roasted in a shallow furnace. The roasted metal was then refined in the furnace in which the ore had been fused, the result being a cake of copper weighing four to five pounds, and a slag which was subjected to no further treatment. The ore treated at Singhana was also copper pyrites, with a matrix of quartz; it was powdered, mixed with cow-dung, and kneaded into sausage-shaped pieces; these were sun-dried and roasted in circular heaps. The ore was then smelted in a small furnace, with charcoal as fuel, the necessary blast being produced by the goatskin bellows, in form like those described before. Four persons were employed at each furnace, perhaps a man with his wife and two children, who received for their united services ten rupees (about twenty shillings English) per month.[1] Blast furnaces were the only means used in Britain for smelting copper until about the middle of the eighteenth century, when they appear to have been superseded by the reverberating furnaces now employed in the great smelting establishments of South Wales and Liverpool. Whether they were introduced by the Romans or were

[1] Percy's Metallurgy, p. 392, *et seq.*

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previously known to the inhabitants of Britain it is impossible to decide with certainty, but as the British Celts had bronze weapons and ornaments, which could hardly have been manufactured from the small quantities of native copper which may have been found near the surface in our own country, we have every reason for believing that the art of reducing copper ore by blast furnaces was practised by the Britons before the time of the Roman invasion.[2] It is not likely, however, that bronze was sufficiently plentiful at any period in those early times to enable the miner to use it in his arduous operations. Indeed we have ample proofs in the rounded shore stones found so abundantly in and near ancient workings, and which have evidently been used in breaking and pounding the ore, and also in the absence of any kind of tool, that they were the only implements then employed in attacking the rock.

The ores of Anglesey are found almost exclusively in quartz-ore rocks of extreme hardness, so that their raising and the treatment they underwent, before being subjected to the heat of a furnace, must consequently in ancient times have been operations of a most laborious and tedious nature. The setting was probably the only means of detaching the rock, by which labour was to some extent economised, and the raising the ores slightly facilitated; but, as it was necessary to make preparatory excavations, in order to adopt this process with any degree of advantage, and as the pieces of rock thus disengaged would be of large size, and would, therefore, require breaking up and dressing to suit the requirements of the smelter, we may conclude that, in the absence of tools of iron and steel, to which it would have been a useful auxiliary, not much assistance was obtained by the application of heat to the rock.[3] As the copper ores, moreover, consist almost entirely of copper pyrites,

[2] For moulds for casting celts, spear-heads, arrow-heads, &c, found in Anglesey, see Arch. Journal, vol. iii. p. 257; Arch. Cambr., third series, vol. ii. pp. 126, 128. The British traded with the Belgæ, exported copper and iron, &c.—W. O. S.

[3] Fire setting.—At Fahlun, in Sweden, "fires are kindled in different parts of the mine every Saturday, about noon, which continue burning the whole of Saturday night and all Sunday, with a view to soften the rocks and facilitate their being wrought for ore. Gunpowder was formerly used for blasting, but this is now applied sparingly, it being the opinion of the most experienced men in Fahlun, that a judicious application of the two methods succeeds better than either of them alone; for, as blasting by gunpowder always leaves a certain number of irregular projections in the rocks, the subsequent process of applying fire to these irregularities tends to soften them and expedite the fall of the ore." Kenwood on the Metalliferous Deposits, vol. i.

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with a highly silicious matrix—a class of ore which requires a difficult and complicated metallurgical treatment for smelting—the smelting again must have been no less laborious than the mining and dressing. Small as these cakes under consideration are, it must consequently, at the period to which they belong, have been a work almost of incredible labour to produce them. The application of gunpowder to the blasting of rocks, the use of iron and steel tools, and the marvellous power brought to bear on modern mining operations, through the steam engine, and the results obtained by these agencies, are now so familiar, and so much a matter of course to all, that I fear it will not be easy to appreciate adequately the difficulties experienced by the miners and metallurgists who smelted these pieces of copper. Assuming that the ore from which they were reduced contained the same per-centage of copper as the ores raised in Anglesey in modern times, it was necessary, in order to produce one of these cakes, that no less than a ton of the dry rock should be raised, and that that quantity should be brought into a condition suitable for smelting, by bruising into a fine state, and careful picking, and probably by a subsequent washing.

It may convey some idea of the arduous nature of the miner's work in hard silicious rocks, to state, that in Mona mine six able miners, working steadily for one month in the hard rocks, in which the ores mostly occur, can advance no more than six feet in a level driven seven feet high by five feet wide. This gives a solid content of 210 cubic feet, and a weight of about 15 tons of rock disengaged during that time; 1100 steel borers would be blunted, and 70 lb. of the best blasting powder consumed. The rocks are usually devoid of joints or lines of cleavage, which might facilitate their working by means of the pick and the wedge, and it seems almost impossible that any other means than that of boring and blasting could successfully be brought to bear upon them.

The ancient miners, who used stone hammers and wedges, in the course of constant practice must have acquired a certain skill in the use of the primitive tools; but, after making every allowance for their rude skill, and taking into consideration that their operations were confined to the upper portions of the lodes, where the rocks are to some degree softened by the action of the atmosphere, the raising

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of a quantity of ore, sufficient to produce one of the cakes, must have been a work of enormous labour, and must have employed a large number of men for a very long time. Engineers of the present day make calculations of the amount of work done by a man under different modes in which he exerts his muscular power. Tables thus made show that, with the machines now in common use, a difference in the principles of their construction, and in the manner of applying the muscular power, makes a very great but easily estimated difference in the amount of useful work performed; for instance, a man raising water from a well with a windlass performs 2560 units of useful work, while the same man working with a pail and rope only does 1054 units of work per minute. When, however, we come to consider the tools and appliances now employed in attacking the rock, and those of the ancient miners of Anglesey, we find the contrast so great and the manner of working so utterly different, that the *data* fail us whereby alone we could calculate the amount of manual labour expended on our cakes; comparison is impossible. I do not think that I shall be exaggerating, when I say, that the charge of copper which formed one of these cakes cost as much labour to the miner and smelter who produced them, as a charge of fine copper does in one of our great modern smelting works. It will not, then, perhaps, be uninteresting to those who have not devoted much attention to metallurgy, to have a rough estimate of the labour that it now costs to reduce ore into metallic copper.

Supposing the ores used to be of an average of five per cent. of fine copper, it would be necessary that 40 tons should be taken to the ore furnaces, to produce a refinery charge of seven tons. This quantity, taking as a standard the average quality of the ores raised in the Anglesey mines, would necessitate the blasting of no less than 420 tons of rock, and would require the labour of about 40 men for one month. The drawing to the surface, the dressing and the cartage would be equivalent to the labour of twenty more men, and the value of the materials used may be estimated safely as equal to the labour of twenty men; while, in respect of the establishment and incidental charges, we may add ten men more. The smelting, including the cost of fuel, may be fairly estimated as representing the work of thirty men.

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Taken altogether, then, a charge of copper of seven tons, made of the ordinary ore of the Parys Mountain, requires the expenditure of the labour of 120 men for one month. My opinion being correct as to the proportionate cost in labour of the ancient charges, we have but to take the human labour as a standard of value, to calculate almost to a nicety the value of copper at the time of the Roman occupation of Britain. A charge of fine copper of seven tons, putting the metal at a fair average price of 90*l.* per ton, represents a money value of 630*l.* This sum pays the miner for raising the ore, the merchant's bill for materials, a royalty due to the owner of the soil, the various charges incidental to a mining concern, and any profit which may accrue to the adventurers, as well as all the heavy costs of smelting the ore and reducing the metal to a commercially pure condition.

Each cake must, without doubt, have represented about the same value as a charge of fine copper in our own time, and may, therefore, be said to have been equivalent in those times to a sum of 600*l.* in our own time.

Nine of these cakes have now been found in Anglesey, making together a value of 5400*l.* Why a quantity of metal representing so enormous an amount should have been buried in the earth, and ultimately lost sight of, will probably for ever remain a puzzle to the antiquary. They are the only discovered relics of what must have been a trade of great importance, and furnish us with a curious instance of self-repetition in the history of the metallurgical art. Anglesey must have been regarded by the Romans as exceedingly rich in copper; and, judging from the number of cakes found, and the smallness of the quantity of copper then in use, it must for a time have been almost the sole source of supply of that metal. The traces of the exclusive mining and smelting operations had been obliterated, and although vague traditions existed amongst the people that mines had been worked in the island, no one attached any importance to them, or suspected that operations of such magnitude had been prosecuted in ancient times.[4] Seven-

[4] Tradition of Ancient Mining in Anglesey.—"Wer hätte nicht glauben sollen, dass ein Tuch volle Kupferwasser und eine alte Sage, dass die Römer hier auf Kupfer gebaut haben sollten nicht schon weil früher auf die Entdeckung dieses Bergwerke geleitet haben würde." Briefe über die Insel Anglesea, vorzüglich über das dalige Kupfer Bergwerke, von A. C. L. Linlin, Leipzig, 1800.

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teen centuries had passed away, when the discovery of the great orey masses of Parys Mountain made Anglesey again the mistress of the copper market, and drew complaints from Cornwall and other mining districts that her mines threatened to stop all the other mines of the world.

It will, I have no doubt, appear at first sight almost absurd to attach such a high value to an article which, in our time, is comparatively abundant and low-priced, but I do not think that I have over-estimated the amount of labour expended on the cakes in question; and, as we cannot establish a standard of comparison which fluctuates so little, from age to age, as the labour of man, and what he is able to perform, we cannot probably be very far wrong in accepting the valuation that I have put upon them.

In these days of easy and speedy transit, and rapid interchange of commodities, the products of the various countries vary but little in price at the different marts of the world, nor have there, with the exception of the recent depreciation in the value of gold, and the consequent apparent advance in the value of all other merchandize, been any very great or sudden changes in the value of articles of necessity and luxury. But in the first century it was very different; the relative values of the various articles of commerce were generally out of all proportion to those which they bear in these days. Gibbon says—"The most remote countries of the ancient world were ransacked to supply the pomp and delicacy of Rome. . . . . Amber was brought over land from the shores of the Baltic to the Danube, and the Barbarians were astonished at the price which they received in exchange for so useless a commodity." Further on the historian says that "a pound of silk, now worth four or five shillings, was esteemed not inferior in value to a pound of gold." Putting gold at a value of 4*l.* per ounce, or 48*l.* per pound troy, and taking it as a standard, we find that silk was esteemed by the Romans at about 213 times its present worth. Reasoning similarly in regard to the value of the cakes of copper, and accepting my valuation of them as founded upon an estimate of their cost in labour, it will be seen that copper was valued by the Romans at about 440 times its present price. The difference in the relative values of silk and copper is perfectly intelligible; silk was an article of luxury worn only by women of the wealthiest families;

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and however small the quantity brought to Rome by the merchants who carried on the Oriental traffic, it was in consequence very limited in its use, and the object of comparatively little competition. Copper, on the contrary, was an article of the first necessity, and being largely used in the manufacture of bronze and brass,[5] and the supplies limited, each consignment from Britain was probably bought up with eagerness.

The carriage to Rome must have been tedious and exceedingly slow, and was performed by men or by beasts of burthen. Whichever of the two modes of conveyance was adopted, it is sufficient proof of the high value attached to the copper, that it was found to pay to transport it by such costly means; the route was possibly, first, to some creek in the south of England; from thence across the Channel to Gaul; then by land to Marseilles, or some other port on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, and thence by sea to its destination. If a ton of copper were so conveyed in the present day, its value would be consumed before it reached Dover.

The cakes lately obtained are in the condition known to smelters as that of "coarse copper," and would probably be found by analysis to contain from 97 to 98 per cent. of pure copper, while the commercial copper of the present day contains from 99 to 99·5 per cent., the usual impurities being iron, oxygen, and sulphur. The cakes have not been subjected to the process of refining, and it is a most interesting question, whether that art was understood in ancient times or not. The operation is one of great nicety, and demands of the refiner the exercise of a skill acquired only by experience and practice. It fits our modern copper for the purposes of rolling and the manufacture of the various alloys, in which it takes so prominent a part.

[5] Manufacture of Alloys of Copper and Zinc by the Romans.—"Whatever doubt there may be as to the authority of the discovery of zinc, there can be none as to the fact that brass, that is a yellow alloy of copper and zinc, was produced early in the Christian era, if not before its commencement." Percy's Metallurgy, p. 521.

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Original Documents.

RALPH LORD CROMWELL.

By JAMES GAIRDNER, Assistant Keeper of the Public Records.

THE name of Cromwell occupies such a conspicuous place in one particular era of English history that we do not perhaps very easily recall it as the surname and title of a noble family in the Middle-Ages. But, in truth, it was to this more ancient family that the surname properly belonged. The family of the Protector were not originally Cromwells, but only three generations before him had borne the name of Williams. Thomas Cromwell, the powerful minister, by whose instrumentality Henry VIII. suppressed the monasteries, had a nephew named Sir Richard Williams, who, by leave, or, as it is said, by special desire, of that king, exchanged his Welsh patronymic for the surname of his uncle. To that change it is owing that the great Protector is known to every one as Oliver Cromwell. But, however enduring he made the name, in one sense, he hardly helped to make it more common. The last Mr. Cromwell of the Protector's line died in the early part of the present century, and now the name is so rarely met with that Canon Cromwell had it all to himself last year in the London Post Office Directory.

The original family, however, as appears by one of the documents I am about to quote, claimed to have borne this surname even prior to the Conquest. Dugdale does not trace them back quite so far, but gives us a pretty full account of them from Ralph Cromwell, who, in the days of King John, took part with the rebellious barons, and who afterwards made his peace with the King by a fine of sixty marks and a palfrey, and by giving up his eldest daughter as a hostage, on the restitution of his forfeited lands. At this time the family did not rank among the nobility, but from the days of Edward II., the head of the house was always summoned to Parliament. The male line, however, went out in the person of Ralph Lord Cromwell, in the days of Henry VI., and the title, for a short time, rested with one of the family of Bourchier, after whose death it fell into abeyance.

To this Ralph Lord Cromwell just mentioned the two documents relate which we are about to lay before the reader. We are informed that he was appointed Treasurer of the Exchequer in the 11th year of King Henry VI.[1] Three years later he was retained to serve with one knight, twelve men-at-arms, and 175 archers, for the relief of Calais. On the death of the Duke of Bedford he was made master of the King's

[1] There is in the Public Record Office a document relating to him ten years earlier, in which there is also mention of a Sir William Cromwell, Knight, as living at the time. It is an indenture by Sir Ralph Cromwell, Knight, and six others, to Robert Lord Willoughby, Sir Thomas Erpingham, Sir William Boneville, Sir William Cromwell, Knights; Thomas Burgess, Esq.; and William Thirlwall, demising to them for 40 years the manor of Brustwyke, and a number of other lands in Lincolnshire, in payment of the debts of Thomas, late duke of Clarence. Seven seals are attached, of which the first, that of Lord Cromwell, is in very good condition. It bears the device of a sheep lying under a bush and giving

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mews and falcons, and an annuity of 40*l.* was granted to him out of the manor of Washingborough, in Lincolnshire. In the 17th of Henry VI., he obtained a licence for making the church of Tattershall, in Lincolnshire, collegiate, and to found a hospital near the churchyard. The works which he commenced upon the church were not completed at his death, sixteen years later; and in his will he directed his body to be buried in the middle of the quire, whenever the whole fabric should be rebuilt.[2] He also began the building of "a fair house at Colyweston in Com. Northampt., wherein he caused divers bags or purses to be cut on the stone-work of the chapel, and other places. Which house was afterwards finished by Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby, mother to King Henry VII."[3] In 23 Henry VI., he had a grant from the crown of the offices of constable and steward of Nottingham castle, and warden of Sherwood Forest. He died on the 4th of January, 1456, the year after the first blow was struck in the civil wars of the Roses.

The first of the two documents we here produce is a statement of the conditions on which Lord Cromwell consented to accept the rather uncomfortable post of Lord Treasurer, at a time when the revenues of the crown were considered to be totally inadequate to meet the charges upon them. This document is among what are called the Miscellaneous Rolls of Chancery, No. 364. The date must be the 11th year of Henry VI.

"To the Kyng oure Soverain Lord, with alle humblesse, shewe I your moost humble and trewe suget Rauf Cromwell, how that noght longe ago hit liked your Highnes, by the avise of my lords, your unclez of Bedford, of Gloucetre and the Cardinal,[4] and of all the remenant of my lordes of your Counseill to charge me with occupacion of the office of the Tresorier of England, the which charge, in escwyng of the displesir and indignacion of your Highnes, I received under a . . . . protestacion, that is to say, that y shuld mowe article certain requestes such as shuld be thought to me resonable and profitable to you, oure Soverain lord, and to your lande, and like with Goddes grace to kepe me and my pore astate and worship unblemisshed; the said articles to be tendrely herd, sped, and executed, as reson wold; the which requestes I, folwing my said protestacion have putte in writyng, swych as swith:—

"First, that hit like your Highness to considre that howe be hit that as well in tymes of your noble progenitours as in your owen tyme thestate and necessite of the kyng regnyng for the tyme and of the reaume have ben notified to the thre astates of the londe assemblyd in Parlementz, and in especial nowe in this your present Parlement, and clierly shewed and declared in this same Parlement that all the revenuz and proffitz ordinarie and extraordinarie, certayn or casuell, that growith to you on eny behalf suffisith not to the birdon and assiething of your ordinarie

suck to a lamb; over which is the motto, "Vous me teigne." It is here figured:—

[2] Dugdale. 45, 46. Nicolas' Testamenta Vetusta, p. 276.

[3] Dugdale.

[4] Beaufort.

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yeerly charges by the somme of xxxml. li. a yeer and more. Nevirtheles the said declaracion nys nought as yitte so conceived by the lordes of your lande, ne be the commune that thei can yeve ful faith and credence therto. And therfor to theutente to putte the said lordes and commune in ful conceit and knowelech of the said matier and oute of all scrupill and doute therin, plese hit you to make my said lordes to yeve a leisir to the sight and diligent examinacion of certein bokes and recordes of your eschequier made by your sworn officers of the same place, by the which they shal mowe clierly undirstande and conceive thestate of your lande as nowe and the charges and necessitees that risteth uppon you and your reeume. And that so knowen to commaunde the saide astate so shewid, swich as hit was at that tyme that I received my said charge and yit is, to be enacted of recorde. And ovir this to ordeine swich labour and diligence to be done that in this Parlement provision of good be made, swich as shal nede, for the keping of your noble astate and household, for the governaile of your lande inwardes, for defence of your land ageins your enemyes outeward, and for other evident charges that rest uppon you, and for the paiement of your dettis, withouten the which thinges doon and pourveied I neither can, may, ne dare take uppon me to labour forthe or procede in occupacion of the said office, consideryng that withoute this I neithir shal mowe plese your Hyness ne do to you agreable service, as y desire with all myn herte to do, ne contente your sugettes, ne save my pouere name, fame and worship.

"Also that hit please your Highnesse to ordeine that hit be yeven me in commaundement that in payement and departynges oute of your revenue y preferre your household, your warderobe and your necessarie werkes. And that hit be agreed and graunted me be my said lordes that y so doyng shal nought therfor renne in to displesaunce or indignacion of eny of hem.

"Also that hit be ordeined and appointed that no yeft ne graunte of lyfelode revenue or good belangyng to your Hynesse, ne paymente to be made of your good be appointed or passed by your counseil withoute that the Tresorier be called to yeve enformacion in swich caas to your counsail, and be first herde therappon. Considering that for lakke of such informacion your counsail hath ben disceived, and ye hirt afore this, aswell in your owen good as in lakke of avayle that myght have growen to you.

"Also that hit like your Highness to graunte me that for the tyme that hit shal plese you that y occupie the said office I shal occupie hit as frely with all the manere of preminences and duytees belangyng therto, withouten eny diminucion or restraynte, as eny Tresorier of England hath occupied hit afore this tyme, and that my said lordes promytte your Hynesse that they shal supporte me in the occupacion of the said office, and noght suffre me, as fer forth as in thaym shal be, to be distourbed or letted in the fredom of occupacion therof, ne conceive ageins me eny indignacion or maugre therfor."

The incident to which the next document relates must be viewed in connection with the numerous symptoms of disaffection to the government in the reign of Henry VI. Lord Cromwell, as we learn from William of Worcester, had been one of the principal enemies of Henry's favourite minister, the Duke of Suffolk, and had been mainly instrumenta

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in procuring his impeachment by the Commons in the beginning of the year 1450. It would seem that he hated Suffolk, and was hated in return. A little before the preceding Christmas one of Suffolk's chief supporters, by name William Tailboys, had laid a number of men in wait for him at the door of the Star Chamber, while Cromwell was attending a meeting of the King's council, and he narrowly escaped with his life. Upon what part he took in politics after Suffolk's murder, we will not venture to pronounce an opinion. In that year occurred Cade's rebellion, immediately after which the Duke of York came over from Ireland, and for a time disputed the rule with the Duke of Somerset; but Somerset enjoyed the favour of the Court, and York withdrew again into retirement until the beginning of the year 1452, when, owing to the loss of Guienne and Gascony, in addition to Normandy, he made another attempt to remove his rival from power. He marched up to London at the head of his retainers, and, finding the city closed against him, crossed the Thames at Kingston and proceeded into Kent, whither he was followed by the King in person with another army. But matters were accommodated for the time, and the Duke disbanded his forces, and took an oath of allegiance to the King.

For this demonstration that he had made against the King—or rather against the King's favourite minister, Somerset—the Duke of York was pardoned. But very shortly after, as we learn from a MS. in the Cottonian Collection,[5] the Earl of Shrewsbury and others "rode into Kent, and set up five pair of gallows, and did execution upon John Wylkyns, taken and brought to the town as for captain, and with other mo, of the which eight-and-twenty were hanged and beheaded; the which heads were sent to London. And London said there should no mo heads be set up on there." These men apparently had taken part with the Duke. The treason of John Wylkyns, at least, as appears by the following document, was alleged to have been committed at Dartford, in Kent, the very place where York had appeared in arms just before his submission. Wylkyns, we find, was executed on the 28th of June, 1452 (the eve of St. Peter and Paul). He was dragged on a hurdle from the Tower to Dartford, and hanged on the scene of his treason. Shortly afterwards a priest, named Robert Colynson, accused Lord Cromwell of disloyalty on the ground of certain statements which Wylkyns, as he alleged, had made to himself in confession before he suffered. This accusation elicited from Cromwell a declaration of his innocence before the King's council, together with an examination into the priest's antecedents, which certainly appears to have destroyed altogether the value of his evidence. Cromwell was completely acquitted. The priest was committed to prison, but seems scarcely to have been punished to the satisfaction of him whom he had injured; for in the middle of the following year (seventeen months after his declaration before the Council,) Lord Cromwell petitioned that his imprisonment might be continued until he had made him satisfaction for the injury. Apparently Colynson had been protected by powerful friends, and it seems that he was encouraged to accuse a good many persons besides Cromwell; but in 1455, after the first battle of St. Albans, when the Duke of York obtained the rule, he was obliged to change his policy. He then offered to confess by

[5] Cott. Roll. II. 23. Quoted in my Introduction to the Paston Letters, p. cxlviii.

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whom he had been instigated to make these accusations, provided he was assured of his life.[6]

We will now lay before the reader the full text of the statement presented to the King by Lord Cromwell in his own exculpation, and accepted by Henry in council. It is enrolled on the Patent Roll of 31 Henry VI. part ii. m. 16 :—

"*Exemplificatio declarationis Radulphi Cromwell.* } Rex omnibus ad quos, &c., salutem. Inspeximus tenorem cujusdam actus de et super quadam declaratione quam dilectus et fidelis noster Radulphus Cromwell miles coram nobis et consilio nostro nuper fecit, in eodem consilio facti, nobis in Cancellaria nostra de mandato nostro missum in hæc verba :—

"The first day of Feverer the yere of the regne of Kyng Henry the Sixte xxxj at Westminster in the Sterred Chambre, beyng ther present the lordes,—Bysshop Cardinall Archebysshop of Caunterbury and Chauncellre of England, Tharchebisshop of York, The Bysshopes of Ely and Hereford, The Dean of Seynt Severyns of Burdeaux, the Duc of Somersett, Therle of Worcestre, Tresorer of England, the Viscount Lysle, the Pryour of Saynt Johns, the lordes Wylughby, Moleyns and Stourton, and Sir Thomas Tirell, knyght, the juges of that one Bench and of that other, the Chief Baron of theschequier, the Kynges Sargeantes and the Kynges Attorney: It was reherced and opened by my sayd lord Chaunceller how that the Kyng hadde sent unto him and late him wite that where the lord Cromwell hadde sewed mekely unto his Highnesse to come to his declaracion upon suche matiers as but late a goo were leyd upon hym by a preest, The Kyng, for grete and evident causes such as moeved his Highnesse, thought reson wold that the said lord Cromwell shuld be admitted to declare himself in and upon the said matiers; therfore the Kyng wold that my said lord Chaunceller, with the remenaunt of the lordes of his counsail thanne beyng present, shuld calle by fore thaym the said lord Cromwell, to hiere all that he coude and wold say for his said declaracion in that byhalfe.

"Soo furthwith by thavice and assent of all the seyd lordes of the Kynges Counsail the said lord Cromwell was sent fore, and at his comyng the Kynges entent abovesaid was shewed and opend unto him by the mouth of my said lord Chauncellor. Where to the said lord Cromwell answered and saide he hadd well understand the Kynges will was such as my lord Cardinal had reherced unto him, wherof he thankyd the Kynges good grace as humble as he coude, and the lordes also that it plesed to dispose thaym to here him. After this he said that his ancetres, such as he was descended of, have been at all tymes trewe and faythfull ligemen to thair souverain lord for the tyme beyng withoute any blemmysshe or defoylyng of thaire name or worship. He also himself trusted to God hath kept his trouth, faith and ligeaunce to his soverain lord as deuly and trewly as ever did subgitte to his power. He sayd also that he had served the noble prince and duc of Claraunce xiiij yere, and also the fader of our souverain lord (whoos soule God assoile) vij yere, and after that hath nowe be in the service of oure soverain lord that nowe is as counsailler and some tyme officer by the space of xxx^ti

[6] Paston Letters (Ed. 1872) vol. i. p. 344.

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winter and more withoute that ever anything of untrouth or of reproche were leyde upon him; but that nowe late, as he seyd, oon callyng him self Robert Colynson a fals preste stirred by the Fende liste to saie and lye upon him by way of sclaundre certayne heynouse and grevous matiers that he shold have contrived and doon ayenst thastate and welfare of oure said soverain lord. The which matiers the said preste shuld saie that he hadd thaim of one John Wilkyns late ataynte of hye treason and nowe dede, by way of confession, whan he laye upon the herdell, to be executed for high treason but late agoo at Dertford in the shyre of Kent. The which matiers and sayinges of the said preest the said lord Cromwell saide were fals, untrewe, and oonly proceded of malice and of fals groundes and ymaginacions; for, as God knowith and all the saintis of Hevyn, and as he shalbe saved afore the universal Juge, where as all men shalbe juged, he never did, saide, purposed, or thought such thynges as the seyd fals preest sclaundered him with, nor never willed nor did any thyng that shold in any wise soune or be ayenst the trouthe and ligeaunce that he oweth to oure souverain lord. And if he shold have doon any other wyse, he hadd been the unkyndest creature that ever was born, considerynge that the Kynge hath be unto him as good and gracious souverain lord as ever was prince to subgitte, soo that the said lord Cromwell thought, as he saide, that by his faith and ligeaunce that he oweth to his souverain lord, he is not only bound to desire and by all menes to him possible procure all that that myght be to the welfare of his souverain lord, but also his good grace and manyfold benyfettes constrayneth him to love and worship the Kyng above all erthely creatures, as he hath do, dothe and ever shall as long as he shall lyve.

"And that the matiers leyd upon him by the forsaid preste been fals and untrewe, he said he was redye to acquite him by all meanes possible to him as a trewe man, notwithstandyng the falsnes of them and of the seyd preste been open at eighe; for as above is reherced the knowlache that the preest saide he hadd of the sayd matiers was grounded upon that that he shold have be confessoure to that greet traitour, John Wylkyns, at the tyme of his deth, and that he lying upon the herdill towardes his deth at Dertford shuld have confessed the seyd matiers to the forsaid preest. The which the seyd lord Cromwell saide was fals, forsomuch as the seyd preest was nat, fro that tyme that the seyd Wylkyns was hadd fro the Towre of London tille he was ded, confessoure unto him, nor herd no such matiers opened by him in anywise; for trouth is that at such tyme as the seyd Wilkyns departed fro the Towre as above, he hadd continuelly with him in the bote and till he come to Dertford another preest to hiere his confession, and the vicarie of Dertford, at such tyme as the seyd Wylkyns was leyd on the herdyll, asked of the Kynges officers there beyng present whether he was confessed; which officers answered that he had had with him a confessour alle that daie afore, and the seyd vicarie saide that the saide Wilkyns had no wordes of accusacions or disclaundre of any man at that tyme or sethens afore his deth.

"Moreover the seyd lord Cromwell saide that Richard Lyndesey, squier, William Worth, John Styver, John Yong and Richard Bagshawe saien that they were present at Dertford fro the tyme that the seyd Wylkyns was leyd on the herdell till he was dede and herd all that he seide in the mene-tyme, and he had never word sownnyng to disclandre or accusacion

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of any persone, and all that ever he spake in that tyme he seide it openly and was not confessed nor spake with no man apart or prevely; in proef of the which vicarie of Dertford, Richard Lyndesey, William Worth, John Stryver, John Yong and Richard Bagshawe abovesaid, saying, the said lord Cromwell brought forth and exhibet an instrument wherof the tenure foloweth :—

"In Dei nomine, amen. Per præsens publicum instrumentum cunctis appareat evidenter quod anno Domini Millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo secundo, Indictione prima, pontificatus Sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri, domini Nicholai Divina providencia Papæ Quinti anno sexto, mensis Octobris die ultima, In quadam alta camera infra hospicium vocatum le Hert infra villam de Dertford, Roffensis diocesis, scituata, in mei notarii publici et testium subscriptorum præsentia personaliter constitutus, venerabilis vir magister Johannes Horley, perpetuus vicarius ecclesiæ parochialis de Dertford prædict', dixit et declaravit tunc ibidem qualiter, in vigilia Apostolorum Petri et Pauli ultimo præterita, quidam Johannes Wylkyns, de et super crimine læsæ majestatis convictus et dampnatus, ductus erat a Turri London' usque ad dictam villam de Dertford, et in eadem villa de Dertford, in publica via regali, juxta ecclesiam parochialem de Dertford prædicta, officiarii domini Regis ibidem tunc præsentes posuerunt eum super le hurdill ad trahendum eundem Johannem Wylkyns ad furcas extra eandem villam mortis executioni tradendum. Et tunc dictus magister Johannes Horley vicarius accessit ad quendam nuncupatum Joskyns servientem domini nostri Regis, et petiit ab eo an necesse erat ut idem Johannes Wylkyns ab eodem vicario confiteretur, et idem Joskyns eidem vicario respondebat quod non erat necessarium, pro eo quod idem Wylkyns quasi per totum illum diem ad tunc habuit secum unum presbyterum confessorem per eum electum, a quo confessus fuit; et sic dictus magister Johannes Horley vicarius prædictus non vidit aliquem confitentem eundem, neque aliqua verba accusatoria aut in detectionem sive infamationem alicujus sonantia ab eodem Johanne Wylkyns ad tunc, neque citra, nec umquam alias, ut dicit, audivit. Præsentibus tunc ibidem Ricardo Broyne, armigero, Johanne Peck, generoso, et Willelmo Worth, literato, testibus ad præmissa. Consequenterque Anno Domini, Indictione et pontificatu prædictis, In mei etiam notarii publici subscripti et testium infrascriptorum præsentia in cimitorio ecclesiæ parochialæ de Dertford prædicta, primo die mensis Novembris, Ricardus Lyndesey armiger, et in alta camera infra hospicium vocatum le Hert prædict' Willelmus Worth, Johannes Styver, Johannes Yong et Ricardus Bagshawe eodem primo die Novembris personaliter constituti, dixerunt et declaraverunt, et eorum quilibet in animam suam, et per se divisim, dixit et declaravit, qualiter præsentes fuerunt et eorum quilibet præsens fuit in villa de Dertford prædicta in dicta vigilia Apostolorum Petri et Pauli Anno Domini supradicto, quando dictus Johannes Wylkyns, ut præfertur, a Turri London' ad dictam villam de Dertford ductus et positus erat super le hurdell trahendus ad furcas. Et erant, ac eorum quilibet erat, continue in præsentia dicti Johannis Wylkyns proditoris usque ad exitum spiritus sui de corpore, et audiverunt, ac eorum quilibet audivit, verba quæ dictus Johannes Wylkyns proditor tempore illo locutus fuit, et non audiverunt, nec eorum aliquis audivit, aliqua verba accusatoria, detectoria sive diffamatoria nec in accusationem, detectionem, sive infamationem alicujus sonantia. Et dictus Johannes Wylkyns pro-

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ditor illa quæ tempore illo locutus fuit, illa omnia publica ac alta et intel ligibili voce dixit et publicavit, nihil in secretis locutus est, nec alicui ibidem confitebatur, nec aliquem ad secretum suum audiendum, seu secreta sua audienda ad se vocavit, sed expresse secreta et clandestina colloquia refutavit, sed rogavit omnes astantes orare Deum pro eo, ut asseruerunt. Acta sunt hæc prout suprascribuntur et recitantur sub Anno Domini, Indictione, Pontificatu, mense, diebus et locis prædictis. Præsentibus tunc ibidem discretis viris, Ricardo Broyne, armigero, et Johanne Pecke, generoso, testibus ad præmissa.

"Et ego Johannes Naseby, clericus, Lincolniensis diocesis, publicus auctoritatibus Apostolica et Imperiali notarius, præmissis omnibus et singulis dum sic, ut præmittitur, sub anno Domini, Indictione, Pontificatu, mensibus, diebus et locis prædictis agerentur et fierent, una cum prænominatis testibus præsens personaliter interfui, eaque omnia et singula sic fieri vidi et audivi, aliundeque occupatus per alium scribi feci, publicavi et in hanc publicam formam redegi, meisque nomine et signo solitis et consuetis signavi rogatus et requisitus in fidem et testimonium omnium et singulorum præmissorum. Et constat mihi, notario prædicto, de rasura hujus dictionis *Roffen'* in tertia linea a capite præsentis instrumenti computanda, facta, et interlineatione hujus dictionis *verba* in præsenti instrumento, quæ approbo ego notarius antedictus.

"By the which thinge abovesaide the sayd lord Cromwell seide he trust to God that my sayd lordes of the Councell understode well his innocence in the matiers above reherced, and howe that they were fals and untrewe. And over this for the more prove of the falsnes and untrouth of the seyd matiers he referreth and remittith him to divers thynges conteigned in a bille the which he had made and conceived to the Kynge oure Souverain Lorde, where of the tenure is suche as folowyth :—

"To the Kynge oure most drade Souverain Lorde.

"Besechith humbly your Highnesse youre trewe legeman Rauf Cromwell that it woll please you to be remembred and considre that all his auncestres before him beynge within this youre reaume and berynge the same name, as well before the Conquest of this youre reaume as at all tymes sith, have been trewe legemen unto youre full noble progenitours, kynges of this youre reaume and all wey undefoyled and unblemesshed, and soo at all tymes by theym taken, hadde and understande ; and how that youre seyd besecher was contynuyng in the service of that noble prince the Duc of Clarence youre uncle xiiij yere, and after that in the service of the most high and myghty prince the Kynge youre fader, whom God pardonne, vij yere, and nowe in youre service xxx^{ti} wynter and more ; duryng the which tyme he hath been trewe liegeman to the Kynge your fader and to you his souverain lorde, and is, shall and woll be, as longe as his lif shall endure, as therin he reporteth him to God above that knowith all, and to youre moost noble rightwysnesse, of all his trewe service afore this ; and in which tyme he hath spent his yought and goodes in such service as diligently and trewly as he couthe, as he also reporteth him to all youre faithfull and trewe liegemen ; And moreover that it woll lyke your said Highnesse to considre howe that a false preste callynge him self Sir Robert Colynson, of his malice, untrewe ymaginacioun and fals conjecture, hath falsly sclaundered youre sayd besecher, aswell to youre owne persone as in his open predicacions in

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parisshchirches, affermyng certaine langage that shold have been seide in confession to him, as he seith, by oon John Wilkyns the tyme of his deth, late attainted of high treason, and acordynge to youre lawes as a traitour, and as he well deservid, by jugement in Kent drawen, hangid and quartered. And youre said besecher, knowynge his own trouthe, and himself to be giltlesse and in noo wise defectif of the seid sclaunderous matiers, trusteth in Goddes grete rightwesnesse that he hath put in youre mynd, high discrecion and undesrtandynge, that it is untrewe all that the forsayd fals preest hath seide of him for divers causes and consideracions. Oone is for it may be credibly preved that the said preste spake not with the said Wylkyns tyme of his deth in confessioun, but openly that all that were by might here, where he utred at that tyme none such langage. And if the seyd preest had herd any such langage as he spekith of, it had been his deutee to have comen unto your highnesse to have yeven you informacion forthwith, which he did not till he was empeched to your Highnesse a moneth after, and therupon then arrested and soo constreyned to come unto you; which previth well that he did hit not for the trouth, zele and love that he aught to the wel of you, souverain lord, but rather for his sonner excuse of that thing that was put upon him. And more over your seyd besecher understandeth that the Prior of Seint Johns and other lordes, by your royall commaundement examined the seyd Wilkyns in youre Towre of London, whoos answer and confession is put in writtyng, to the which he reporteth him yf any thinge Wylkyns seide touching him at that tyme. Also youre seid besecher is enfourmed that the same preest and a servant sume tyme to Sharpe nowe late sittyng togedre in companye, fell in travers and langage of adventure; which servant knewe him before and seide to him "Thou art fals and untrewe, and cursedly disposed; for I have herd the divers tymes when thou hast seyde unto Sherp, 'Sette on and make an ende. Thou shalt have help ynough, and I wote where to chevissh for the m^l. li. yf thou have nede. And this I will preve and make it good.'" On the which consideracions and many other which came and may be leide ayein the seid preest, as it shalbe shewde in nother bille when it shall like your Highnesse to commaunde, woll prefe him to be of noo such sadnesse, demeanyng, trouth nor substaunce that any credence oweth to be yeven unto him of right. And how be it that youre seyd besecher was never gladde to reporte the misgouvernaunce and incontinent lif of any persone, yet in declaracion of his trouth he is at this tyme coherted and compelled to enfourme youre Highnesse that the seyd Sir Robert Colynson is and long tyme hath been openly knowen a misgouverned persone; for the which misgouvernaunce and incontinent lif not prestely and diverse sedicious and erroneous sermones by him preched within the universite of Caumbrigge he was bannesshed. Also he fledd and stale awaie out of diverse other countrees and citees of this youre reaume for such semblable erronious gouvernance and cedicious sermones that he hath made ayenst youre high and noble astate, and also for the unpreestly and unvertuous livinge as he was often take with, for fere of the correccion and punicion of the which; wherof the trouth shalbe knowen yf it please your Highnesse to commaunde the Reverent fader in God Cardinall and Archiebisshop of Caunterbury, youre Chaunceller of this youre reaume and to th'archiebisshop of York, or to summe other as it shall please your Highnesse to examyne,

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enquere and take dewe proof of all this aforesaide. Which premisses and circumstaunces touchyng the same by youre greet rightwysnesse duely considered, youre sayd besecher louly desireth and besecheth you that he of the seyd disclaunders and noyses may be declared giltlees, and so by youre Highnesse accepted, hadde and reputed at all tymes and in all such places as shalbe thought to him behovefull. Considering, Souverain Lorde, in youre high wisedome, not oonly the premisses but also the matier in dede whether any liklyhod hath been in anywyse apperant towardes such conclusion as the seyd disclaunder towcheth or concerneth. In which sclaunder and many other matiers youre servant hath been oftetymes like to have been hurte, had not ben the verray rightwysnesse and stedfastnesse which your Highnesse hath not oonly shewed to him but also to all youre servantis in thaire adversitees; which of verray reason must cause and byndeth him and theim to doo the more diligent service unto you. For the which youre stedfast rightwysnesse and gracious benygne faver shewed unto him at all tymes he besecheth that blessed lorde the High Juge of Heven there to thank and recompense you and sende him grace to doo you such service as shall please you here after, and that he may see you, his verray naturell souverain lord, to have the victorie of all youre ennemyes.

"Be side all this the sayde lorde Cromwell seide it was to be considered what maner of man and of what name and fame the seyd fals preest callynge himself Robert Colynson was of, and howe disclaunderous cedious[7] and perillious persone, and what life he hadde be of, the which the seid lord Cromwell seide he was ryght loth to reherce or open, save that verray necessite compelleth him soo to doo for declarynge of himself. Where for he exhibet to my sayd lordes diverse articles in writtyng of the straunge, ungodly and ungoodly conversacion, demeanynge and lyving of the seid preest, by the which, he seide, every man of discrecion myght well understande what faith or credence oweth to be yeven to the sayinge of so misruled a persone, the which articules been such as folowyth:—

"It is to remembre that oon Robert Colynsone preest, so callyng him self, hath seyde to the Kyng oure Souverain Lord that he was confessour to oon called Wylkyns late hanged in Kent, the which sholde telle him in confession certaine thinges that the lorde Cromwell shold be prevy and assented unto, and that the seyd preest was never confessoure to the seyd Wylkyns there is wytnesse and proves sufficiaunt, and also of his unpreestly demeanynge and other misgouvernaunce, which the seid lord Cromwell is not gladde to utter of him, ne of noon other man, but that of veray necessite in declaracion of his owen trouth compelled to doo.

"First, the said Wilkyns desired of oon Cobbe thanne beyng undersherrif of Kent to gete him a confessour. The said undershirrief entreted and hired the parson of the Towre, the which parson went with the said Wylkyns by water and confessed him in the water, and seide to him alle that he couthe saye; and moo confessours hadde he nat, he never was more confessed to his dying, as it may be sufficiauntly proved by his divers wytnesse which went with him to the place of his execucion.

"Item, as for the conversaccion of the seyd Sir Robert Colynson, it hath not ben worshipfull ne vertuous, but to noysefull and disclaunderous, with so many vices it is mervaile to witt, in his owne lyvynge full vicious in

[7] *Sic.*

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delaumes of his owne body in his prechinge, and in all his communicacions and condicions, as it is well knowen through the most parte of this lande, &c.

"Item, it is well knowen and of recorde in the universite of Caumbrigge, as it is seide, that for his cedicious prechinge and langage and his horrible leving, which is to noyfful and shamefull to reherce, he was banysshed oute of the seyd universitee of Caumbrigge, as it may well and sufficiauntly be proved, &c.

"Item, at Norwich, conversaunt for a tyme what rule he was of there, it is well knowen both of his viciousnesse of his body and of other ribaldrye and delaumes of his langage allwaie by him continued in audience of the people, as well as in his cedicious and malicious preching, which was likely to have caused over grete rumoure among the people there, had not certeine clerkys taken sonner hede unto him; for the which he was ascited to come be fore the vikare generall to answere to his preching and langage, as the same vikare generall, and also the iiij ordres of Freres can reporte, as it is seide, if they be commaunded.

"Item, the said preest an other tyme, beynge in Yorkshire, did many heynous thynges, as well in prechynge there as in other viciousnesse of his body and condicions and perillous example of his owen living was aspied by Mayster Thomas Tanfeld, which Mayster Thomas purposing to have brought him before the ordinarie to have corrected him as well for his cedicious prechinge as for his unpreestly lyvinge; and in the menetyme he stale away, as the seyd Mayster Thomas canne declare himself, and as it is well knowen to many in the seyd shire, as well lordes as other, &c.

"Item, the seyd preste in the diocese of Chestre was benyficed, and there came to diverse priours, sayinge to theym they were ascited to the court of Rome, which he hadde to shewe, and that they shold appiere by a certaine day, at which day it was impossible for theym to be there, he seying thanne to theym, 'Yf ye will yeve me for my travaile I shall ese you.' The seyd priours beyng gladde to be eased graunted him good. And of his demeanynge further tharchebisshop of Yorke canne declare and his lordeship be demaunded, &c.

"Item, the said preest dwellid in Seint Albons, and there hield a mannis wif whiche he called his suster, for the which on a tyme of his malicious disposicion, ymaginyng the deth of her husbonde fayned a lettre adressed to the seid husbond and delivered it to him; the seid husbonde, demynge noon harme, toke and redde the lettre; and the seid preest, purposing to execute his seid malicious purpose, drough his knife and stroke the seid husbond as he redde the seid lettre; and the seid preest supposing he hadde slayn the seid husbond, for drede of his life fledde away, as it is well k[n]owen, in the seid town of Seint Albons, as the constable and Edmunde Westby hundredarie, and other men of good reputacion canne reporte.

"Item, that where all the Juges of this lande compleynid to the Kynges Highnesse of such riottes and affrayinges of his people in open sessions by fore theym there as they hadde been, &c.; at which tyme the two chief Juges specially compleyned of the seid preest for the mysrule and cedicious langage that he hadde whan that he was at Henley atte a speciall assise by fore the seid two chieff juges assigned by twene the duchesse of Suffolk on that oon partie and Sir John Wenlok and

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Baramtyn on that other partye. In so much through his stiryng and provokyng the people there thanne assembled to riotte with his cedicious and perillous langage he was in pointe to have caused over much manslaughtir; for the which the seyd two chief Juges specially desired of the Kynges highnesse that the same preest for the seid gouvernance that he was of he might be committed to warde, as it may be reported to the seid two chef Juges; and of his demeanynge further the same tyme.

"Item, the seid preest but late came erly in a mornyng to a taverne in Southwerk which the women of the stewes custumably hauntith, and there beynge a litel boy of xj yere of age, which the preest toke in his armes griping him so sore that the child cried, for that him thowght he brak his bak with his fast holdynge, and there kiste him many tymes as it hadde been a woman, soo at the laste the litill boy cryed sore; and thanne he left his holde and asked yf there were any woman, for he wolde fayne have a woman, and to gyve the boy for his labour. This meane tyme come in to the seid taverne Leventhorpe, marshall of the Kynges Bench, sayinge, 'Sir,' to the preest, 'why drink ye thus erly?' The preest answered sayinge, 'I have seide masse at Seynt Magnes, and I am soo drye that I note what to doo.' Thenne seid Leventhorpe, 'Was there no tavern ner Seynt Magnes thanne this?' And he seyde ageyn that he was wonte to drynk there, and the circumstaunce hereof further the seid Leventhorpe can telle more largely yf he be desired.

"Item, the seid preest hadde a chaunterie at the parissh chirch beside Crystchirch, and howe he was demeaned there with wommen and specially with a yong maydon it is over straunge to declare openly howe horribly he did, as it [is] well knowen in the seid parissh, as the lorde Camoys and Maister William Wytham, which was present at takyng of thexaminacion of the matier, can reporte yf they be required.

"Item, the seide preest at Leycestre, in the Bisshoppes tyme of Lincoln[e] that died last, preched perillous matier openly, and not onely that but much other langage a yenst the Kynges astate right straunge, for the which Maister William Wytham, than Chauncellor with the seyd Bisshop, sought and gart seke for him all the diocise to have put him to punicion for the seyd perlious matier which sounded erronious, like as the lawe of the Chirche had required, and as the seid Maister William can furthermore declare in that matier &c.

"Item, the seid preest beynge in the Courte of Rome knewe where was a chanon of Gysborn in Cleveland in the diocese of Yorke, than beynge syke at Rome, and had money in the banke, came to him saying muche disceyving langage to have the money fro the chanon, saying he wold spede his matiers in the Courte; soo at the last he gate the chanons moneye by endenture. The channon beynge seke, the preest supposing he shold not lyve, spended his money. The chanon recovered and asked his moneye. The seid preest denied that he evere hadd of him any money, his endenture notwithstandyng, and other grete witnesse beyng present at the delyveraunce of the money to the seid preest. The seid chanon for hevynesse of his moneye felle seke ageyn, and then desired the lorde Camois of help. The seid lorde spake to the preest for the

[e] Marmaduke Lumley, who died in 1451.

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seid money and he denide that eny hadd. Thenne the seid preest, seing this, ascited the said chanon for another matier to appere afore the audience of the Chambre. The chanon appered, the lord Camoys being present. The preest seyng that supposed they wold have spoken of the money, fledde away and nevere was seyen in the Courte after, &c., as it is seide.

"Item, at Newe Castell up on Tyne the seid preest was of such demeanynge and governaunce that all the people was sore sett ageyns him, and had not the help be of a gentilman i-called Robert Rodes, which of pitee gate him prevely away be boot, supposing he hadd been of better and more preestly condicion than was preved upon him there att that tyme; for all the Religious of that towne by cause of his perillous and cedicious sermones hadd required the maire there to have keped him in hold to such tyme as they might article ageyns him accordyng to the lawe, where he sholde have be punisshed if he had not so stollen away.

"Item, the cedicious sermones, mysgouvernance and unpreestly lyvynge within Notyngham towne and in the shire there aboute Maister Gulle, doctour of divinite, can reporte yf he be examined.

"Item, the seide preste receyved v. marke of the Abbes of Berkyng, takyng upon him to goo to Rome and to doo certeyne masses at Scala Celi; which money soo taken he disceyvably voyded fro hir, and neyther went forth accordyng to his promisse nor deliverd her ageyn here money; and not oonly the seyd Abbesse but also many other diverse persones in that countrey under the same fourme unpreestly hath disceyved.

"Item, the lady Roos,[9] modir to Sir Philip Wentworth knyght, is not unremembered of the disceyte that the same preest did till her, and the rule, demeanyng and gouvernance of him also in the countrey ther aboute her.

"Item, what sclaunderous langage the same preest uttred of the Kynges hous in his open predicacion att Norwych the xxvj[ti] yere of [the] regne of the Kyng oure souverain lorde that now is, the lady Morley[1] and the moste parte of the cite of Norwich couthe remembre if they were required, as it is supposed.

"Item, the same preest, a lytill before the yere of Grace,[2] shewed in diverse places a copy of a bull, as he seide, newe sent from the Pope, callyng himself the Popes cubiculer, in which was contryved howe that the Pope charged all abbotes and priours, abbesses and priouresses, and all other presidentes in religions, both men and women, that noon of hem upon peyne of cursing shuld lette any of theire subgettes to goo to Rome duryng the tyme of Grace, and also that the Pope gave power in the seid bulle to everich of the seid subgettes letted by theire souveraines so to goo, to cyte and sommond thaire souveraines and presidentes to appere att Rome at a certeyn day, wherthrough many religious persones of men and wommen were leten oute in apostacie ageyns the will of theire souverains, as it shalbe openly proved whan the cause requireth.

"Item, the seid preest, in the tyme of the parlement last holden at

[9] Margery, widow of John, Lord Roos, who was slain at the battle of Baugé, in 1421, married afterwards Roger Wentworth.

[1] Isabel, widow of Thomas lord Morley, who died in 1435. She was the daughter of Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, the unpopular minister of Richard II.

[2] The year 1450 was a year of jubilee, when special indulgences were granted to those visiting Rome.

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Lepsmore[1] came to the abbey of Swyne in the shrine of York, saying to the prioresse and the covent that my lord Cardinal sent him to theym for Lepsmore to serve them and preach theym as well in mere magrill as in other matters and as to the people in the parish church; at the which tyme he accused a wife to the power Princess, all he had geyn of evereon of them xij. sure of one that shulde geve him xij. and so he had there xxx. xij. to geve everon of them at Rome accusacion a pen of ouper. In the witnesse whereof the accusacion seall of the seid abbe may be seid, as it is seide yf mede be; and like wise he served many poore women of religion of men and women, as well in east Yorke as other.

"Item, as it is seide the same preest gave be seide of a woman dwelling at the same tyme in Holton in Holdernesse a greet sommo of money, which she had geven hir all hir live and kept to live therwith a hermey in an abbey, undertakyng to the seid woman that hir soule shuld never come in peyne from that he had seide a masse at Scala Cœli.

"Item, the seid preest, amonge other many unclene condicions and unhonest werkes openly known and seide of him in many places of this reaume, toke on a tyme on called Megg Philip, the which was in Yorke a common woman, and when he hadde used hir there as he wold he carried hir with him in to Blakamore, and there ledd hir aboute and kept here as longe as him liked; and for more speciall knowelach and proef to be had of thes and many other, and howe and in what place of this reaume the seid preest ungoodly demeaned him, as well by false dissimilacion and wealte in getyng greet good of people as by unclene and unhonest demeanyng of him self, lete every bisshop in his diocese make due inquisicion through citees and townes, abbeys and priories. And soo all theese above seide and specialtees[4] of theym shalbe founde trewe, with many other untrowthes and unclennesse, unhonest to be named, &c.

"All thees thinges soo doon, declared and red, the seid lorde Cromwell besought and required that my lorde Priour of Saint Johns, beyng there present as above, the which by the Kynges commaundement with other examined the seid Wylkyns in the Toure of London, wold seie and declare whether he at that tyme seide any thing of the seid lorde Cromwell, or whether he laide any charge upon him. Wherto my said lorde the Priour of Seint Johns answerd and seide, trouth it was that by the Kinges commaundement he was ij tymes with the seid Wilkyns at the seid Towre; oonys with my lorde of Shrovesbury, a nother tyme he had with him Maister Robert Kent. And the saying of the seid Wilkyns was put in wryting, as it may [appear]; but he spake noo worde of the lorde Cromwell. Than forthwith the said lorde Cromwell praide and required my lorde Moleyns beyng also there present, as above, that he wold reherce and saie whether he ever herd the seid Wylkyns saye any thing to the charge of the seid lorde Cromwell. To the which request my said lord Moleyns answeryng seide he was at Dertford with my lorde of Shrovesbury at such tyme as the seid Wylkyns with other was convict, defoyled and dampned upon high treason, and at such tyme as the seid Wylkyns saugh other drawe to execucion, himself knowyng nor wenyng

[3] A Parliament was held at Leicester in the spring of 1450.

[4] *Sp'ualtees*, MS., which commonly stands for *spiritualtees;* but the scribe ought clearly to have written *sp'ialtees.*

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noon other, but that he shold also furthwith have be executed; and thaugh it so were that he charged some other, yet of the lorde Cromwell spake he noo worde. After this the seid lord Cromwell directynge his wordes oonly to my lorde Cardinall saide, 'Sir, ye be the lorde that oonly I see sitte here that was at such tyme of this counsaile, whanne I firste come there to; and ye have knowe me and my demeanyng fro that tyme hedir more thanne any other lorde nowe beynge here present. I praye you, beseche you, and also require you, that ye woll saie whether ye have conceyved in me that I shold have be such a maner of man as is above reherced, or whether I have hadd myself untrewly or ungoodly to my souverain lorde.' Wherto my seid lord Cardinall answered saying, 'Sir, sooth it is that I have knowe you longe agoo and sete many yeres with you in this counsaile; and as for such thinges as ye aske and demaunde of me, trusteth me trewly, and I had hadd knowlach of any such thinges I shold not have spared to have opened thaim to the Kyng, but for soothe I knowe noon such.'

"After the which declaracion soo made to my said lordes of the Kynges Counsaile it pleased the Kynges good grace to graunte the bill above reherced, the which begynneth: 'To the Kynge oure moste dradde Souverain Lorde. Besechith humbly your Highnesse,' &c., and signe it with 'R. H.,' and to declare the seid lorde Cromwell and take him as is in the saide bille desired; and therupon to directe his lettres to my said lorde Cardinall and Chaunceller of England, also signed with 'R.H.' in maner and fourme as folowith:—

"By the Kynge.

"To the moste Reverend fader in God, oure ryght trusty and right entierly welbeloved, the Cardinall and Archebisshop of Caunterbury, oure Chaunceller of England.

"Moost Reverend fader in God, Right trusty and Right entierly welbeloved, we greet you hertly well. And forasmuche as we knowe for certaine the greet saddenesse, substaunce, faith, trouth, and poletique demeanyng which restyn in the persone of oure ryght trusty and welbelovid the lorde Cromwell, oure Chamberleyn, whoos counsaile and direccion is right behovefull unto us for the wele of us and of this oure reaume, we woll and charge you that ye on oure behalf doo him to be called to the a waytyng upon and sittyng in oure counsaile as he did afore the tyme of the untrewe noyse and sclaundre late made upon him; lattyng you wite that we, remembryng the greet faith and trouth that we at all tymes have proved him with, holde, take, and repute him oure faithfull, trewe liegeman and servaunt. And soo we woll ye with all other lordes of oure counsaile understande take and repute him in all wise; wherin ye and they shall doo unto us singuler good pleasir. Yeven undir oure signet at oure manoir of Eltham, the iiij day of Feverer.

"Nos autem tenorem prædictum ad requisicionem prædicti Radulphi duximus exemplificandum per præsentes. In cujus, &c. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium xxiij. die Aprilis."

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Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

November 1, 1872,

Sir SIBBALD D. SCOTT, Bart., V. P., in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN, in adverting to the commencement of the new session of the Institute, spoke of the annual meeting which had been held at Southampton in somewhat qualified terms as regards success. The weather had been unpropitious, and this had interfered with the number of visitors, and with the comfort of those present. It had, however, been a great source of satisfaction to the members that the Presidency of the meeting had been occupied by the distinguished Prelate who had been so long a member of the Institute, and who had often rendered to the cause of archæology such important and earnest help. The retirement of Mr. Charles Tucker from the direction of the temporary museums of the Institute was a subject of deep regret to the Council. His long and arduous services in their cause had earned for him the most cordial thanks of the members, and the Council had unanimously forwarded to him such an acknowledgment of his valuable services. Looking forward to the next annual meeting, which would be held at Exeter, the Chairman referred to the high interest which attached to the place and district, and mentioned in terms of the deepest regret, the sudden death of the Rev. C. Kirwan, by whom they had been favoured with some valuable memoirs upon rchæological subjects connected with Devonshire, and who had shown much interest in promoting the forthcoming meeting in the West.

Mr. J. P. EARWAKER, B.A., read a memoir "On some Ancient Swords, with the Inscription, 'Edwardus Prins Anglie'" (printed at p. 1 of the present volume.)

The CHAIRMAN, in suggesting a vote of thanks to the lecturer, discussed some of the points raised by his discourse, especially remarking that all knightly swords were straight, and quite unlike those before the meeting. Mr. Clark also remarked upon the un military aspect of the weapons under consideration, which had much the appearance of "couteaux de chasse." If there were such a relic of the Black Prince existing it ought to be found in Cheshire, but there could be no grounds for supposing such swords as those exhibited to be older than the sixteenth century. Mr. Hewitt and Mr. Nichols also added some remarks, and Sir E. Smirke observed that the eldest son of the sovereign, now called Prince of the United Kingdom, was, before the Union, Prince of England, and would be called so. To these comments Mr. Earwaker replied that the idea of the "couteaux de chasse," as applied to these swords, was a very probable

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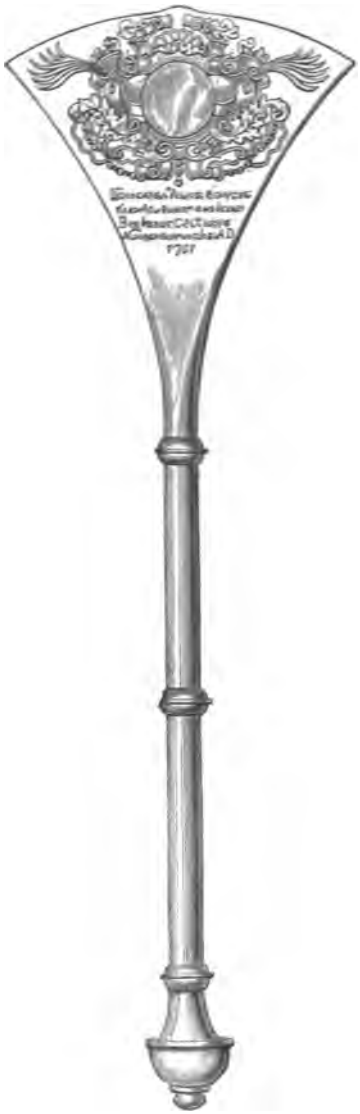

Silver Oar exhibited in a Loan Collection of Plate and other objects, at Bermuda, 1872.

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solution of their peculiarities, and as to the title of "Prince of England," he should be greatly obliged for any evidence relating to its use.

The Hon. SECRETARY read the following notices of "The Silver Oar, the Symbol and Insignia of certain Usages of Maritime Jurisdiction," by Mr. Albert Way, from Notes by General Lefroy, R.A., F.R.S., Governor of Bermuda :—

"It cannot fail to be highly gratifying to the members of the Institute, assembled at the commencement of another session, to hail the assurance of continued interest in our Proceedings, on the part of a distinguished member, who for several years took so active a part in promoting our pursuits by his personal encouragement, and by the frequent communication of objects of pleasing and instructive character in various departments of archæological investigation. Our kind friend, the Governor of Bermuda, by whose agreeable and genial participation in our meeting the Society has heretofore been constantly cheered, has not forgotten us, amidst the weightier functions of his present high position. Of the kindly remembrance in which General Lefroy still holds his friends of the Archæological Institute, and of his cordial desire to promote their gratification, we have a most welcome evidence in a recent communication, received since our last meeting in these rooms, where we were wont, on such occasions, to be favoured by his frequent presence and co-operation.

"During the early part of the present year, as we are informed by General Lefroy, a Loan Exhibition was formed, chiefly through his suggestion and influence, with the object of collecting the old plate and other relics of the like nature existing in Bermuda. The result proved highly satisfactory; a considerable number of curious objects were brought together, including a variety of plate, preserved in the possession of early settlers in the islands. A catalogue of the collection was printed, and we regret that a copy sent to us, through the General's kind desire to give gratification to the Society, has been lost in the transit. He has also transmitted, for our inspection, the photograph now placed before the meeting, and in which are to be seen represented a variety of quaint articles of plate, not indeed of any very antique character, but amongst these,—mostly, it would appear, of the earlier part of the last century,—are found a sword of state and a Silver Oar, the insignia, doubtless, of the Governor's jurisdiction.

"On the blade of the Oar, measuring 8½ in. in breadth, are the royal arms and supporters, with an anchor under the atchievement; on the reverse was introduced, surrounded by elaborate lambrequins in scroll-work, in the style of decoration prevalent in the reign of William and Mary, a circular compartment, that seems to have been engraved with a coat of arms, probably those of the Governor of the period. These, however, have been purposely effaced at some remote time. Underneath there is an inscription of which a portion of the first line, giving the Governor's name, is illegible. The remainder may be deciphered as follows :—

'. . . . Armiger
Insularum Æstivariorum alīs
Bermudæ Gubernator, et
Vice admiralis. A.D.
1701.'

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The year-letter in the plate-marks is a court-hand capital B, indicating, as ascertained by Mr. Morgan's valuable tables of the Annual Assay Office Letters, the year 1697-8, as the date when the Oar was actually made.

"The Bermudas, it will be remembered, a group of about 300 small islands in the Atlantic, were discovered in 1522, by a Spaniard named Juan Bermudez. According, however, to the narrative by Henry May, who was cast away there in 1593, the name was derived from a Spanish ship called *Bermudas*, that had there been wrecked. Another, and less common appellation was taken from Lord Summers, or Sommers, who was driven upon these islands in 1609. James I., in 1612, granted a charter for a colony there, and the islands have remained in possession of the British, under a Governor and Council. The origin of the name last mentioned appears to have been occasionally quite forgotten, as in the inscription upon the Oar, the remarkably genial climate and perpetual warmth having perhaps caused the notion that this North Atlantic archipelago might most appropriately be designated the 'Summer Islands'—*Insulæ Æstivariæ*, as we find them called upon the Silver Oar. The poet Waller, who took refuge in that remote colony with many persons of condition and wealth, who fled from England during the civil wars, celebrated the beauties of the 'Summer Islands,' as designated in his poems.

"The symbol of the Silver Oar, still retained amongst the insignia of several of the principal seaport towns in England, presents a subject of considerable interest, and some obscurity as regards the period to which its introduction may be ascribed, the precise function and jurisdiction with which it was originally, or has been in present times, associated, and also the proper use of such a symbol, namely, whether, in like manner as certain state swords, maces, and other municipal insignia, the Oar was conferred by any special charter or royal donation. In Bermuda, as General Lefroy informs us, the Oar serves at the present time as a Mace. Of its original use or intention he has been unable to elicit any evidence from the Archives, which commence from 1615, or from any other sources of information.

"Several examples of the Silver Oar have been preserved with the regalia of corporate towns in England. Of these, one has recently been brought under the notice of the Institute, at the Southampton meeting; the striking symbol of municipal jurisdiction and state—the large Silver Oar borne before the chief magistrate of that town, in token, it is stated, of the Admiralty rights of the port, of which the Mayor is Admiral. On the occasion of the visit of the Society to Great Yarmouth, in 1847, during the meeting at Norwich, the Silver Oar presented to the town in 1744 was displayed with the Mace and other insignia over the chair occupied by the Mayor, when presiding at the banquet of welcome to the Institute in that ancient port. It will be in the remembrance of many of our members that in the sumptuous gathering of antiquities and works of art exhibited at Ironmongers' Hall, London, in 1861, were to be seen the water bailiffs' Oar, a very fine piece of plate, dating from the mayorality of Benjamin Graydon, Esq., in 1740; also the Silver Oar of the water bailiff of Colchester, with the Silver Oyster, the symbol of peculiar local jurisdiction, and the fine oar above mentioned, preserved at Southampton. Lastly, in illustration of these ancient insignia, may be mentioned the Silver-gilt Oar that formerly belonged to the Corporation of Boston, where it was used as a mace. It was of the time of Queen Elizabeth, and bore her

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arms and initials, with other heraldic decorations. This grand relic of ancient state—the earliest example of the oar now known to exist, was sold in 1832 by the Town Council, and it subsequently came into the possession of the Earl Brownlow.[1] Doubtless other examples exist in our corporate towns, and it is hoped that through the notice thus invited to the subject of the Silver Oar, and the friendly communication of a Trans-Atlantic example, for which we are indebted to General Lefroy, further information may hereafter be drawn forth.

"It has been remarked that the origin and antiquity of the use of the Silver Oar is involved in obscurity, and information has been sought in vain in glossaries and such works as might supply information on maritime practices. We are indebted to one who is greatly versed in such subjects, and in naval archæology in general, for some remarks that cannot fail to prove acceptable, although by no means conclusive. The subject of the Silver Oar does not appear indeed to have received any sufficient consideration. According to the views of the person in question, the Oar may be regarded as a purely civil and English emblem, intrusted to such magistrates as have maritime jurisdiction. The mayor of Southampton, for instance, has an Oar, and exercises jurisdiction from Hurst Castle to Hayling Island. The mayor of Rochester has all the Medway under his charge. In the same way the Governors of our colonies are vice-admirals, exercising civil maritime jurisdiction, and have, probably, the Silver Oar as emblem of their office. It may be observed that in the Admiralty instructions the commanding officers of her Majesty's ships are to afford every facility to the civil power. They are to require any constable or other civil officer coming on board one of her Majesty's ships to produce the warrant, or to show some evidence of the character in which he acts. But nothing more definite is known.

"There are various considerations that tend to confirm the impression that the usage of the Oar is altogether Civil and English. No allusion to it is found in the Archæologie Navale, by Jal; neither does Boucher, the editor of the 'Consulat de la Mer,' make mention of it. In early times Captains and Admirals seem to have worn a silver whistle as the ensign of their authority. Burchett (in 1720) enters largely into the duties of Vice-Admirals, as well in the maritime counties of these kingdoms, as in the foreign Governments and plantations. The Vice-Admiral, he observes, should use his seal in all writs and proceedings which concern the exercise of his jurisdiction. Not a word about the Silver Oar.

"It may be hoped that in the Archives of the Summer Islands our courteous friend may still discover some record that will throw light on this obscure matter, and on the use of the symbol generally. He informs us that much curious information has already come under his notice in those evidences. One interesting fact is mentioned in regard to the vexed question of a Shakspearian reading, and deserving of the consideration of future commentators. It is, moreover, gratifying to ourselves, as an instance of the keen and careful attention to minute details that has in former days always characterised the researches of General Lefroy, and his communications to the Institute. In two documents he has found the name of the islands written 'Bermootha,' a near approach to Shakspeare's orthography—'the still-vext Bermoothes,' although people have been found

[1] Catalogue of the Exhibition, p. 630.

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who deny the identity of the Summer Islands with the scene of the 'Tempest.'"

Mr. W. F. VERNON, on a subsequent occasion, obligingly contributed the following additional notes on this subject:—

"I have since endeavoured to ascertain something about the Silver Oar, and I find it is the badge or mace of the Court of Admiralty, which is laid in front of the Judge whenever the Admiralty Court sits; in the same way that the mace is laid before the Speaker of the House of Commons. Mr. Jones, the present marshal of the High Court of Admiralty, has it in his custody.

"Mr. Jones informs me that our Vice-Admiralty Courts, of which there are 53 (see Navy List), are entitled to Silver Oars as their badge, but he cannot say how many really have them, as they are not given by the Crown nor by the Lords of the Admiralty.

"There is one at the Cape of Good Hope, which is always laid before the Governor when he sits as Vice-Admiral. There is another, as before mentioned, at Bermuda. I also find that many Mayors and corporations in England, who had any maritime jurisdiction, possessed the Silver Oar.

"Rochester has one 3 ft. 3¼ in. long, extreme breadth of blade 5 in. On one side are the royal badges under crowns, gilt; on the other are the royal arms, gilt, under a crown, with the lion and unicorn for supporters, and the mottoes, 'Honi soit qui mal y pence' and 'Dieu et mon droit.' On the handle is inscribed, 'Benjamin Graydon, Esq., mayor, 1748.' The Mayor is said to have some jurisdiction over the Medway.

"Boston, in Lincolnshire, had one. See 'Hall Marks,' by William Chaffers, 4th ed., 1872, page 65, where he says, 'At the Exhibition of Works of Art on Loan at the South Kensington Museum, in 1862,' a silver-gilt oar (date 1725) was shown. A copy of a more ancient one, of the time of Queen Elizabeth, 3 ft. 3 in. long, inscribed, 'This oar, a badge of authority used by the ancient Corporation of Boston, was sold by the Town Council in 1832, and purchased by Francis Thurkill, Esq., alderman of that borough, by whose widow it was presented, in 1840, to Earl Brownlow.'

"Southampton has a Silver Oar, which is borne before the chief magistrate, in token of the Admiralty rights which he possesses from Hurst Castle to Hayling Island.

"At Colchester the symbol of the water bailiff's authority is a Silver Oar.

"In Wall's History of Great Yarmouth, it is stated that in 1744, Samuel Killett, alderman, gave to the Corporation a Silver Oar, double gilt.

"In a letter I have received from Plymouth, it says, Saltash exercises the jurisdiction of the Silver Oar on the river from above the town to the Cobbler Buoy. Plymouth endeavoured to deprive Saltash of this privilege, but failed.

"I do not know what maritime jurisdiction these Corporations *now* possess, for an Act of Parliament was passed in 1840 placing all *creeks* and *rivers* in Great Britain under the High Court of Admiralty, in the same manner that the high seas were under that court.

"I have not found anybody who had the smallest idea as to how the Supreme Admiralty Court first became possessed of the Silver Oar. The one now used is (I am informed) about 120 years old, but there is a tradition that there was one, in days gone by, with Queen Elizabeth's arms upon it; but how they became possessed of one at all no one seems to know.

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"But, besides these larger Silver Oars, there is a vague idea, not only amongst sailors, but widely spread amongst the public at large, that no person could formerly be arrested from on board one of his Majesty's ships on the high seas, unless the constable or water bailiff (in addition to his warrant) produced a small silver Oar, as a badge of his authority. Now, although this idea is very prevalent, I have never found anybody who has seen this *small silver oar*, and the present marshal of the Admiralty Court assures me that he knows nothing at all about it, and has never seen such a thing.

"When a ship is to be detained, or any person arrested on the high seas, the warrant is issued by the Admiralty Court, and handed to the marshal of the Court, who sends it by one of his officers, lending him at the same time a small constable's staff, about 6 in. long, with a silver crown on the top, as a badge of his authority.

"It is possible that as every warrant for an arrest is forwarded through the marshal of the Court, who has the custody of the *large silver oar*, people may have got into the habit of saying that such arrest or detention of a ship was made by or under *the silver oar*, but no such badge is ever produced." See "Some Account of the Ancient Monuments in the Priory Church, Abergavenny," by Octavius Morgan, Esq., M.P. and V.P. of the Institute, 1872, where (p. 79) is an account of the monument of Dr. David Lewis, Judge of the High Court of Admiralty in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The tomb is said to have been erected by himself during his lifetime, not in those days a very uncommon circumstance, and the decoration of the monument gives some curious details which seem to have been the result of his own special instruction. One of the representations is that of a man enclosed within a scroll, bearing the legend THE SARGANT OF THE ADMIRALTEE, and in his right hand he bears the Silver Oar, as the Mace of the Admiralty Court. This is, perhaps, the earliest representation of the emblem.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. EARWAKER.—Various drawings of inscribed swords, in illustration of his Memoir.

By Mr. WHITEHALL DOD, of Lanerch.—A curved sword, 25 in. long by 1⅝ in. wide, inscribed, "Edwardus Prins Anglie."

By the Rev. F. K. HARFORD, M.A., minor canon of Westminster.—A curved sword, with broad blade, inscribed in characters differing from any others referred to, "Edwardus Prins Anglie," on each side of the blade.

By Mr. FAULDER, of St. John's College, Cambridge.—A curved scymitar-shaped sword, probably of foreign workmanship, and with a curious handle.

By Mr. ALLSOPP, of Cheltenham.—A straight sword, having on the blade the wolf-mark of Passau, and the figures "1551," which may be its date, but is probably merely a mark.

By the Rev. J. E. WALDY, M.A.—A straight sword of the "hanger" kind, total length 29½ in.; the blade 24 in. long, and greatest breadth 1 in., having two grooves on each side, one extending the whole length of the blade. A small pistol is attached to the side at the top of the blade, with the trigger within the sword-guard. This is the weapon with which Lord Byron, the father of the poet, killed Mr. Chaworth, a

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Nottingham gentleman, in a duel, at the Star and Garter Tavern, Pall Mall, on the 26th January, 1765. For this Lord Byron was tried by his peers, and found guilty of manslaughter; claiming benefit of clergy, he was discharged on payment of fees. The sword was given by the poet to Mr. Dearden, of Rochdale, by whose son it was bequeathed to the exhibitor.

By Mr. Samuel Shaw, of Andover.—The haft of a bronze dagger, stated to have been found on the land near the old clay pits, Bere Hill, Andover. It measures 5½ in. in length. Of the blade only a small portion, 1¼ in. in length, remains. The haft and blade were cast in one piece, the former is flat, and set with a number of studs, like rivet heads, on each side, having also a raised rim all round the edge, as if intended to be filled in with a thin plate of horn or the like. On the lower side of the cross-guard there is a row of globules, three on each side. The metal is of light colour, and appears to have been cleaned with acid (?).

By Mr. J. Henderson, F.S.A.—An Indian shield of rhinoceros hide, from the Paris Exhibition in 1867.—An Indian battle-axe, having the steel head damascened with gold, and the wooden handle cased in silver. It is one of twelve axes which were carried by twelve executioners seated on elephants, who preceded Akbar Shali, the last Emperor of Delhi, on state occasions, as indications of imperial and despotic power. Akbar Shali—so named after his illustrious ancestor of the sixteenth century—was then a pensioner on English bounty, and this axe was obtained from the palace at Delhi by an officer of the Bengal Horse Artillery, from whom, through the kindness of Mr. Fortnum, it came into the possession of its present owner.—A pair of Sikh war quoits, with gold ornamentation of Kooft Gari work. The usual type of war quoit, as hurled by the practised hands of the Akali, is of polished steel, with very sharp edge. Specimens are in the East India Museum, and in the fine collection of Oriental arms belonging to H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh.

By Major-General Lefroy, R.A., Governor of Bermuda.—A photograph of a collection of objects chiefly consisting of plate and other family relics, and especially showing the State sword and Silver Oar lately exhibited at Bermuda.

By Mrs. Childe.—Drawing of a stone building in the churchyard of Kinlet, Shropshire, of which some further particulars will be given.

By Mr. C. Golding.—Drawings of wall-paintings in the church of St. Margaret, Ipswich, discovered in September last, and representing St. Christopher and St. Anthony.—An Italian almanack for the year 1415. It consists of eighteen leaves of paper, of which fourteen are written upon on both sides, in fair condition, and agrees with the present mode of calculating the Dominical Letters, &c., according to the Julian form of year.

By Mrs. Jackson Gwilt.—A small Roman lamp, found in King Street, Southwark.

December 6, 1872.

Octavius Morgan, Esq., M.P., F.S.A., and V. P., in the Chair.

The Rev. R. Valpy French, D.D., read a memoir "On the Monumental Brasses of Huntingdonshire," which will probably be published, and which was illustrated by numerous rubbings, sketches, and drawings.

The Hon. W. O. Stanley, M.P., read "Remarks on a Cromlech or Cist-vaen at Trefigneth, Anglesey," of which he sent a detailed description. It is

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situated about a mile and a half from Holyhead; and a great portion of the stones of which it was constructed were wantonly removed towards the close of the last century. A short account, with a view of this remarkable monument, was given by Mr. Stanley, in the "Archæologia Cambrensis," third series, vol. xiii. p. 234. It is hoped that hereafter it may be more fully described and illustrated from the survey and drawings now supplied through his kindness for the gratification of the Institute.

Mr. Charles Roach Smith sent the following "Notes" upon the remarkable gold ornament lately found by the Royal Engineers at Chatham, and which was exhibited by the courteous permission of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for War, the Right Hon. E. Cardwell, M.P.:—"By the courtesy of Colonel Gallway, Commandant of the School of Military Engineering, I have been favoured with an inspection of the gold torques to be exhibited to-day at the meeting of the Archæological Institute; and Captain Clayton, R.E., has kindly given me the particulars of its discovery which I forward to you. It was dug up by sapper Goodall, R.E.,

Gold Torques found at Chatham.

on the 13th of last month, while engaged with a party of Sappers in some field operations on Chatham Lines between the Sally Port and the Brompton Barrier. As we are all well aware, Chatham Lines, in the latter half of the last century, furnished Douglas (then in the Royal Engineers) with the chief materials for his *Nenia Britannica*, one of the earliest works in which our Saxon sepulchral remains were treated with discriminating ability. There is no reason to doubt that drachmas of Athens have been found at Chatham Lines. I have a note that some of them were in the possession of the late Mr. William Craftes, of Gravesend; and one is engraved in a 'History of Rochester,' 1772, which is stated to have been found in throwing up ramparts at Gillingham. At this place was found, a few years since, a fragment of a gold armilla, with a small gold ring, now in the possession of Mr. J. H. Ball, upon whose property they were excavated. Some gold

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torques have been dredged up from the Medway. They are destined for the Charles Museum at Maidstone; but as yet I have not had an opportunity of examining them. They are, however, of a type or types much more common than that now before the Institute, which, from its massiveness and peculiarities, is not so readily to be compared with similar examples. At least, among a vast number of engraved specimens within my reach, I have as yet failed to find one like it. To me it suggests, in a very marked manner, adaptation as a medium of barter to which, probably, its use as a personal ornament was only accessory. I believe a portion or portions must have been separated for traffic, by its British owner; and you will notice that it has been incised as if to mark the place for another division. If we could understand the 'iron' *rings* mentioned by Cæsar as of *gold*, this and similar annular personal ornaments would make the well-known and disputed passage in this author perfectly intelligible: *gold* rings we do find which admit of being considered as adjusted to certain known weights; *iron* rings, of the same period and character, we do not find. On the various kinds of Celtic and Roman personal ornaments which have been classed under the general term *torques*, I need, at present, only remark that you have numerous examples at hand in the papers by Dr. Birch and Mr. Way (see 'Arch. Journal,' vol. ii. p. 368; vol. iii. p. 27; and vol. vi. p. 48). The Roman sepulchral monument at Bonn, figured by Dr. Birch in your journal, and also in vol. ii. of my 'Collectanea Antiqua,' gives, perhaps, the very best instance of the modes of wearing this ornament. The well-known statue at Rome, misnamed 'The Dying Gladiator,' affords another valuable instance of the torques worn as a permanent ornament by a Gaulish or German chief."

In reply to a question as to the precise character of the soil where this very interesting object was found, Captain Clayton, R.E., most obligingly forwarded the following answer:—"I am sorry I cannot tell you definitely whether the spot where the torques was found was made ground or not, as opinions differ on the point. It was some 40 or 50 feet clear of the foot of the glacis, which is made ground, and was apparently on the site of one of the fences which divided the present lines into fields before the fortifications were made, and of which traces, more or less distinct, exist still. If it were made ground, it has been undisturbed for about 70 years at the least. I am sorry to say we were unsuccessful in making a cast of the relic, the work being one quite out of our ordinary routine, but I have a very rough cast in lead in my office." The Torques thus described weighs 22 oz. 4 dwts., and resembles a small finely twisted rope, half-an-inch in diameter in its thickest part, and five-twelfths of an inch at the smallest end. If spread out lengthwise, it would be 12½ inches long. It was now imperfect, and had obviously been larger. It need scarce be added that much interest was excited by the exhibition of this remarkable object, which was obligingly brought to the rooms of the Institute by Col. Browne, R.E.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By permission of the Right Hon. E. Cardwell, M.P., Her Majesty's Secretary of State for War.—A gold ornament found by the Royal Engineers while constructing works at Chatham.

By the Chairman.—An official Chamberlain's key of Charles, Elector Palatine, 1680-1685. On one side of the bow is the crowned lion of the

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Palatinate; on the other, the name CHARLES in a complex cipher. He was the last of the Simmorn line, which was succeeded by the Neuburg branch;—Enamel portrait of Caroline Matilda, Queen of Denmark, sister of George III., and the unhappy consort of Christian VII., King of Denmark, born 1751; married 1766; divorced, being the victim of the Struensee plot, and died 1775.

By the Rev. Dr. FRENCH.—Numerous rubbings and sketches in illustration of his memoir "On the Monumental Brasses of Huntingdonshire."

By the Hon. W. OWEN STANLEY, M.P., F.S.A., Lord Lieutenant of Anglesey.—Drawings illustrating the cromlech of Trefigneth, Anglesey;—a charm, as supposed, against witchcraft, found in Anglesey in a bed sold at an auction at Llanpledyn. It is subscribed, "Amen, John Griffith, 1855." It is believed that this John Griffith was under the care for some years of one Griffith Ellis, of Carnarvon, who was much in repute in the island in cases of alleged witchcraft, and as possessing the mysterious power to avert the evil operations of necromantic malevolence in the county of Anglesey. It will be recollected that during the last year Mr. Stanley brought under the notice of the Institute an extraordinary instance of certain mysterious practices of the Black Art in Anglesey, by placing a frog stuck with pins in an earthen jar concealed in a wall, with an inscription showing the individual whom it was thus intended to bewitch. In the charm now noticed, Mr. Stanley has sent for inspection another evidence that the nefarious practice of such superstitions has not been discontinued in remote parts of the Principality. It is a large sheet of paper bearing a mystic writing, in which many unknown symbols and characters, partly resembling Hebrew letters, occur; it is probably a Charact or charm against witchcraft.

By Mr. C. D. E. FORTNUM, F.S.A.—A selection of 78 finger-rings of post-Christian periods, extending from the 3rd to the 18th century. Among them were important and characteristic examples of early Christian, Byzantine, and mediæval periods; Episcopal rings of the 13th and 14th centuries; a series of remarkable nielloed rings, and a Knight Templar's of the latter period; a diamond, probably one of the earliest cutting-stones of the 15th century, in gold setting of that time; Italian *cinque-cento* jewelled and enamelled rings; English iconographic, signets and merchants' thumb-rings; German gimmel and enamelled memorial rings; Jewish ceremonial marriage-rings. Italian, French, and English *giardinetti* and others set with faceted crystals; the list ending with a noble Oriental onyx of three strata of antique Roman cutting, set in a finely enamelled ring of the last century. This series had been selected from the owner's collection (numbering some 700 specimens of finger rings of all ages and countries) as a contribution to the exhibition of ancient jewellery held during the past season at the South Kensington Museum, and to illustrate this branch of the jeweller's art;—Also a brass and copper tobacco-box, measuring $4\frac{3}{4}$ in. × $1\frac{7}{8}$, and $1\frac{1}{4}$ in depth, inscribed "W. Fortnom, May 1st, 1735," which had been found in the timbers of an old East India ship when broken up, and supposed to have belonged to a member of one branch of his family, some of whom held military appointments in India in the last century, and who retained the original spelling of the name.

By Mr. ALBERT WAY, F.S.A.—Photograph of a sword, inscribed EDWARDUS PRINS ANGLIAE, now in the possession of Mr. E. T. Oldfield, of Keyingham, near Hull. It was purchased by his father-in-law, Mr. T. J. Owst, at the sale of the museum formed at Hull by Wallis, a gunsmith of that town, who

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had a large collection of arms and antiquities. It was formerly at Armethwaite Castle, near Carlisle.

By Dr. Nichol Carne, of St. Donat's Castle, Glamorgan. An original roll of Ministers' Accounts for Rhymney and other places in the lordship of Newport, South Wales, 13-14 Henry VI., in which were some remarkable entries and singular phrases, which were the subject of many remarks by the Chairman, and by Mr. Burtt, who read some "notes" relating to them.

By the Rev. J. Fuller Russell, F.S.S.—The wedding ring of Hannah Fuller, née Meadows. On the inside of the ring are engraved two hearts, with the inscription, "H. F., May 17, 1739."

By Mr. J. G. Waller.—An original document found in the walls of Hoo church, Kent, in the course of works of reparation. It is a power of attorney by Thomas Cobham to Stephen Charles, to give seisin of land at St. Werburgh to William Banaster, 20 March, 5 Edw. IV. (A.D. 1465). Another document, of which a fragment only is preserved, was found at the same time. The two first individuals named are commemorated in the church by brasses.

By the Hon. Wilbraham Egerton, M.P.—Three weapons of an early Indian type.—1. A headsman's sword, ornamented in brass, the handle of horn, bearing an inscription in Bengalee; extreme length, 3 ft. 1 in.; greatest breadth, 8 in. At the end of the ridge at back is a point, flattened, and two projections at the back of singular form. Close to the ridge at back a strip of brass is inserted, ornamented with a row of little punched circles with dot in the middle, filled in with red; a similar row on the blade, below the brass strip. 2. A sword, the hilt and blade of steel, engraved, sharpened on the curved inner edge. 3. A dagger, or "khandjar," with handle of same material as blade, foliated, damascened, 16 in. long; blade, 1½ in. wide, the broad part having three ridges.

Upon the subject of the early type of Indian sword, Mr. Egerton has obligingly communicated the following notes:—

"The history of the sword in India goes back to antiquity far beyond all written record. The evidence of language proves iron to have been used before the Aryan dispersion. In their poetical histories, and in the Institutes of Menu, the sword is mentioned. The coins of the Indo-Scythian kings, dating from A.D. 200, represent a figure in armour with a straight sword sheathed by his side. In the sculptures of the Sanchi bas-reliefs the swords are short and broad, and tally exactly with the description of Megasthenes,—'All bear swords of a vast breadth, though scarce exceeding three cubits in length. When they engage in close fight, they clasp these in both hands, that the blow may be stronger.'

"In the sculptures at Saitron, in Rajpootana, about A.D. 1100, of which casts exist in the South Kensington Museum, there are represented two sets of combatants, one armed with a short straight sword, and the other with one curved forward at the point, like the sword I exhibited. These two types seem to be the oldest of which we have any examples. They may both have been used in the same part of India, but more probably the short straight sword was used by the inhabitants of Rajpootana and Central India, while the curved sword was peculiar to the south of India.

"This is certainly the case with the daggers; the straight dagger is more used in the country north of the Deccan, and the curved dagger, like the one I exhibit, in the southern part of India. This may have arisen

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from the connection with the Arabs, who, as well as trading with Southern India, were used as mercenaries, and always wore a curved dagger.

"The account which Gaspar Correa, who went to India with Vasco di Gama, gives of the swords used at Calicut seems to point to a sword like the one exhibited. He says, 'A gentleman of birth, whom they call Nair, came on board. He had a very thin, round shield, with slings of wood and vermilion, which glittered very much, and a naked sword with an iron hilt. The sword was short, 27 in. long (a Flemish ell), and broad at the point.' Again, when he visits the Zamorin of Calicut, his page holds 'a short drawn sword an ell in length, round at the point, with a hilt of gold and jewellery, with pendant pearls.'

"Now the sword I exhibited is just the length of 27 in. in the blade, and if this writer is correct as to the size of the sword, it comes nearer to the description than any sword either in the India Museum, or Tower collection, or in the Museum of Tsarkoe Selo, which I have lately visited.

"The next writer that I shall quote is Philip Baldæus, who says, 'When the Dutch besieged the city of Coulang, on the Malabar coast, they were met by seven or eight thousand Nairs:' and he further observes, 'on the hilts of their swords they wear certain pieces of metal, which, making a noise as they move, serves them for a certain music.'

"This is, I believe, the explanation of the loose rings, which I have not found on any other Indian sword, and if so, it fixes it to the same district as the previous Portuguese writer.

"Now, the Zamorin and the Nairs were conquered by Hyder Ali, and therefore this peculiar sword would probably be replaced in that district by the curved scimitar generally worn by Mahomedans.

"I will now call attention to the style of ornament on the engraved part of the hilt. There are two classes of ornament on Indian arms, corresponding roughly to the two great races which held the country, viz., the Aryan and Turanian, or non-Aryan.

"The style of ornament on this sword seems to be similar to that which is found in those great temples built under the influence of those Turanian races which are found in Southern India, Burmah, and Siam. The geometrical patterns differ from the floral decorations of Northern and Central India as much as the Runic patterns in the north of Europe differ from the Gothic designs which succeeded them. The ornament, therefore, would point to Southern India, and to the same locality which I have already mentioned.

"The sacrificial knife, 'kargas,' is wrongly described in the Meyrick collection, and resembles some at the Tower and India Museum, with the exception of the inscription, which is pronounced by Dr. Roost to be in a character of Hindu at least 200 years old. It came, probably, from the Nepaul frontier, where it is usual to find the decoration on the blade engraved in red."

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Notices of Archaeological Publications.

THE THREE CATHEDRALS DEDICATED TO ST. PAUL IN LONDON. By William Longman.

No one is better qualified than Mr. Longman to write about St. Paul's, since he is the Chairman of the Committee for its completion. This book therefore has to some extent an official character; and though the author is careful to avoid assuming any such authority for it, we may safely regard it as in some sort a manifesto of the Committee. Our concern, archæologically, is not so much with that part of this handsomely illustrated book which tells what Wren's design really was, as with the chapters in which Old St. Paul's is described. The description is of the most minute kind, and is accompanied by what, from our point of view, is the most prominent feature of the work. This is a series of steel engravings reduced from the magnificent drawings of Mr. E. Ferrey, representing from measurements and other data, such as Hollar's prints, what the great church must have been in the days of its glory. Mr. Longman avoids all reference to the monuments, and confines his attention to the successive structures which have occupied the site. Altogether, though the book has a certain fragmentary or supplementary air, we are glad to possess it, the more so as it fills a gap in the list of works on London topography.

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Archæological Intelligence.

The Perkins Sale.—It is an encouraging sign for archæology that this sale, although taking place at a very inconvenient distance from London, and at a time when other attractions drew much attention away from such subjects, was yet an object of the greatest interest, and was watched by many amateurs who took no part in the commercial transaction, but were simply drawn together by the high character of so many of the volumes exhibited and sold. The prices obtained were not very remarkable in any way, except on the last day. The manuscripts on the whole sold moderately, considering their great beauty and condition. But the great event of the sale, and that which deserves a place here, was that, in the two last lots offered, the price hitherto reckoned the highest in the annals of bibliography was twice exceeded. We mentioned the two copies of the "Mazarine Bible" in the last number of the Journal, and have now to add that the vellum copy fetched 3,400*l.*, and the paper copy 2,600*l.*, thus in both cases the 2,260*l.* given at the Roxburgh sale for the Valdarfur "Boccaccio" was largely exceeded.

Sir John Lubbock, with a public-spirited munificence which is creditable to him, has purchased Silbury Hill, in order to preserve it intact. The hill covers seven acres. A very complete account of it may be found in our Salisbury volume.

The restoration of St. Alban's Abbey has come to a stand-still for want of funds. About 15,000*l.* has been expended, and the central tower has been rendered secure, while many of the ancient features long concealed have been brought to light, especially in the transepts. A general distrust of "restorations" prevails very generally at present, and we cannot wonder that the public have not been willing to do more in the present instance. Still, much might be added to the recent work before the dangerous point would be approached. Perhaps the most important discovery during the progress of the reparations has been that of the Shrine of St. Alban, recently described by Mr. Micklethwaite before the Archæological Institute, and an account of which was printed in our last volume. The pieces found, though they do not quite complete the structure as it once was, are sufficient to indicate its appearance with tolerable accuracy, and have been restored to the place from which they had been banished for upwards of three centuries.

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The Archaeological Journal.

JUNE, 1873.

NOTES ON THE COPTIC DAYRS OF THE WADY NATRÛN AND ON DAYR ANTONIOS IN THE EASTERN DESERT.

By GREVILLE J. CHESTER, B.A.

THE researches for ancient MSS. by Canon Cureton and Archdeacon Tattam, and the amusing pages of the "Monasteries of the Levant," by the Hon. Robert Curzon, afterwards Lord Zouche, have thrown considerable interest around the Coptic *Dayrs* of the Wady Natrûn, but, so far as I know, no detailed account exists of those ancient Christian establishments, much less of the still remoter Convent of S. Antony, in the Eastern Desert, near the Red Sea. This last place indeed seems not to have been visited by more than one or two Europeans within the recollection of the present generation of monks.

As an appropriate sequel to my Notes on the Coptic Churches of Mus'r el Ateykah, published in a late number of this Journal,[1] I propose to give such a brief description of these ancient Dayrs as I was enabled to draw up during a brief visit in January in the present year (1873).

1. The Convents of the Wady Natrûn, or Valley of the Natron Lakes, are four in number, and are respectively named *Dayr Macarius*, after the celebrated anchorite of that name; *Dayr Syriani*, founded perhaps originally for Syrians; *Dayr Amba Bishöi*, and *Dayr Baramoos*. All these establishments, unlike those of Mus'r el Ateykah, are still strictly conventual, women not even being permitted to enter their precincts. Numerous other Dayrs existed in ancient times in the same neighbourhood, but these last have long since fallen into ruin, and of some scarcely even a vestige now remains.

[1] Vol. xxix. p. 120.

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Terâneh, the ancient Tenenuthis, on the Nile, is the best point from which to cross that portion of the Libyan Desert which lies between the "*Bahr*" or River and the Wady, as the Khedivè's worthy Overseer of the natron and salt found therein is himself a Copt, and in the habit of sending occasional supplies to the Convents.

After a long day's journey across the Desert, surmounting at length an elevation of shining black pebbles, I saw in the red glow of the rapidly approaching sunset—a sight welcome to the eyes in those remote solitudes—the long white line of the walls of Dayr Mari Macarius growing out of the yellow sand on the opposite side of a depression, sparsely tufted with tumps of reedy grass, and white in places with efflorescent salts. Around, like stranded boats around the hull of a ship, lay the ruins of three more Convents and numerous smaller cells.

The walls of Mari Macarius, as well as of the other Dayrs, are windowless, and were whitened some twenty years ago, a period insufficient in that incomparable climate to cause the slightest stain. Access in this, as in the other instances, is gained by a single door, so low that one is compelled to bend double in order to enter, and near it is placed one or more massive mill-stones of the red granite of Assouan—sections, apparently, of ancient columns—which in time of danger are rolled into the doorway, the monks who effect the process being afterwards drawn up by a rope into a kind of gate-tower above. The Gommos or Abbot of Mari Macarius was unfortunately absent at the time of my visit, and a French ruffian named Fortune Amè, of Cairo, having abused the hospitality of the monks by breaking into one of the churches and the library by night and stealing therefrom silver plate and all the valuable MSS., which he threw over the wall to Arabs in his employ who were stationed outside, I was not permitted to enter the Kas'r or Tower. Sir Gardner Wilkinson[2] speaks of it as containing three churches and extols the beauty of the upper one, but I was told that it only contained a single chapel, one probably dedicated, as in the Kas'rs of the other Dayrs, to the Archangel Michael. Be that, however, as it may, the other churches are four in number: A. Abou Es' Haroun; B. Sheough (the Elders);

[2] Murray's Egypt, 1873, p. 261.

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C. Abou Macarius, with the appended Church of Hanna; and D. another church not of ancient date.

A. *Abou Es' Haroun.*—The vestibule or porch of this church has a vaulted roof of red brick and is supported upon four arches. The interior is divided into three principal compartments, in the first of which are rude frescoes of Mari Girgis (S. George), the patron of the Copts, and Abou Sephîn.[3] The pulpit is of wood. The Heykel or chancel is now disused, and, as is usual in the Wady Natrûn, in contradistinction to the examples at Mus'r el Ateykah and elsewhere in Egypt, it ends square and not with an apse.

B. *Sheough.*—This is a large church in three compartments. The chief objects of interest are the relics of S. Macarius, which are placed on an "Ambooba," a sort of wooden bed.

C. *Abou Macarius.*—This church also is built in three compartments. The third or Easternmost is unusually large and contains some old paintings and two stone candlesticks. A side compartment, which has an ancient screen, is really the separate Church of Hanna (John). Here are two more stone candlesticks. The dome displays fine Cufic inscriptions in red. At the time of my visit this Church was used for drying raisins, which almost covered the floors, a species of desecration far too common in the Dayrs of the Wady Natrûn.

The Refectory is a long, low, narrow building, supported by a single wooden pillar with a marble capital. It has a barrel roof of stone, and a stone table, now, as usual, disused, runs along its full length. Ten monks only occupy this Convent, the buildings of which appear to be in extremely bad repair.[4]

Three hours from Mari Macarius stand, near together, Dayr Syriani and Dayr Amba Bishöi, and at no great distance are the ruins of Abou Honnes and two others. Dayr Syriani is the most beautiful Convent of the Natron

[3] The attachment of the peaceful and servile Copts to such warlike saints as S. Girgis, S. Teodrus, and Abou Sephîn, is curious and worthy of note.

[4] A few hundred yards out in the desert west of S. Macarius, an Arab from Beni-Salâmeh showed me a curious place very difficult to describe. It is a shallow excavation cut in the natural rock with perfectly smooth floor and sides, and about seven yards across either way. Upon each side are two or three rectangular recesses. This singular excavation, of which it is hard to conjecture the use, is nearly filled up with sand.

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Valley. Its lofty walls enclose a large space of ground, and include a beautiful garden of palms, nebks, and other trees. Over the small door of entrance is a circlet of white marble sculptured with a sixfold cross within a wreath. The existing Churches are three in number, Adra Miriam, Abou Honnes and Baramooti Syriani, and Adra Bis Syriani; three others are in ruins.

A. *Abou Miriam.*—Over the door of this Church, which possesses nothing of particular interest, is a large cross sculptured in yellow stone, above which is a square window with stone tracery running all over the aperture in the form of quatrefoils. This, probably, is a unique feature.

B. *Abou Honnes* and *Baramooti Syriani.*—The interior of this Church exhibits four compartments, of which the first, that, namely, with the tank for the water blessed on the eve of the Epiphany, is very small and separated from the rest by a low stone screen. The Baptistery, now disused, is altogether cut off from the rest of the Church. In the second compartment are the relics of the patron saints, and a pulpit with very ancient paintings. Hanging high up is an ancient Arabic lamp of glass. Over the altar,[5] as usual, is a large wooden baldachino. The curtains of the door of the iconostasis are of rich material, and their edges display inscriptions in Arabic letters of early form, but not, I was assured, of ancient date.

C. *Adra Bis Syriani.*—This is a Church with four compartments and three aisles. The roof is unusually lofty, and there are several windows of stained glass. The screen door between the second and third divisions is of great magnificence, richly carved and inlaid with wood and ivory. The iconostasis, like the last named screen, is also inlaid with ivory; figures of saints and Syriac inscriptions being introduced with excellent effect. Over the door of the iconostasis is a cross of iron, and on either side the arch are plaster pilasters curiously moulded. Within, the surface of the entire walls of the sacrarium are richly ornamented with plaster orna-

[5] Sir Gardner Wilkinson, the original writer of Murray's Guide to Egypt, has made an extraordinary mistake, which has remained uncorrected in the revised edition of 1873, p. 361. He says, speaking of some subterranean chapels near Antinoë, "These had no stone altar. The Copts, indeed, have always had a table." The *very reverse* of this is the truth. *In every Coptic church, ancient or modern, which I have either seen or heard of, the altar is an unmistakable altar, and always built of stone.* Many Coptic clergymen have assured me they never even heard of a wooden table, and were sure that none such existed.

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ments of ancient design. In the niche is a picture suspended from a bronze cross. To the left of the high altar is a broken piece of marble built into the wall and sculptured with the lower part of a cross painted red, around which is written or painted on the stone a very ancient Syriac inscription. This may have been a consecration cross, if indeed they were in use in Oriental Churches. It should be noted that the screens in this interesting Church are solid, that is to say, imperforate and very lofty. Upon the altar of the Chapel of the Martyrs is a board carved with four crosses and with a Syriac inscription on the back. Here, too, is a very ancient double picture upon panel. Upon one side are represented SS. Sergius and Ouagius, and on the other the diademed head of a woman, which may be conjectured to represent that of the Empress Helena.

The refectory is evidently of great antiquity; it has the usual long stone table and stone seat on either side, and is adorned with much-faded frescoes. The Kas'r, or tower, which, as in the other Convents, serves as a sort of treasury, is approached through another building, from which, at a great height from the ground, a plank is thrown across to a small iron-plated door, its only entrance. The library contains a small collection of old, but not ancient, books and MSS. All the treasures have long since disappeared. In the topmost story of the Kas'r is a chapel dedicated to S. Michael,—a position which reminds one of the Churches dedicated to the same Archangel on Glastonbury Tor, S. Michael's Mount, and other places in Western Christendom.

Dayr Amba Bishöi.—This large Dayr, as already stated, stands at a short distance from Dayr Syriani, and the view from the top of the latter of its lofty and massive walls rising out of the silent sands of the desert is most peculiar and most striking. It contains three Churches,—Amba Bishöi, with that of El Adra attached, and a small one in the Kas'r.

A. *Amba Bishöi.*—The Church of Amba or Father Bishöi is approached by a porch, with a beautifully executed circular roof of red brick, and is divided inside into five compartments divided by screens of wood, of which two are solid, and two are perforated. In the second division is a stone pulpit, and between the third and fourth an ancient fresco and several small circular windows of stained

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glass. To the right is the domed chapel of Abba Es' Haroun El Kalini, *i. e.*, of El Kalin, which contains a large bronze corona. The sacrarium ends square, and has a fine range of steps,—six in number,—and remains of very handsome mosaic.

B. The Kineseh or Church of *El Adra* on the left contains a large reliquary, which incloses the entire body of Amba Bishöi. Outside is a small but picturesque belfry. In the Kas'r is a lofty chamber divided by a row of piers, with lofty pointed arched roofs of dark-red brick. This room is strewn with *leaves* of Coptic and Arabic MSS. upon Charta Bombycina, amongst which appeared a few atoms of vellum. The ancient MSS. have all been sold.

Dayr Baramoos.—This large convent (for which its occupants claim an antiquity of 1599 years) is situated about two hours' distance from the two last described. It contains four Churches, those, viz., of Adra Baramoos, Mari Hounes el Ma' Medaneh,[6] the small Church of Abêla-wa-Abib, and that of the Melak Michaeel in the Kas'r.

A. *Adra Baramoos.*—The interior of this building has three compartments and three aisles, as well as the rare feature for a Coptic Church of a kind of transept. The nave has a lofty stone-ribbed roof, and is supported upon massive piers. Here is the reliquary of the Adra Baramoos, and a fine screen. To the west is the Chapel of S. George, with a pointed doorway of Arab architecture.

The other Churches contain nothing worthy of particular notice. The refectory has a three-domed roof, a stone table with a range of stone seats on either side, and a massive lectern of stone sculptured with a floriated cross. The library in the Kas'r contains a considerable collection of MSS. on cotton paper in excellent preservation, but of no great antiquity, and an adjoining room is full of fragments and loose leaves. The belfry contains an ancient bell, apparently of Western manufacture, inscribed with the names of the four Evangelists. Near Dayr Baramoos are the ruins of Dayr Amba Musa. None of the suspended volumes described by Mr. Curzon now exist in any of these monasteries, and I only saw a single Abyssinian monk in Dayr

[6] I cannot be answerable for the correct spelling of the names of these Coptic Saints, though I have striven after accuracy by submitting them to the revision of Mr. Girgis Melad, an accomplished Coptic friend at Cairo.

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Baramoos. Of the four existing convents of the Wady Natrûn, Dayr Syriâni possesses the most property; it is followed in this respect by Dayrs Baramoos and Macarius, Dayr Amba Bishöi being the poorest of all. The inmates consist of the Gommos or Abbot, a certain number of Abûnas or Priests, and the Rahibs or lay brethren. The monks are extremely friendly, and hospitable to the utmost extent of their limited means.

2. I proceed now to give a brief description of my visit to Dayr Antonios in the Eastern desert, a place which, from the fine scenery by which it is surrounded, and its remote and extraordinary position, is of even greater interest than any of the convents of the Wady Natrûn. In the first instance I proceeded to the beautifully situated town of Boosh near Benisoof, upon the western bank of the Nile, in order to procure the proper letters of recommendation from the Reis or Gommos of S. Antony, who commonly resides in the subsidiary Convent at Boosh, near which place the Dayr possesses considerable landed property.

Dayr Bolos (S. Paul), the other existing Convent of the Eastern desert, has likewise its subsidiary though smaller establishment at Boosh; and the two great Churches, with their numerous white domes surmounted by crosses, give an unexpectedly Christian aspect to the scene. I was received in the kindest manner by the Gommos, who, his handsome new Church being completed, was engaged in superintending the erection of new conventual buildings around a large court, which was thronged with monks and with Christian and Mohammedan workmen, and with numerous asses, buffaloes, sheep, and other domestic animals. Next morning I crossed the Nile, with one of the Abûnas, to a point opposite the village of Maydoon, where stands another branch Dayr dependent upon Mari Antonios; a third, that of Adra Miriam, existing at Byad, opposite Benisoof. The Convent of S. Antony, opposite Maydoon, is reputed to have been the first spot to which S. Antony retired, and it was only when the saint found too much distraction from the concourse of people who passed up and down the Nile that he retired to the desert and the lonely mountains of Gelalla. This ancient establishment has now lost the character of a true Dayr, and has become a mere village of Christian people surrounding the ancient Churches, but still enclosed within

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the ancient walls, and entered by the usual small postern. The Church, or, more properly, the two connected Churches of Mari Antonios and Abou Sephîn are built of very hard dark red bricks. Mari Antonios has a central dome, flanked by four half-domes, supported by four pillars, of which three have fine ancient capitals taken from some still older building. Four smaller domes of very ingenious construction rise at the angles. The Church is apsidal, and contains an ancient chalice, and several of those curious balls of white porcelain or imitative eggs covered with coloured crosses, arabesques, and figures of Archangels, which are also found at Mar Saba, the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and in many other oriental churches. In the southern apse is the Baptistery. The floor of the entire church is formed by the natural rock which here rises to the surface. Abou Sephîn, which appears to be of equal antiquity, boasts likewise of a dome supported upon four pillars. The Arab historian, Makrisi (A.H. 740), calls this convent *Dayr el Gemaseh, i. e.*, of the Sycamore, and within the walls to the present day stands a half-blasted, but still venerable, sycamore fig-tree. The same Muslim author says of S. Antony, that he wished to become a martyr, but Diocletian dying, he became a monk and fasted forty days.

The convent of Adra Miriam at Byad, having become too dilapidated for habitation, is now in progress of restoration, —an indication of that progress and revival which is everywhere manifest amongst the Copts in Egypt. Adra Miriam contains nothing of interest, except an ancient hand-cross of bronze.

Having obtained a letter of commendation from the Reis or Abbot,—a letter, by the way, so worded as almost to remind one of Apostolic days,—and an escort of the noble and faithful Maâzee Bedoueen, I crossed from Benisoof to Byad, and next morning commenced my dromedary journey across the desert. At the end of the third day's march we reached the top of a rising ground strewn with boulders, and suddenly came in sight of the vast windowless and doorless walls of the great Convent, standing at the foot of the vast dry precipices of that portion of the Gelalla[7] mountains called *Gelzum*, and in full view of the Red Sea and of the red summits of the mountains of the Sinaitic range beyond

[7] Spelt by Sir G. Wilkinson "Lelalla."

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it. At the same moment the sound of a deep bell boomed out over the silent expanses of those vast solitudes. Arriving at the foot of a sort of tower, a trap-door was opened, and, after a short parley, a *Rahib*, or monk, was let down by a rope, which being fastened around me, I was hauled up by main force into the Convent. My servant, Hassan, although a Mohammedan, was likewise permitted to enter, but the Bedoueen were compelled to remain below outside.

The Dayr of S. Antony is the largest in Egypt, and its lofty walls enclose a large space of ground partly occupied by the irregular masses of the conventual buildings and partly by large and beautiful gardens, abounding in vegetables and in date palms, olives, carobs and other trees. These are watered by rills conducted from a magnificent spring, which, bursting out of a cleft in the rock behind, falls into a round artificial basin hewn in the natural stone, and afterwards into a large covered reservoir. It was of course the existence of this delicious and copious *Ain* which, in the first instance, determined the position of the Convent. An Arab tradition mentioned by Makrisi relates that the Prophetess Miriam, the sister of Moses, bathed in it at the time of the Exodus. The charm of these beautiful and well-watered gardens in that "barren and dry land" will be readily imagined.

With the exception of the very ancient and striking church of S. Antony, all the Churches, and most of the conventual buildings, have either been entirely or partially rebuilt. Some 380 years ago the monks of S. Antony had become rich and waxed luxurious. Each monk bought a Muslim slave, and these, at least nominally, converted to Christianity, they kept to work in the garden and to do all the menial work of the Dayr. But an unlooked-for Nemesis was at hand. When a certain bell rang in the night it was the duty of each slave to call his own master to rise to prayer in the Church. On a certain night the slaves both of Dayr Antonios and Dayr Bolos, who had secretly conspired together, rose against their masters, and each, as he awoke the monk to whose particular service he was attached, fell upon him and cut off his head. According to another account some few lives were spared; some of the older and more infirm monks being imprisoned at Dayr Bolos, and some of the younger and more lusty being set to grind the

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mills and work in the gardens of Dayr Antonios. After this tragedy the slaves seem gradually to have dropped off from the two Convents, until the latter were left entirely empty and open for the ingress and egress of the wandering Bedoueen, who, during some seventy or eighty years, made them their temporary abode, breaking down the carved woodwork for fuel, using the MSS., amongst which were probably inestimable treasures, to kindle their fires, and destroying the buildings as they listed. At length, 300 years ago, the two Dayrs were again taken possession of and reoccupied by monks.

The Kas'r or Keep of Dayr Antonios has apparently its original basement story of stone, but the upper part, built of crude brick, was reconstructed at the time of the reoccupation. It contains a chapel dedicated to S. Michael. Two small rooms contain a large number of books in Coptic and Arabic in fine preservation and kept in boxes. In this tower may likewise be seen a curious Abyssinian shield made of hippopotamus' hide, a fine bronze lamp of at least as great antiquity as the foundation of the convent itself, a great silver processional cross, and a gorgeous silver-mounted umbrella which is held over the Evangelion on the occasion of the annual procession to the cave of S. Antony.

A. The most interesting building, however, in the Dayr is the very ancient and striking Church of *Mari Antonios.* Its interior has four compartments separated by low stone screens, and there is a considerable rise towards the altar. The two first and the fourth divisions are crowned by domes, the third having a vaulted roof. The first arch is round, the others pointed, and around each is a Coptic inscription in dark red characters. To the left of the first compartment is a chapel with a small dark apsidal sacrarium ornamented with very old frescoes representing Christ in glory attended by angels. In the eastern niche is painted the Cross with two saints. The whole walls indeed of this church are covered with ancient frescoes of very curious design, and the figures present a strange appearance, glaring forth from under the black smoke-stains of the fires of the intruding Bedoueen. In the central apse I found the half of a small but very carefully painted picture executed on a gold ground. It is much damaged, but I could easily distinguish the figures of the Blessed Virgin Mary, of S. John Baptist, and

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of a crowned king, apparently a portrait. In this church also are two old glass lamps, and an elegant sexagonal brass stand for the chalice, ornamented with Arabic inscriptions, and belonging perhaps to the fourteenth century.

B. The Church of *Talamees* (Disciples ?) *Petros and Bolos*, anchorites, not Apostles, is said to be only 100 years old. It is built in three compartments and is crowned by twelve domes. Preserved in the sacrarium is an ancient picture of Christ in glory with angels, with an Arabic inscription executed on a gold ground. In the third compartment are two old Arabic glass lamps, one of which has inscriptions in relief. In the sacristy is a large coved tomb.

C. In the garden stands the large twelve-domed church of *Amba Marcos*, also said to have been erected 100 years ago. It contains the tomb of Amba Marcos. In all respects this church follows the ancient Coptic models, but upon the side of the sacrarium is painted in a beautiful Italian hand the inscription, "*Hec ædes Fr'is Bernardi Ferulensis Siculi Ordinis Minorum.*" The same name in the same hand is painted on the side of the cave of S. Antony. Who this Bernardus was I could not learn, and the Rahibs seemed indignant at the idea that he was the architect of their Church.

D. The small upstairs Church of *Adra Miriam* is of little interest in itself, but it contains two very curious old pictures of the hermit-saints Antony and Paul. In one corner of the conventual inclosure is another small Church with twelve domes, built only a few years ago.

Having expressed a wish to see the *Maghâra*, or cave of S. Antony, the three monks who were to accompany me rushed into a Church and brought thence cymbals and small bells struck with an iron rod, with which, after being swung out of the Convent, we went clashing and clanging up the mountain side to the great amazement and amusement of myself and two Bedoueen lads whom I took with us. The cave of S. Antony is a small natural fissure in the almost perpendicular side of the mountain immediately above the Dayr. The ledge in front of the cell commands a magnificent and impressive view of the intervening desert, torn by *fiumaras* and strewn with boulders, the long ridge of the opposite mountain range of Gebel Oreida, the blue waters of the Red Sea, and the mountains of the Sinaitic range

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beyond. Near S. Antony's cave can be traced the remains of the cells of other anchorites.

I did not visit Dayr Mari Bolos, which is two days' journey beyond Mari Antonios, although a shorter route, inaccessible to camels, exists across the mountains, as I was assured that not a single fragment of any ancient MS. had escaped the wreck of the eighty years of abandonment. Its position, as far as I could learn, is even more striking than that of S. Antony. The sites of one or two more Dayrs are known to exist in the neighbouring desert. One of these, called by the Maâzee '*Dayr Behayt*,' has a well of good water.[8]

[8] I append a few points in illustration of my former paper (See vol. xxix. p. 120). The "Moaallaka" and S. Berbarra in Old Cairo were formerly nunneries. The "Dayr el Benat," of Makrisi, now called *Dayr Teodrus*, in Cairo, is still a nunnery. Here on Wednesdays, in the chapel containing the Shrine of S. Teodrus, is performed the ceremony of casting devils out of women. Patients and operators alike appear to be Mohammedans!

Makrisi states that the synagogue called *Damouk* is the oldest in Dayr esh Shemma. "They all say it was the place where Moses prayed to God." It was said to have been built immediately after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, and pilgrimages were made to it instead of to the Temple. He also relates the following curious tradition about this site. The Prophet Moses struck his staff into the ground there, and it budded and became the most beautiful of trees. When the Sultan el Ashraf Shebân ebn Hoseyn (A.D. 1363), who was building a school, heard of the beauty of this tree he desired it, and sent messengers to carry it away. The tree, however, had miraculously became ugly, so the messengers did not think it worth cutting down, and accordingly left it. After this a Jew and Jewess cohabiting together under this tree, it dried up and died! According to Makrisi there was in the Dayr esh Shemma a synagogue called Ish-Shammain, which had an inscription in Hebrew upon the door stating that it was built 336 years after Alexander. Here was kept a copy of the Holy Scriptures alleged to be in the handwriting of Ezra the Scribe! Makrisi speaks of a "Treasury" as existing under the Dayr of "Babilion" (Bablûn), and of another under the Kineseh in the Hart el Zouâleh in Cairo. This last, he says, was through a well, and in his time was hidden, the well having, according to the assertion of the occupants, been filled up by a pillar which fell from heaven.

Shenouda, to whom a church is dedicated in Mus'r el Ateykah, is said to be the author of many works, whether extant or not I could not learn.

The Hon. Sir Arthur Gordon informs me that he has discovered in Dayr Abou Sephîn another Church besides those mentioned in my former paper. Sir Arthur writes, "It is, as you know, very difficult to make out the true dedication of a Coptic Church, but as far as I could ascertain that which I found in addition was the Church of S. Theodore. It was (like the Moaallaka) entirely upstairs, and consisted of a number of little chapels with nothing of very great interest in them, unless it be some old pictures."

While fully appreciating as an invaluable witness to ancient Christian usages the Churches and Ritual of the Copts, it should never be forgotten that these Eutychian Jacobites obtained their property by siding with the Mahommedans at the time of the Arab invasion against the orthodox Christians of the Church of Egypt. Many of the Churches are themselves those of the Orthodox or Melkite Christians. The pages of Makrisi abound with instances of the spoliation or demolition of Churches during various outbreaks of Mohammedan fanaticism and cruelty.

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ARCHITECTURE IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

By J. H. PARKER, C.B.

In two very interesting old churches that the Institute visited in the course of the year 1872—S. Mary's, Guildford and S. Michael's, Southampton—the same remarkable feature was observed which had previously escaped observation—the remains of a small cruciform church enclosed and incorporated in a much larger church of a later period. This sort of economy is very usual in old parish churches, the people preserved as much as they could of the small old church when a larger one was required. The question naturally arose as to what period these two old churches belonged; I considered them as more probably of the first half of the eleventh century than of any earlier period.

In the account that I wrote of S. Mary's, Guildford, for this *Journal* (see vol. xxix. p. 170), I stated that opinion; and gave as my reason for thinking so, that the generality of the so-called Anglo-Saxon buildings are of the eleventh century, and that there is a wide distinction between those of the first half and those of the second half of that century; during the second half we know that the Norman style came in, but it was not imported as a complete style from Normandy, it was gradually developed after the time of the Conquest, both in England and Normandy (which had then become only one of the provinces of the same kingdom), and the style is properly called by the French antiquaries the *Anglo-Norman* style. Normandy was a little in advance of England as regards architecture at the time of the Conquest, but not much; the Anglo-Saxon buildings had greatly improved in construction before the time of the Conquest, and the Norman style had been introduced at Westminster by Edward the Confessor. During the reign of that king we have also the dated example of Deerhurst, A.D. 1053, the construction and decorations of which are very much in advance of the Anglo-Saxon towers of Lincolnshire and the Dane's land, which be-

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long chiefly to the reign of Cnut, or Canute the Dane. These towers are more common than people are generally aware of; Mr. Matthew Bloxam and myself made out and published a list of a hundred of them twenty or thirty years ago, and many more have been observed since that time by Sir Charles Anderson and others. They belong to the churches recorded to have been built by order of Canute on the sites where churches had been *burnt* by his father or himself during the wars which ended in the settlement of the Danes on the eastern side of England. All this is a very old story, but it seems necessary to recapitulate it, and this brings us clearly to the first half of the eleventh century. My own conviction is that the churches that had been burnt by the Danes were wooden churches, and that the churches built in their places were of "stone and lime," as is recorded in one instance certainly, that of Assandun (Ashington, in Essex). Stone buildings were then becoming more the fashion, there always had been a few, but they were the exception; the general custom was to build of wood as most economical, the country being to a great extent covered with forests.

The question now disputed is, whether these churches were built by persons accustomed to build of cut stone, and were only a continuation of the debased Roman style of building and of construction, or were built by persons accustomed to build of wood only, and are rude and clumsy imitations of Roman remains? I take the latter view, and in the paper on the church at Guildford, which I wrote for the *Journal*, I used the expression "for the long period of five hundred years," as the interval during which the people were accustomed to build of wood only: obviously, I was thinking of England and the north of France only, not of Italy or Aquitaine, but I had omitted to express this, and my very learned friend the *Saturday Reviewer*[1] took advantage of the oversight to amuse his readers at my expense, which rather annoyed me when I first heard of it; but his explanation now has satisfied me, that it is only a renewal of the old battle between us, which has been going on for the last twenty years at intervals, but has never been fairly fought out. That he is a far more learned man than I am I do not for a moment question, and if the matter was one of history only I would not attempt to compete with him.

[1] See the *Saturday Review* for February 8, 1873, p. 176.

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History is a record of things that have been, and depends upon *written* evidence only. Archæology has to do with existing remains, only compared with, and confirmed by, history. It appears to me that my learned friend and that school have always neglected to pay sufficient attention to the construction of the walls of buildings, and that this is a very material point. It appears to me that the walls of the buildings of the first half of the eleventh century were built by carpenters, and not by masons. Men who were accustomed to build of cut stone would not have built in such a manner.

In all probability the greater part of the buildings recorded to have been built of stone in the tenth century, were built of rough stone or rubble—walling only, and not of cut stone. The few buildings that were of cut stone were so very remarkable that they were always recorded and eulogised to a degree that seemed absurd afterwards, but they were so superior to anything the writers had then seen, that they made the most magniloquent description of them. We all know the description in Latin verse of Winchester Cathedral, as built in 980, and yet we also know that a century afterwards it was swept away as not worth preserving; even in the building erected in its place on a new site the construction of the early part is very rude; there is a great waste of material and of labour; the joints between the stones are extremely wide, and the contrast between this construction and the later work of the twelfth century, after the fall of the central tower, is one of our best guides to the distinction between the construction of the eleventh and of the twelfth centuries. If even quite at the end of the eleventh century the masonry was not further advanced than that, we may well imagine how rude the masonry must have been three generations before that period. Those three generations were a time of rapid progress in the art of building, and this therefore carries us back to the rude construction of those Anglo-Saxon towers, and to the herring-bone work in the walls, which is one of the characteristics of that period. All the *dated* examples of herring-bone work that I know of are of the first half of the eleventh century, and I know of several of that period in various parts of the world. There is one in Rome, dated by an inscription upon it (the side wall of S. Pudentiana), another

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in Normandy, dated historically, that of the castle of Plessis, and there are others in England also.

I am surprised to see my very learned and able friend trying to revive the old Saxon theory which we thought had been thoroughly upset by Rickman and Willis nearly half a century ago. I published a small work on Ravenna some years since, and I am well acquainted with the buildings of Italy and of France. I therefore could not mean "the long interval of five hundred years" to apply to any other country than England. It has long been seen and acknowledged that very often the only mode of distinguishing between the construction of the eleventh century and that of the twelfth is by the thickness of the mortar between the joints of the stones. This is well exemplified in the two great abbey churches of Caen as well as in Winchester cathedral. The construction of the first half of the eleventh century is so bad that it is evidently an imitation of the much better construction of an earlier period. The small old church at Bradford, in Wiltshire, is just one that proves my point: the construction is extremely good, such as we do not find anywhere in England or France in the tenth or eleventh century. The joints are as fine as possible, which they never are anywhere in the eleventh century. If the Roman art of building was not lost at least for one generation of men, how does it happen that the art of vaulting (a very important part of Roman architecture) was entirely lost, and no builder ventured to throw a vault over a space of 20 ft. wide before the middle of the twelfth century? The general use of wooden buildings in the period between the Roman empire and the twelfth century is the only manner of explaining this. Wide-jointed masonry is always one proof of bad and clumsy construction. The Anglo-Saxon towers of the first half of the eleventh century are evidently the work of carpenters only, of men not accustomed to build of cut stone. No mason would think of placing long pieces of stone vertically up the angles of a tower and make a framework to bind it together. Jarrow and Monks Wearmouth support my view. The monk of Durham[2] of the time of William I. and II. distinctly says that these churches were in ruins, and overgrown with shrubs, when they were restored by his brother-monks, and

[2] Symeon Dunelm, Chron. ed. Bedford, p. 201.

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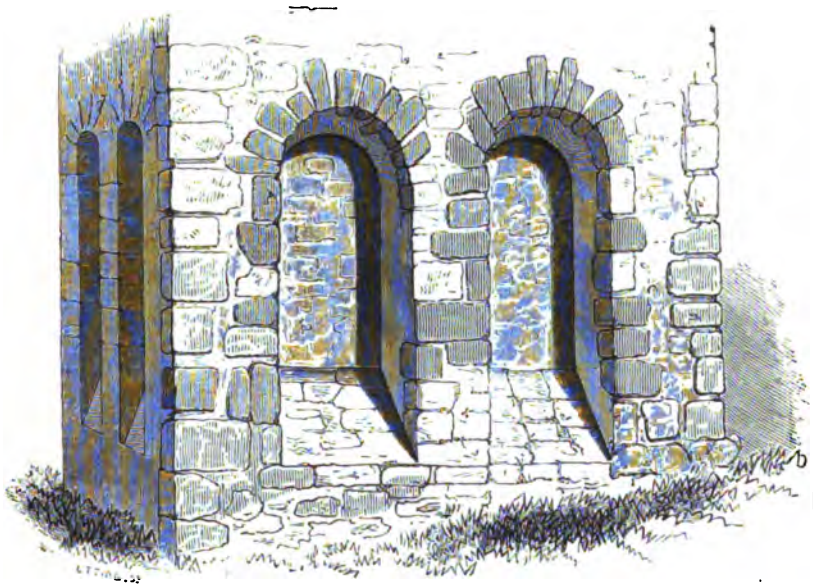

North-West Angle of Malling Abbey, Kent.

The work of Bishop Gundulf.

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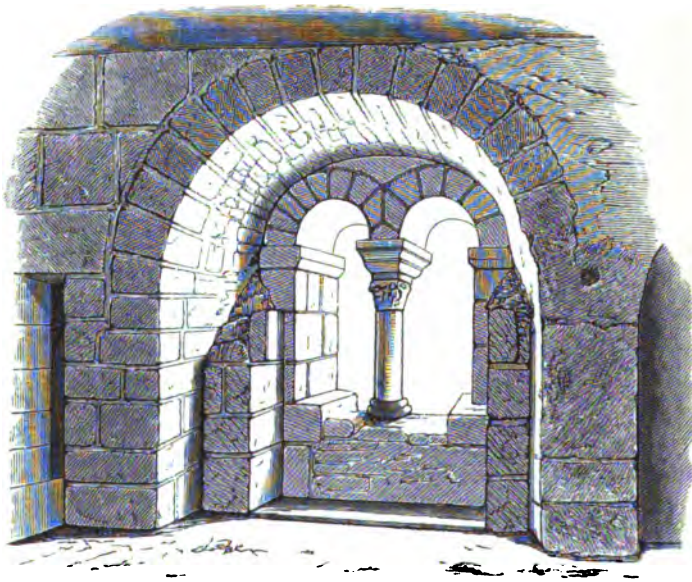

Abbey of Bernay, in Normandy.

Window of Triforium.

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the existing remains agree perfectly with this history. The first time I saw them was in company with the late Mr. Raine, of Durham, who edited the Inventories of those monasteries[3] for the Surtees Society, and he agreed that the present structures are almost entirely of the later period. I afterwards sent the late Mr. Orlando Jewitt to make drawings of them for me, which he engraved, and which show exactly which parts are of the original period and which are of the end of the eleventh century. Bradford stands in the middle of some of the best stone quarries in England; it was therefore cheaper to build of stone *there* in the eighth century. But the greater part of the country was covered with forests, and therefore wood was the natural material to use in most places. This building was exceptional. My much lamented friend, M. de Caumont, of Caen, was certainly one of the best, if not the best, archæologist of France, for the last thirty years. He was the first to introduce the principles, though not the details, of Rickman's system into France, about 1830; and to form an Archæological Society, to make excursions to objects of interest in all parts of France, and compare one province with another. He and his companions found, by long and frequent observation, that the very distinct provincial character of the different parts of ancient Gaul can all be traced to some one Roman building, which has served as a type for that district, when the revival of building in stone took place. The best known instance of this is the diocese of Lyons, where fluted columns, in evident imitation of their Roman type, are used in the Cathedral in a construction of the thirteenth century, and the same thing occurs in many other churches of that diocese.

For many years past I have been hunting for buildings of the tenth century with very little success. It is matter of history that some stone buildings were erected at that time, but there is very little construction of that period remaining in any of them. I have been a member of the Société Archæologique de France for the last thirty years, and made many similar researches with them. M. de Caumont himself went with some friends to the sites of all the castles of the

[3] Inventories and Account Rolls of the Benedictine houses or cells of Jarrow and Monk Wearmouth in the county of Durham, Publications of the Surtees Society, vol. xxix., 1854.

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Norman barons who came over to England with William the Conqueror, to search for examples of the masonry of that period. To his great surprise and annoyance, he could find no masonry at all in any one of them before the time of the Conquest. He found magnificent earthworks in all of them, but no masonry; showing that the castles of the first half of the eleventh century were of earthwork and wood only in Normandy, where, of all other places, we should have expected them to have been of stone. The Normans were certainly not behind the rest of Europe in the art of building. Even in Italy it is very difficult to find any masonry of the tenth century now remaining. In Rome the only building of that century is the sacristy of the church of Sta. Croce, in Gerusalemme, which is dated by an inscription upon it. The construction of this is as bad as it could be; a worse construction would not have stood at all. Of the first half of the eleventh century in Rome, the only dated example is the wall of the church of S. Pudentiana, and the construction of that is of herring-bone work. It happens, also, that all the other *dated* examples of that construction that I know of, are also of the eleventh century, but such simple construction may be of any period. In the celebrated example of S. Remi, at Rheims, the construction of the walls is of the character of the first half of the eleventh century, but all the ornamentation has been added or entirely altered in the twelfth. Some, if not all, of the rich capitals of the twelfth century are made of stucco, fixed upon the plain and rude early stone capitals of the eleventh. When I went there some years since, with M. Viollet-Leduc, who was then in charge of some restorations in that church, we saw one of the stucco capitals that had been broken, and inside of it the early stone capital. About the same time I saw the same thing at Jumièges, in Normandy, with M. Bouet, the excellent French artist who usually accompanied me in France, and he made a drawing of it, which is here reproduced, and which I put into the fifth edition of the "Glossary of Architecture," in the description of the plates (vol. ii., part i., p. 17), which happened to be then in the press.

In the west front of Lincoln Cathedral the capitals of Bishop Alexander, of the twelfth century, are inserted in the early walls of Remigius. This I detected by the fine jointing

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of the masonry in the insertions, and the wide-jointed masonry of the early work. I had previously sent Mr. Jewitt to make me a drawing of one of the capitals of Remigius, of which there are a few remaining; but he drew me one of Alexander by mistake; and as he did not draw the jointing of the masonry (for no artist ever thinks of doing so), I did not at first discover the mistake, but saw it at once in a subsequent visit.

The well-known passage from Radulphus (Radolf or Ralph) Glaber, mentioning that "the world seemed to be putting on a new white robe," at the beginning of the eleventh century, which he witnessed, certainly indicates a considerable change at that time, a revival of building in stone, just as another incidental notice in William of Malmesbury, that the buildings of Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, in the beginning of the twelfth century, were so well built that it appeared as if each wall was made of a single stone, indicates that fine-jointed masonry was then first introduced into England as into Normandy. The Norman style is properly called by Viollet-Leduc the "Anglo-Norman style." It was not introduced as a complete style by the Normans at the Conquest, but was gradually developed in all the provinces of the Anglo-Norman kingdom simultaneously: the variations between England and Normandy amount to no more than provincialisms. The Norman keep of the earliest character that we have either in England or in Normandy is the one built at Malling, in Kent, by Gundulph, in the early part of the reign of William the Conqueror. His invention exactly fitted the wants of the Normans settled in England, and therefore that type was rapidly followed and soon spread all over England and then to Ireland and the Continent. We find Norman keeps everywhere, even in Italy. I am fully convinced, both from my own experience and long observation, and from that of others whom I have known to be careful observers, that buildings of the tenth century are extremely rare, and that on the other hand the first half of the eleventh century was a great building era; and we have many buildings of that period remaining, although that fact has been usually overlooked, and those buildings are commonly supposed to be either much earlier or later. I believe that to be the case with the two rude small and early cruciform churches visited by the Institute in the summer of 1872—St. Mary's, Guildford, and St. Michael's, Southampton—both very much of the

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same character, and each enclosed in a much larger church of a later period. The construction is so rude, that it might be of any period when the art of building was in its infancy; but that is exactly what appears to have been the case when the revival of stone building began. It is not debased Roman art, but a rude imitation of it.

Professor Willis, in his admirable history of the Cathedrals of Canterbury and Winchester, does not say that we have any building of the tenth century remaining in either. Archæology has to do with existing remains: "the things that have been" belong to history only. At Winchester the present church was built on a new site, near the old one, not on the same foundations. At York, Professor Willis ridiculed the idea of Browne's history on the very point that Browne supposed the existing building to be the original one. It is possible that there may be some small remains of it in the foundations of the crypt, but it is difficult to make out any, though it is on the old site. At Ripon and at Hexham the old crypts exist, built of fragments of Roman buildings; but their character is quite peculiar, not in the least like the Anglo-Saxon buildings. I have published engravings of them. The church at Bradford, as I have said, is an exceptional case; the fine-jointed masonry proves it not to be of the eleventh century, nor of the tenth; it is most probably of the eighth; although I do not remember one of that period like it anywhere. Still, as a window of the twelfth century seems to be inserted in the old wall, and this wall is certainly not of the tenth or eleventh, I conclude that it must be of the eighth. Shallow sculpture was the fashion then, and the shallow arcade cut in the surface of the old wall *may* be of that period. I should be very glad if any learned friend would name any other building now existing of that period which corresponds with Bradford. I have spent several months in Aachen, and have drawings and photographs of the church or chapel there, and published a short account of Roman-Moutier and Lorsch with engravings in the "Archæologia." It is well known that very many of the legal documents of the latter half of the tenth century conclude with the words, "the end of the world being at hand;" and this general belief is likely to have had its influence on the buildings of that period, as it appears to me evident that it had. I do not know of three buildings of

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that period remaining in the west of Europe. We all know how the same buildings that are mentioned in grandiloquent terms by the Saxon writers are mentioned with contempt by the Normans a century after (more or less), and were often swept away as not worth preserving. At Soest I was once the means of saving a curious old church from destruction, which may possibly be called of that period; but from its construction I do not believe it to be so. The rules of archæological evidence are our safest guide to the date of a building. "The construction of the same period is always the same." In the only examples of that period that I know of, the construction is as bad as it well could be. This class of buildings is exactly what I mean by those of the first half of the eleventh century, or continuing rather later, perhaps from 1000 to 1080. The towers of this class in the lower tower of Lincoln we know to have been built after the time of the Norman Conquest. They are rather more advanced in construction than some of the others: they belong to the third generation of masons, after the revival of building in stone. The work of each generation of men may be traced by the construction and the architectural details of their buildings from the time of the kings of Rome, and of the re-building of the Temple of Solomon at Jerusalem, under King Ahaz, to our own days. In the early period all the ornamentation was of wood and bronze; the wood has been burnt, and the bronze melted down, and we have only the rude massive stone walls of the original construction remaining; but these may be divided into three classes; as I have shown very distinctly in Rome, there is a change in each half century. Such changes are equally distinct in the Middle Ages in England, as is shown by the dates in my "Glossary of Architecture," the first work in which architectural details were ever dated by their historical types.

List of buildings of the Seventh, Tenth, and Eleventh centuries, of which drawings were exhibited in illustration of this Memoir:—

612. Monk Wearmouth. } Rebuilt, 1090.
680. Jarrow. }
674. Ripon Crypt; Hexham Crypt.
675. Brixworth.

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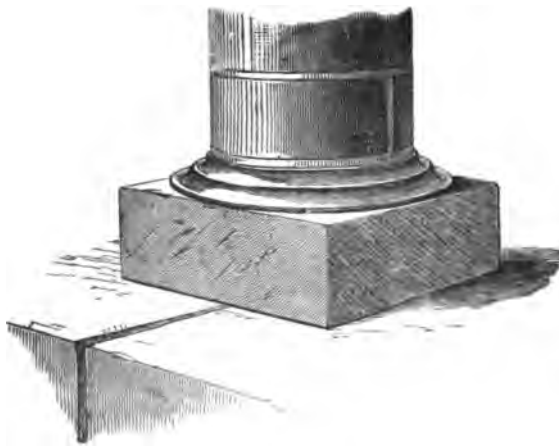
980. Winchester Cathedral.
Bologna, 7 Churches.
Milan, S. Ambrose.
1000 to 1050 (construction rude herring-bone work).
S. Pudentiana, Rome.
S. Croce, Rome ;—Sacristy.
Plessis, Normandy.
1005—1049. S. Remi, Rheims ;—walls.
1014. S. Maurice, Switzerland ;—Tower.
1024. Bernay, Normandy.
1041. Stow, Lincolnshire.
1040—1067. Jumièges Abbey, Normandy ;—capitals.
1056. Deerhurst ;—Tower and arch.
1065. Westminster, refectory, &c.
Castles of Norman Barons.
1070. Malling, St. Leonards, tower ; Malling Abbey.
1081. White Tower, London.

In all these buildings the same feature of wide-jointed masonry may be observed, as was shown by drawings of the details.



Abbey of St. Etienne, Caen. Base of column in belfry.

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DUROBRIVÆ.

By the Ven. EDWARD TROLLOPE, M.A., F.S.A., Archdeacon of Stow.

THE village of Castor, situated four and a half miles west of Peterborough, marks the site of a spot occupied in turn by a British tribe, a Roman population, and a Saxon sept. By the first it was called Caer Doun; by the second, Durobrivæ; and by the third, at first Dormceaster or Dormundeceaster, and subsequently Kinniburgceaster, after Kinneburga or Kyniburga, daughter of Penda, King of Mercia, sister of Wulfhere and Kyneswith, and wife of Alfred, King of Northumbria, who founded a monastery here A.D. 669, where she was buried; but all these long names have now been superseded by the abbreviated name the place now bears, viz., Castor. In the valley of the Nen below runs the Roman Ermine Street, formerly called Kinniburga's way, from a strange confusion of her connection with this place and the wonderful old road passing by it, the origin of which is poetically assigned to a miracle wrought in her behalf, viz., that when pursued by a ruffianly assailant this road unrolled itself before her as she fled through the fields, and thus enabled her to escape. Subsequently her body was translated to the Abbey of Burgh (Peterborough) by Abbot Ælfsi, and in the year 1010 her monastery was fired by the Danes under Svein, when he made a disastrous raid in the fen district of this part of England. It is, however, only the remains of the Roman town, partly occupied by the modern village of Castor, which I now desire to describe. There were two important Roman towns called Durobrivæ,—one now represented by Rochester, and this Northamptonshire Durobrivæ on the Nen, built partly in the valley and partly on the higher ground eastward of it. Probably to avoid the fenny district, which the Ermine Street must have traversed had its line continued to run in a due northern direction, it was turned westward half a mile north of Norman Cross and

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opposite to Yaxley so as to point directly to Stamford, and thus passed through the Roman military station and town about to be described. This was situated between Chesterton and Aldwalton on the south, and Water Newton and Castor on the north, beyond which were detached Roman houses in the parishes of Sutton, Sibson, Stibbington, and Wansford, the remains of which have at intervals been disclosed.

An entrenched camp, afterwards used as a regular military station, constituted the nucleus of this important place under the Romans; and this still remains in a very fair state of preservation pretty nearly equi-distant from the four above-named villages. In form it is an irregular hexagon 2,200 feet long, and 1,300 feet wide, diminishing to 600 feet at its southern end, and is surrounded by a foss and vallum. This stands between the Great North Road and a bend of the Nen, and is now commonly called the Castles. On the north runs a little tributary streamlet of the Nen. The Ermine Street ran through the midst of it, entering its inclosure about the middle of its southern boundary, traversing it obliquely and passing out at its north-western angle. Morton, in his history of Northamptonshire, says, there was a tradition of the former existence of the remains of a bridge between Chesterton and Castor, serving to join the two parts of the ancient city, but of this there are now no remains. Within the camp is a tumulus—probably marking the spot where the remains of some Roman officer of distinction were buried, and on the greater part of its area portions of Roman buildings, and much pottery, have been discovered. Both a camp and a settlement existed here before the construction of this great work, for both of these seem to have been subsequently intersected by it, and beneath it the foundations of Roman buildings, and several potters' kilns, were found in Normanton field, a little to the south of the camp. Hence this last was possibly made by Aulus Plautius, as suggested in "Gough's Camden" (Vol. ii. p. 286). Whether a wall in part defended it on the north side, as some have thought, cannot now be determined. From it Morton asserted that a paved road ran up to another Roman stronghold, now partly occupied by Castor Church and churchyard ("History of Northamptonshire," p. 511), but he was misled by the discovery of a tessellated pavement belonging to a house, and not to a road.

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Stukeley was convinced of the former existence of such a stronghold, and that it was surrounded by a wall, the foundation of which he states he saw in the street, north-west of the church, where the incumbent then lived. "It is easily known," he says, "by the vast strength of the mortar, [the wall being] built of the white slab-stone of the country. Underneath it lay the city, for below the churchyard the ground is full of foundations and mosaics. I saw a bit of a pavement in the cellar of the ale-house (The Boot). They know of many such, particularly at Mr. Wright's, and in the landlord's garden is an entire one untouched; the square well by the porch no doubt is Roman" ("Itinerarium Curiosum," pp. 78, 79). Here also were found some foundations of hewn stone, together with some thick pointed iron-bars 10 feet long ("Gough's Camden," vol. ii., p. 257). This spot Artis[1] suggests was occupied as the Prætorium, and that it extended in an oblong form from a point north of the church to another lying beyond the road southward of it, and thus enclosing a space 350 yards long, and 200 yards wide; but certainly within this area several Roman buildings of some importance were grouped together, which have more the appearance of separate villas or private houses, than those we should expect to find within the limits of a Prætorium. One of the most interesting of these (termed "The Baths" by Artis) was discovered by him in 1821 on the north side of the road leading from Peterborough to Wansford. Its walls, like those of all the other Roman buildings here, were thick, and built with courses of stones laid edgeways and slantingly, one course sloping in an opposite direction to the one above it, so as to produce what is popularly called herringbone-work. This building had at least eight rooms on the ground floor, of which the four central ones were heated at pleasure by hypocaustal chambers beneath. These, together with the furnace heating them, were quite perfect. Beneath a room at the north end was the receptacle for ashes from the furnace, and at the other end was a large room without a hypocaust. Adjoining this was a small but long room with a semi-circular bay or recess in the middle, and next to it three very small rooms of precisely the same size, which perhaps served as dressing or sleeping rooms. The existence of so large a hypocaustal arrangement in this building does not justify its

[1] "The Durobrivæ of Antoninus illustrated."

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title to be called "The Baths," although, no doubt, it contained a bath for the use of its original inmates, such being the ordinary mode adopted to heat houses by the Romans, quite irrespective of baths.

Between this building and the church, but a little more towards the east, the substructures of two other buildings were found during the same year. In one of these, containing three or four rooms, was a beautiful pavement composed of red, white, grey, and yellow tesseræ worked into a beautiful design. The centre had been injured by the accidental sinking of a well through it, but enough remained to show that it consisted of a device like a flower having eight heart-shaped petals surrounded by an inverted edge within a circle. Beyond this was a wide border comprised of four oblongs, each containing an elongated lozenge having a guilloche border, and four small squares at the corners, each also containing a similar lozenge placed diagonally within it, and other enrichments. This pavement was unfortunately taken up and made to serve in an ante-room to a dairy at Milton, the seat of Earl Fitzwilliam, in whose service Mr. Artis was.

A little to the north-east of Castor Church, and partly beneath the road bounding the churchyard, the remains of a building containing five rooms were found by Artis, having walls similar in construction to the one last described, and on the north of the north transept, within the churchyard, part of a tessellated pavement was found in 1827. This consisted of two oblongs placed side by side vertically, and another at one end, placed horizontally, composed of grey, white, and yellow borders. Beyond this, and on the north-east of the church, principally beneath the road abutting upon the churchyard, the foundations of a group of Roman buildings were uncovered. Among these were those of a house, one of the rooms of which was built over a hypocaust on an inclining level, having blocks of masonry to serve as *pilæ* to the room above, and another was over the furnace. Adjoining this were the remains of three more rooms, belonging either to this or an adjoining house, each of which had a tessellated pavement. One of these, paved with large stone tesseræ, had an oblong compartment, in the centre, of finer work, formed of interlacing bands composed of grey, red, yellow, and white tesseræ, enclosing a smaller oblong formed

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of grey and white bands. The character of a doorway to a hypocaust in this group of buildings is given by one of Artis's illustrations (plate 26, fig. 3), whence we find its jambs were built of square blocks having very thick beds of mortar between them, and that the semicircular head was built of their stones radiating outwards, having a still thicker bedding of mortar between them. South of these buildings, and nearly due east of the church, were portions of an edifice—thought to have been a temple by Artis. Three steps extending along its whole end, 37 ft. wide, led up to an outer platform 10 ft. wide, beyond which, but at a slightly lower level, was another platform within the building, raised 2½ ft. above the level of the area beyond, which was 30 ft. square, having what appeared to be the base of a square altar or statue pedestal in the middle.

On Mill-hill, south of Castor, and more immediately overlooking the Camp below, four large Roman houses were excavated by Artis in 1822. The south-easternmost of these had a frontage 150 ft. long. Two of its rooms had tessellated pavements. In the centre of the larger one (Artis, plate 19) was a vase within an octagon, having a guilloche border enclosed within a square filled with an ornamental design. Round this was a deep border of small red, grey, and white squares, diversified with a little interpolated square in the centre of each side, two of which contain an interlaced device on a grey ground, and the other two a waved circular one within a border. Beyond this was an outer border, composed of larger grey and yellow squares bordered with red. The other pavement was far more simple, its pattern consisting of circles and semicircles worked in red tesseræ upon a stone-coloured ground.

Next to this was a much smaller but more interesting house. This was 67 ft. long and 25 ft. wide, having a semicircular projection in the centre of its front. It contained seven rooms; the largest of these, having the above-named projection, and another, had hypocausts below them; a third very small room was heated by wall flues, and another was supplied with an ascending flue. In the hypocaust of the largest room a human skull and some bones were found. The central room at the back had a tessellated pavement, consisting simply of a plain chequered pattern,

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Only small portions of the walls and hypocausts of the next house remained perfect. The fourth was the largest of all, being 172 ft. long and 47 ft. wide; this contained at least seven rooms, two of which had chequered tessellated pavements. The furnace and system of flues heating one of its rooms remained very perfect. In the middle was a small square chamber, intersected by four flues passing into it diagonally and at right angles, one of which communicated with the furnace, and thus supplied heat to all.

At Water Newton portions of two Roman houses were found, the plans of which are given by Artis (Plate xxxiv.). One of these stood a little to the north-east of the village, and near the Nen. This contained ten rooms at least, some of which had tessellated pavements. The second was situated south of this and of the Great North road, and had as many rooms as the other, including a corridor, if we may so term it, 14 ft. wide, and at least 120 ft. long. North of these houses, and on the opposite side of the Nen, part of another large house was found in Sutton Field, consisting of thirteen rooms, one of which constituted a corridor 12 ft. wide and 60 ft. long, and another had one of those internal semicircular foundations so common in Roman houses, and intended to support either an apsidal terminal wall or colonnade. Some of the rooms had hypocaustal chambers beneath them, supported by brick *pilæ*, and tessellated pavements. Running from a room at the eastern angle of this house was a curious drain, of serpentine form, diminishing in diameter as it proceeded. This was evidently a waste-pipe, the contents of which were thus conveyed to a gravel bed, serving as a natural means of drainage. Just beyond the east wall of this building was a well not far from the above-named drain (Artis's Plates, xxxiv., xxxv.).

The way in which the walls of Roman houses were adorned is well exemplified by part of a building found within the camp at Chesterton, and another in Normangate field. Those of the first were composed of a concrete formed of fragments of Alwalton marble, gravel, pounded bricks and lime, but one of the rooms was lined with slabs of Alwalton marble, and another with white stone tesseræ laid in a layer of cement, made of lime, fine pounded bricks, and river sand. The walls of the other house exhibited traces of the manner in which its bath chamber was

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decorated. Below was a bowl-shaped bath, supplied with hot water from a still remaining cauldron, placed over a furnace outside the bath-room, and the plastered wall above was gaily painted to imitate white pilasters with brown bases and capitals, between which were bright crimson panels with green borders, a grey, brown, and yellow plinth, and a white, yellow, and dark crimson cornice, along which was suspended a folded linen band slightly drooping in a fillet fashion from the tops of the pilaster capitals.

But few sculptures or inscribed stones have been disclosed by the excavations at Durobrivæ; one mutilated bas-relief, however, was turned up in clearing out a dyke on the west of the camp at Chesterton. This represented a nude male figure, whose head and hands were lost, but it was apparently that of Hercules. Near to it a small slab also was found in removing part of an old wall on the north side of the camp, inscribed with the word MARTO. In Normangate field a circular milliary stone was discovered, bearing the following dedicatory inscription to Hadrian: IMP . CAS . MANNIO . ADRIANO . PF . INVICTO . AVG . MP. A small altar-shaped stone, 9½ in. square, rudely panelled at the sides, and terminated above in a truncated pyramidal top, but without an inscription, was also found; also the base of a small stone pillar nearly 9 in. in diameter. Of terra-cotta, or earthenware, numbers of articles were turned up, such as square and oblong flue-tiles scored with various devices on their surfaces, flat floor-tiles, flanged roof-tiles, small arched ones to cover their upturned edges, pipe-tiles, the square tiles or thin flat wide bricks serving to cover hypocausts or to build their supporting *pilæ*, and moulded arch bricks used in the construction of potters' kilns; here also mill-stones of hard clay, stone, and brecia or pudding-stone have been discovered. Nowhere in England have Roman potters' kilns been found in such great number or in so perfect a state as on the site of Durobrivæ and its vicinity. One of these, discovered in the year 1822 in Normangate field, was of a spherical form 33 in. in diameter, and composed of terra-cotta tiles surrounded by curved moulded bricks; beneath was a furnace, access to which was provided by means of an arched aperture in a wall forming the front of the kiln. Within this kiln were found various vessels left there by the Roman potter who made them.

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These are given in Artis's Plates LIII., LIV. One of these was a vase of grey ware, having a small foot, a swelling pear-shaped body, and a high plain vertical rim. Besides two borders of indented work, this vase was ornamented with one of a waved character, four decorative circlets, and as many suggestive plants having scroll-like leaves and circular flowers or fruit in raised white clay. Another was a similar vase of dull red ware, with indented sides, wide mouth, low neck, and semicircular markings worked upon its shoulders and between its indentations. There also portions of two Samian ware bowls were found, one ornamented with dancing figures placed between medallions containing smaller figures, and borders, worked in relief; the other of provincial grey ware, ornamented with indented circles, lozenges, and other figures. Another kiln, circular in plan and gradually increasing in diameter as it rose, was entirely built of moulded curved bricks. The floor was supported by a central shaft, expanding at the top the better to fulfil its purport, and composed of triangular tiles, the points of which met in the middle, and were pierced with holes to allow of the emission of heat from the furnace below. The mouth of this furnace resembled that of the other, but was lined with tiles, the edges of which showed themselves in the stone facing of the kiln.

Many such kilns were found by Artis extending from Castor up the valley of the Nen to Wansford. These he deemed to be of different dates, the older ones being formed of bricks rudely moulded by hand, and often found in a ruined state, with their floors broken and their interiors filled with broken pottery and other débris. Of these one was unique, over the furnace of which two circular earthen vessels, capable of containing eight gallons each, were suspended by their rims. They were thought by Artis to have been used for glazing purposes, and when found contained some whole and many broken vessels. As a rule, the Durobrivæan potters' kilns were thus constructed. First a circular hole was made, about 4 ft. in diameter and 2 ft. deep. This was lined with brickwork composed of curved moulded bricks, and in the centre was an oval pillar supporting the kiln floor composed of triangular pierced bricks. This lower chamber was heated by an arched furnace lined with brick-

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work about one-third of the diameter of the kiln. After a set of vessels intended for firing had been packed close together on the kiln floor, coarse grass was strewn upon them, then a layer of clay, and then grass again, upon which another set of vessels was ranged; then the process was repeated, the upper layers being reduced in width to suit the dome-shaped top of the kiln, in which only a small hole was left. Earth was then heaped up round the kiln, the furnace was filled with wood and fired, and when the heat had been kept up for the requisite time, through the above-named precautionary measures, each vessel could be removed without fear of breakage from cohesion.

The produce of these kilns is superior to those of Upchurch both as to shape and design, and rivals the wares of any other part of Britain under the Romans. We await with interest the description of those brought to the notice of the Southampton Meeting by Mr. Bartlett, as having been made in the New Forest.[2] In these kilns, glazed and unglazed specimens of red, brown, grey, black, white, and cream-coloured wares were made, the grey being produced, as Artis thinks, by subjecting them to a suffocating process, and thus impregnating their surfaces with smoke when under the action of a certain amount of heat; and in confirmation of this opinion he mentions that he found the whole interiors of some kilns charged with the same hue, which appear to have been used as smother-kilns, and that the result of certain experiments he tried led to the same conclusion; he also states, that the clay of which the kiln bricks were made was mixed with about one third of rye in the chaff, which being consumed by the fire, left cavities in the room of the grains, which he concluded was intended to modify expansion and contraction, and to assist the gradual distribution of the colouring matter. He thus describes the process of making and ornamenting the pottery baked in these kilns. "The vessel, after being thrown upon the wheel, would be allowed to become somewhat firm, but only sufficiently so for the purpose of the lathe. In the indented ware the indenting would have to be performed with the vessel in as pliable a state as it could be taken from the lathe. A thick slip of the same body would then be procured, and the ornamenter would

[2] Arch. Journ., vol. xxix. p. 406.

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proceed by dipping the thumb, or a round mounted instrument, into the slip. The vessels, on which are displayed a variety of hunting subjects, representations of fishes, scrolls, and human figures, were all glazed after the figures were laid on; where, however, the decorations are white, the vessels were glazed before the ornaments were added. Ornamenting with figures of animals was effected by means of sharp and blunt skewer instruments, and a slip of suitable consistency. These instruments seem to have been of two kinds: one thick enough to carry sufficient slip for the nose, neck, body, and front thigh; the other of a more delicate kind, for a thinner slip for the tongue, lower jaws, eye, fore and hind legs, and tail. There seems to have been no retouching after the slip trailed from the instrument."

Roman potters, of the Continent, as well as of Britain, were accustomed to stamp some of their wares with their names in full or abbreviated, accompanied by the letter F, for fecit, O, or OF, for officina, or M, for manu. Samian ware was usually thus stamped across or within small circles in the middle of the inside of shallow vessels, but on the outside of bowls. Mortars and amphoræ of white and cream-coloured ware were ordinarily stamped on their rims or handles. Many vessels thus stamped have been found on the site of Durobrivæ. Of Samian ware several fine bowls were dug up in Normangate field, all of which had the usual upper border, consisting of double depending loops and pendants between. One of these was also ornamented with boldly undulating stalkage and foliage, within the alternate folds of which were an animal, a little altar with a bird on either side, with a pediment above. Another, with an upright side, was ornamented with a deep band divided into compartments filled with figures of Genii supporting arches over Tritons, alternated with depending semicircles containing stags at full speed, and other animals, such as leopards, on a larger scale below (Plate L.). On the fragment of a third, a man attacking a boar with a spear, trees, and hares were represented; and on a fourth, a satyr's head, with a small altar or pedestal before it, within a circlet, a man in a tunic, a hare, and birds (Plate LII.). Other similar fragments, which had received injury when still in the hands of their first possessors, exhibited the care with which fractures had been made good by means of metal rivets. Most of these

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displayed either hunting scenes, or representations of animals, such as the leopard, lion, stag, boar, and dog; one small fragment had a very spirited representation of a man with upraised arm holding a sword, and riding upon a leopard, and the pattern of another consisted of foliage, circlets containing birds, and beneath these sea-horses (Plate XLVIII.). Two vases of what may be called Durobrivæan ware have already been described in connection with the kiln in which they were found. Two others of a similar kind are figured in Artis's Plate LI. One is of grey ware, ornamented with two crimped bands having a bold scroll pattern between them, suggestive of curving stalks and flowers or berries, applied to the surface in white slip; the other of black ware ornamented simply with incised lines, but remarkable for the elegance of its shape.

Vessels which may be termed either bottles or jars, of white, cream colour, red, brown, grey, and black, plain and variously scored, with and without handles, have been found in great numbers at Durobrivæ. One of white ware was rudely shaped like a human head and neck, and similar to one found at Lincoln, bearing a dedicatory inscription to Mercury (Plate XLIX.). Another form of vase given on the same plate was common; this may be termed a flat bowl sharply expanding from a small foot with a flat vertical rim, and a nearly flat cover overlapping it and fitted with a central circular knob, the whole exterior being elaborately scored with what Artis terms engine-turned work. Drinking cups and a few lamps, human heads, and other articles worked in various coloured wares have also been found here; but perhaps the embossed ware, not only from its character, but from the subjects represented upon it, are more interesting than any other, as pourtraying British sporting scenes rendered by Roman colonial artists. On one fragment of this ware, found in a potter's kiln, two fleet greyhounds are represented with collars round their necks, in full chase after a hare (Plate VII.). On another, first, a similar hound is represented in pursuit of a stag, and then two hounds in the act of capturing it, supplemented by scrolls above and below—perhaps intended to stand for bushes or herbage (Plate XXVIII.). Other fragments are decorated with figures of various creatures, such as the dolphin and lamprey, fancifully rendered (Plate XXX.), and

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one has a portion of a figure upon it, perhaps a gladiator, from his attitude and from his being stripped to the waist. Other specimens are decorated with various beautiful scroll patterns. Great quantities of iron articles have been discovered on and around the site of Durobrivæ, such as hatchets, spear and arrow heads, knives, and other implements, bolts, hinges, buckles, rings, &c., all of Roman manufacture, but made of British iron found in this part of Northamptonshire, one kind of ore being of a dark chocolate colour, the other from its appearance being called grey honeycomb. The manner in which the metal was extracted from the ore by the Romans is clearly shown in Artis's plate XXV., derived from the discovery of an iron furnace found at Wansford, near Durobrivæ. The ore was first roasted on a brick floor, perhaps by being packed between layers of charcoal and covered up with earth. Then it was placed in a large earthen vessel, shaped like a modern flower-pot, over a furnace having an arched mouth, the whole being enclosed with masonry. The furnace was heated with charcoal, and when by some artificial aid—the knowledge of which has been lost—the metal was melted, it was conducted by means of a little channel to a group of pig-moulds, while the refuse, or slag, spread itself over the ground in front of the furnace.

Of brass, the following articles have been found, viz., a bracelet, turned up by the plough at Chesterton, and circular fibulæ, rings, bone pins, strap-tags, tweezers, small scoops, vase-handles, ornamental studs, keys, a curious long implement of brass, said (by Artis) to have been gilt, having a flat spear-shaped head, found at Water Newton, and many other articles; but perhaps the most curious object connected with Roman metallurgy found here was a set of moulds for casting sixty-two small brass coins at once. When required for use these were packed one over the other in two piles, and between each was a little channel communicating with a small central shaft, reaching from top to bottom of the piles. These were then enveloped in a clay wrapper having a funnel-shaped mouth above, communicating with the central shaft. Into this mouth the liquid metal was poured, which ran from the shaft into the coin-moulds on either side; and as each of these was so impressed as to give the desired obverse of the coin on one side, and the

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reverse on the other; when put together each coin was thus cast perfectly on both sides at once; and curiously enough in one of the moulds a coin of Severus was left. With these moulds, a crucible of red ware was found of a funnel shape, and another of white ware, shaped like a pitcher. Many coins have of course been found on the site of this once important town, and around it. An old author states that in Normanton fields such quantities of Roman coin used to be thrown up "that a man would really think they had been sown." Specimens of the following Emperors have at different times been discovered here, viz., Galba, Vespasian, Domitian, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Faustina, Lucius Verus, Severus, Gordianus, Titricus, Quinctillus, Carausius, Constantius Chlorus, Constantinus Magnus, Crispus, Constantinus Secundus, Constans, Constantius. Secundus, Magnentius, Valentinianus, Valens, and Theodosius.

In addition to the above-named articles, the following small miscellaneous objects have been discovered at Castor, viz., a gold ring found at Chesterton, having a male head cut in intaglio upon it, the mouth-piece of a musical instrument, a knife handle, and pins of bone, also jet pins, and glass beads of the usual Roman types.

Besides these vestiges of the Roman occupation of Durobrivæ, every mode in which that great people disposed of the dead was exemplified in that place. Without the south-eastern portion of the camp in Normanton field was a cemetery, in which many skeletons were found, all laid in regular order, but unaccompanied by any traces of coffins; and just beyond its north-western limit a number of skeletons in stone coffins were found. By the side of the high road near Chesterton, a coffin of hard yellow stone 6 ft. 2 in. long was discovered in 1754. This had a flat lid overlapping the edge of the coffin about 2 in., like the lid of a wooden box. It contained a skeleton, one of the leg bones of which had been fractured and set during life, also three glass vessels, portions of brass and jet pins, coins of Faustina and Gordianus, and small fragments of wood. At Water Newton a large leaden coffin weighing 400 lbs., was found in 1732. It contained a skeleton, several urns, and coins of Vespasian and Severus. ("Gough's Camden," vol. ii. p. 257.) Here stone cists have occasionally been dug up containing human

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remains,—one, those of a mother and her infant. In another was a coin of Antoninus Pius, and in a third two small earthen vessels. On a spot near the Nen and Stibbington, a little to the east of the camp of Durobrivæ, an "ustrina" or place for burning bodies was found, still covered with the charcoal and ashes of many a funeral pyre, mingled with innumerable small fragments of bones and pottery. Also in making the turnpike road from Kote's cabin to Wansford, urns of different shapes and colours, some containing coins, but all filled with burnt bones, were found, serving to illustrate the Roman habit of urn burial.

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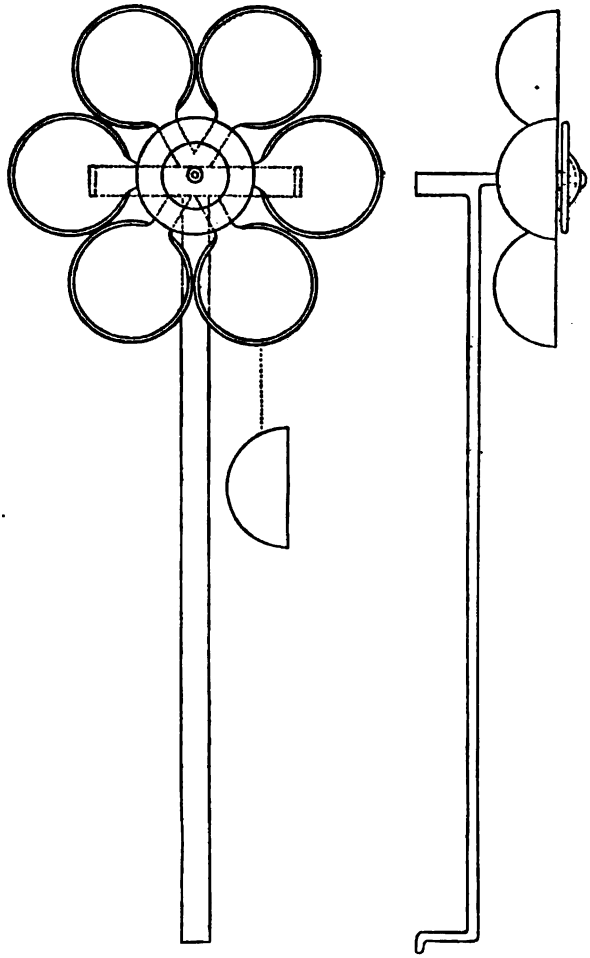

Culinary appliance, of Iron, probably used for poaching eggs; found with various objects of domestic use, also *lares* and other Roman relics of Bronze, at Baden, Canton of Aargau, in Switzerland.

(Original length about 19¼ inches.)

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ROMAN KITCHEN IMPLEMENT FOUND AT BADEN.

By Dr. FERDINAND KELLER, late President of The Society of Antiquaries, Switzerland.

THE remark that no traces of the domestic fowl are found among the remains of pfahlbauten is a sufficient proof that this bird, as well as many other animals, was unknown to the people of that period. It is highly probable that it was unknown also in the Keltic period—in our country at least—while, under the Roman dominion, its use would appear to have been very general, and popular. Among the Romans, dishes compounded of eggs were reckoned an important item of food, and the description of a regular formal dinner by the words, "ab ovo, ad malum,"—from the egg to the apple, *i. e.* dessert—shows, however people may choose to understand the expression, that eggs were a very favourite dish.

What importance the breeding of poultry had attained in the time of Pliny is plain enough from his directions as to the treatment of the domestic fowl, in his 64th Book, which treats of the natural history of birds, as also from his enumeration of the medicinal qualities of fowls, in his 29th book. In the cookery book of Apicius, the egg, and its various modes of preparation, of course are not forgotten.

We have a convincing proof of the abundant consumption of eggs in our land during the Roman empire in the occurrence of egg-shells and bones of fowls in the excavation of Roman ruins. These are met with in the ashes on the hearth, or the *præfurnium*, as also in the heaps of refuse—kitchen-middens—outside the buildings. We have other, and almost as direct evidence of the use of eggs in the Roman kitchen, in the cooking utensil here figured. This implement was found, under the circumstances mentioned in a previous volume of the Journal,[1] among various objects

[1] See Arch. Journ., vol. xxix. p. 189.

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of iron and bronze, and beyond doubt was employed in the frying of eggs. It is a three-footed object with a long stem that serves for a handle. Above the crossing of the bars are three rods of metal held together by a pin, and hammered out at their extremities into cup forms, representing, as it were, a flower with six leaves. By means of this implement six fried eggs—the *ova frixa* of Apicius—can be prepared at once, and served up.

Forbiger (Hellas und Rom., i. 211) gives an account of Roman implements of plate iron with four or five hollow cups, for baking eggs; there is also an illustration of a similar implement in Rich's Dictionary, under the title of *Apalare.*

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RICHARD'S CASTLE.

By G. T. CLARK, Esq.

THE site of Richard's Castle, a well-known and very ancient fortress in the county of Hereford, but near to Ludlow and the borders of Shropshire, is distinguished by one of those remarkable works in earth which have hitherto, in topographical books, passed undescribed, or described only in such general terms as afford no clue to any sound inference as to the people or the period by whom or at which they were thrown up. And yet if there were correct plans and precise descriptions of the earthworks of this country, it is probable that some sound general conclusions as to their origin would be arrived at. Many, probably most, are regarded as præ-historic, but still something of their history may, it is probable, be established by a careful consideration of the evidence which they themselves afford.

The earthworks of which Richard's Castle affords a good example, and Wigmore, its neighbour, one still more remarkable, belong to a class entirely distinct both in position and form from all other military or domestic earthworks found in any part of Britain. They are not placed upon lofty hill tops, inaccessible, or nearly so, to any form of wheel carriage, far from cultivated land, of a figure determined by the character of the ground, or of an area usually broad enough to include a large number of persons; neither are they to be confounded with those single circles or half circles of ditch and bank, without any central elevation, which are occasionally found, the latter especially, on promontories near the sea; still less do they resemble the rectangular works of the Romans, which, though sometimes of large area, are rarely contained within earthworks of that enormous size which is a character of the defences both of those who preceded and of those who followed them in this island.

The earthworks now under description are usually dis-

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tinguished by the presence of a lofty and conical mound, table-topped, and girt with defensive works more or less concentric. These mounds are distinguished from sepulchral barrows, such as Silbury, and motes or judicial eminences, such as Hawick, in the former case by the flat top, and in both by the exterior defences. Occasionally, as in Old Sarum and Badbury, the mound is central, and the area large enough to contain a moderate army, but more commonly the area is small, and the mound, though within the circle, is placed near its edge, or else, as at Berkhampstead and Tonbridge, it is actually on the line, and forms a part of the *enceinte*. Sometimes, where an earlier work has been taken possession of and a mound been thrown up, as at Cardiff, Wareham, Wallingford, Tamworth, and Leicester, the mound is placed in one corner or near one side, and has its own proper ditch, leaving the exterior works unaltered.

It would be too much to say that in no other class of earthworks than these is the mound employed, or that no other people than their constructors made use of that form; but it may safely be laid down that in no other class of early fortifications did the mound exist as the leading and typical feature. In Roman and Norman, as in later works of defence, the mound was no doubt sometimes seen, but it was a subordinate feature, placed on one angle of the rampart, or, as at Kenilworth, on an elevated bastion, or as what, in later works, is known as a "cavalier." Also in decided and evidently early British works the mound is sometimes placed in the end of an entrance, so as to divide the way, and place those who approach at a disadvantage; but such mounds are not likely to be confounded with those here described.

It is of course possible that mounds such as that at Arundel or Shrewsbury may be older than the surrounding works; may have been, for example, sepulchral, and altered and converted to military or domestic purposes; but this is scarcely probable, and could not have been a general custom. Sepulchral barrows are not often placed where a defensive work is needed, and most early nations are superstitious and would avoid dwelling over a grave, especially if it contained the slain of an army. Silbury would no doubt make as good a keep as Marlborough, but it has not been so used. The Tynwald in Man indeed has lately been proved to be

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sepulchral in origin, but this is the only case known, and the mound is used for judicial purposes, not as a residence.

The type of earthwork here under consideration is composed of a conical flat-topped mound, usually artificial, 20 to 60 ft. high, and 30 to 40 ft. in diameter at the summit, surrounded by a ditch. From this ditch, and extending round it as a large hoop may contain on its inner face a smaller one, springs a second ditch, enclosing an area larger than that occupied by the mound, placed on one side of it, and covering about four-fifths of its circumference, the two ditches coinciding for the other fifth. Where there was a natural steep, as at Wigmore or Builth, the mound was placed on its edge, and thus the single defence was on that side sufficient. No doubt the main reason for placing the mound, as at Warwick, at one side of the *enceinte*, was to allow of the concentration of the offices, agricultural buildings, and barracks on one spot, instead of placing them in a scattered annular space all round the citadel. Works answering generally to this description are common in Normandy, all over England, especially in Yorkshire, along the Severn, and upon the borders and more accessible parts of South and Mid Wales. They are rare in Scotland and Ireland, and unusual in France, out of Normandy. They seem intended for the protection of a family and estate, and are usually placed in the midst of lands suitable for agriculture, and were evidently occupied by a people who cultivated the soil, and did not depend upon hunting for a subsistence.

Moreover, many of these works have English or Teutonic, not Celtic names, and are seldom, unless when on the site of an older work, distinguished by the prefix of "caer," or the suffix of "cester,"—the former commonly denoting British, the latter Roman, occupation. Those who wish to have a clear idea of the great strength of a mound surrounded, as originally planned, by its proper ditch, should see that of Cardiff, where the judicious excavations of Lord Bute have laid open the ancient ditch, adding thus vastly to the grandeur of the cone of earth, and showing how secure must have been a residence upon its summit. Here, too, the lowest piles and struts of the original timber bridge have been laid open.

In the Saxon Chronicle are mentioned a considerable

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number of "burghs," or fortresses, the date of which is often mentioned, and the rapidity of the construction of which shows that they could not have been, to any extent, in the first instance at least, works in masonry. Those therein mentioned are Bedford, Bamborough, Buttington, Bridgenorth, Badbury, Buckingham, Bakewell, Carisbrook, Chester, Chirbury, Colchester, Cledemather, Durham, Eddesbury, Exeter, Hertford, Huntingdon, Jedburgh, Leicester, Lincoln, Maldon, Milton, Nottingham, Norwich, Pevensey, Quatford, Rochester, Runcorn, Scergeat or Garratt, Sherborne, Stafford, Stamford, Tamworth, Taunton, Tempsford, Tonbridge, Towcester, Wardbury, Wareham, Warwick, Wigmore, Witham, and York.

Of these some are Roman adapted works, others have been removed, others have not been sought after, but several remain and present the mound as the principal feature. In some places two mounds were thrown up, one on either side of a river, as at Buckingham, Stamford, Nottingham, Hertford, and York, where they still remain. A wall, probably the Roman one, is mentioned at Colchester; and at Towcester, it is said that King Edward sat down with his forces while they encompassed the burgh with a stone wall. This, therefore, must have been quickly done, and was probably of dry stone. Of the fortresses with mounds the earliest mentioned are Carisbrook, in A.D. 530, and Bedford, in 571; the others occur mostly in the ninth and very early in the tenth centuries. Those mentioned in the Saxon Chronicle are, of course, but a very few of the burghs erected in England, but the notices are valuable, especially because in some well-marked instances, as Warwick and Leicester, the actual date of construction is given.

The original policy of the Conqueror was, as far as possible, to establish his rule quietly, and to come in as the heir to the throne. With this view, when the opposition of the English chiefs led him to root them out, he usually placed the Norman successor on the English seat. Thus nearly all these burghs or mounds having been the seat or *aula* of a Saxon lord, the change to the common people was not necessarily violent, though it often became so. The tenants dwelt round and paid duty and service at the accustomed spot; no alteration was made in the parochial unit, sokes and hundreds and other territorial divisions remained, with their courts,

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unchanged; and though land ceased to be allodial, and military service was sharply exacted, it may be supposed that Godwin and Harold and the great English lords had not scrupled to make their tenants follow them to the war, not as mercenaries, but more or less at their, the tenants, own charge.

Hence, although the Conqueror occasionally ordered a castle, like the Tower, to be built on an entirely new place, more commonly, and especially with the mesne lords, the castle was nothing more than the old English residence, with its defences replaced by walls and towers, no doubt of formidable height and strength. The Norman made ample use of timber for military purposes, but it was rather for barriers and outworks and the light defences, than for the main walls of his stronghold, or for its towers or keep. Inside these, however, it was also largely used. The early floors were almost invariably, like the roofs, of wood, and the dwellings of the dependents long continued to be mere huts of timber, sheds built against the walls, always getting out of order, and a continual source of expense to the lord, or, as we see in the records of the royal castles, to the Sheriff of the county.

Where the site was new, as in London or at Newcastle, or where there was no mound, as at Corfe or Ludlow, Bristol, Carlisle, or Brougham, or Ogmore or Penlline, a rectangular keep was, as a matter of course, constructed; but where there was a mound, as at Arundel, Trematon, Warwick, York, Cardiff, Caerleon, Worcester, Builth or Ewias-Harold, Kilpeck or Lincoln, the keep became a circular or polygonal shell, or in some later cases, as Warwick and York, a tower of a quatre-foil pattern, thus preserving, but elevating, the older English type.

The rectangular form of keep, being more durable and more striking to the view than the shell keep, has become the received representative of a Norman castle; but it is probable that at the least one-half of the castles erected between 1066 and 1200 were of the other type. The mounds which, for a century or two after their erection, would not have carried in safety any heavy masonry, became firmly consolidated, and as the form of structure placed upon them was judiciously designed, any serious settlement is rare.

There are but two instances at present known in which

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the mound and the rectangular keep are found in the same group, and in these two cases they are actually combined. They are Christchurch, where the mound is small, and the keep is probably founded, through it, upon the solid; and Guildford, where the mound is large, but the keep is built upon its edge or slope, and there also rests upon the virgin soil. At Oxford, the remaining square tower, though Norman, was on the wall, and was not the keep. This was a shell, and crowned the large mound, which still contains a part of its subterranean works.

Richard's Castle, which has given rise to these remarks, is a most interesting remain. It is one of a series of works common on the Welsh border and the Middle Marshes. Such were Hereford and Worcester, in modern times despoiled of their mounds: Shrewsbury, still towering above the deep and rapid Severn: Tre-Faldwin or Montgomery, a single instance of a town and county bearing the name of the invader: Kilpeck and Ewias-Harold, described in recent numbers of the "Builder:" Builth, the extreme limit westward held for any time by the English: Cardiff, Caerleon, Wigmore, and Richard's Castle, which last it is the object of the present memoir to describe.

It is unfortunate for both writer and reader that there exists no correct, indeed it may be said no plan of numbers of this most interesting class of our natural antiquities. The Ordnance surveyors, who have executed so creditable a map of the whole country on a small scale, might easily have been instructed to complete all earthworks of peculiar interest upon a scale sufficient to exhibit their details and to render intelligible any scientific descriptions of them. How well this might have been effected is proved by the surveys of the castles of York, Guildford, and the remains of that of Southampton, as included in the large scale survey of those towns.

Richard's Castle, fortress and parish, takes name from a certain Richard fitz-Scrob, one of the Normans attached to the court of the Confessor, and who was quartered by that prince upon probably the most exposed district upon the Welsh frontier; a position commanding some of the richest and most regretted of the lands conquered by the English, and sure to be assailed frequently and in force.

What invader of the 10th century originally threw

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up the magnificent earthwork, which must have guided Fitz-Scrob in his choice of a residence is not known, but from its summit is comprehended one of the noblest and most extensive prospects to be found even in a quarter of England so rich in the most pleasing combination of wood and water, lofty hills and broad and fertile dales. As the new settler traversed the meads of the Severn, and left behind him the grassy meadows of the Team and the Lugg, and rode up the rising ground to the point where his own or his son's devotion afterwards established a church, he must have blessed the fate that placed him amidst a country so rich, and in the possession of which the vast earthwork immediately before him would be an assurance of more than ordinary security.

The advent of Fitz-Scrob was viewed with profound dislike from opposite quarters. In those days, on the very eve of the coming in of William, Gruffydd, the Welsh Prince, must have known how formidable a neighbour was a Norman knight; and the English, who were aware what engines of local tyranny were the Norman castles, regarded with dismay the lofty walls and towers, which made impregnable a place already strong, and converted a well-known burgh into a castle such as they had heard of with dread but had not before seen.

What were the precise works constructed by Richard it is difficult to say. That he converted the mound into his keep, and girt the annexed ward with a wall is possible, though the masonry, of which vast fragments still remain, is apparently of rather a later date. There is no reason to suppose that he built a rectangular keep. There was already a mound. His keep would be on its summit, and if masonry were employed in its construction, it must have been a shell or low tower at most, of 30 or 35 ft. diameter, such as is seen on the mound of Cardiff.

The first danger to the new lord came from Earl Godwin and his sons, who represented the English, and therefore the anti-Norman feeling. One of the avowed grievances for the redress of which they met in arms at Beverston, in 1052, was the presence of Richard fitz-Scrob upon English soil. That they failed, and that their failure led to the temporary exile of Earl Godwin is a matter of history. Richard remained unmolested, and doubtless employed himself in adding to his castle that strength which it could scarcely have in excess.

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It is not stated that he shared in the campaign and ignominious defeat of Earl Ralf the Timid against Prince Gruffydd, but probably he did so.

In 1056, Harold, then Earl of the West Saxons, entered the Marches against the Welsh, and advanced into Archerfield, where his probable godson, Harold, the son of Ralph, held the Castle of Ewias-Harold, the earthworks of which were constructed on the type of those of Richard's Castle, and which, a few years later, was to receive additions in masonry after the same pattern. Whether Richard was in alliance with Earl Harold or Harold of Ewias is not known, but the position of his castle would scarcely allow him to be neuter.

In 1062, Gruffydd was again over the Herefordshire border, and Harold, then holding the Earldom of Hereford, was again at his post, and the Lord of Ewias joined him. This was followed by the larger expedition, in which Harold invaded Wales by sea from Bristol, conjointly with his brother Tostig from Northumberland. They met at Rhuddlan, and soon after the Welsh Prince was massacred by his own people. During these turbulent years the whole border must have been in constant turmoil, and we may fairly suppose that Richard, to whom both parties were in substance opposed, must have fortified his castle by every means then in use.

The arrival of the Conqueror relieved Richard from his most formidable foe, the English people directed by an English leader. He and his son Osbert shared in the ascendency of their race, and received from William large grants in Herefordshire and elsewhere, which are duly recorded in Domesday.

The castle of Richard's Castle occupies a position equally remarkable for beauty and for strength. It stands upon the eastern slope of the Vinnall Hill, an elevated ridge which extends hither from Ludlow, and a little to the west of the castle is cleft by two deep parallel gorges, beyond which the high ground reappears in two diverging ridges, of which one extends westward in the direction of Wigmore and the other more southerly to the river Lugg, at Mortimer's Cross, having on its ridge the ancient British earthwork of Croft Ambrey, and below it the fortress of Croft Castle, reported to occupy an early English site. By this means, Richard's Castle is protected from the Welsh side by a double

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defence of hill and valley, besides its more immediate and special works.

The castle, though far below the summit of the Vinnall, stands upon very high ground, sloping rapidly towards the east. An exceedingly deep and wide gorge descending from the west bounds the position on the south, while a smaller and tributary valley descending from the north, falls into the greater valley below the castle, and thus completes its strength upon the north, west, and south points. The defence towards the east is wholly artificial.

Upon the point of the high land, above the meeting of the two valleys, a large and lofty mound has been piled up, the base of which is about 300 ft. above the valley, and the summit 60 ft. higher, that being its proper height. It is about 30 ft. in diameter at the top, and the sides are very steep. It seems wholly artificial, and stands in its own very deep ditch, beyond which is a high bank. On the west side this ditch is succeeded by the steep natural slope descending to the river, but towards the east the ditch seems to have been reinforced by a second, which encloses a larger area, more or less semi-lunar in shape, and which has a bank within and upon the scarp of the outer ditch, which is here artificial, and cuts off the fortress from the adjacent high ground now occupied as the churchyard.

These were the defences of the original fortress, and as was almost invariably the case when the Normans converted such an earthwork into a castle, a round tower or shell was constructed upon the summit of the mound, constituting the keep. From this, on the north-east and south-west sides, a strong and lofty curtain wall descended the slope, and on reaching the edge of the ditch was bent eastward, and curved round so as to include the whole entrenched area south-east of the mound, and half the mound itself, of which the other or western half, strong in its great natural strength, augmented by its ditch, was left without any exterior or second line of defence in masonry. The domestic buildings stood in this base court or lower ward, the keep only being occupied during a siege, or under exceptional circumstances. The entrance was by an arch in the curtain on the south side. Thus, as at Shrewsbury, Berkhampstead, and Tamworth, and indeed very generally, the mound and keep stood on the general *enceinte* of the fortress, forming a part of its outer

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defence. The lower ward was accessible to wheeled carriages, but the keep could only be ascended by steps. At this time the summit of the mound is covered with *débris* and rubbish, upon which young timber trees and underwood have made vigorous growth, and the enclosure, naturally inaccessible, is strictly preserved. The curtain descending the slope on the north-east is tolerably perfect, as is the adjacent part along the north-west front of the lower ward. Farther on the wall seems to have been lifted with gunpowder, and a vast fragment lies in the ditch. Beyond this the foundations here and there appear; the wall itself remains skirting the scarp of the ditch along the east and south fronts, and towards the latter side is the place where the arch of entrance pierced the wall, as shown by the gap in the masonry and the passage through the bank. Just beyond this the curtain ascends the mound and abutted on the keep tower, completing the circle of the defences in masonry.

From the density and offensive character of the vegetation it is difficult either to get a good general view of the place or to follow its details, but the fragments of masonry lie about generally, and if cleared and the thin upper soil removed no doubt a correct plan of this most interesting place could be obtained, and the date of the masonry ascertained with some degree of certainty. The masonry above ground is probably Norman, but all the ashlar has disappeared. The great interest of the place is due to its very remarkable earthworks, and to the fact that it was occupied and fortified by a Norman master before the Conquest.

The adjacent church is a large and rather fine building in the Decorated style. It stands but a very few yards outside the castle ditch, up to which its burial ground extends. It is remarkable in having a large square belfry tower, detached, and placed a few yards south-east of the chancel.

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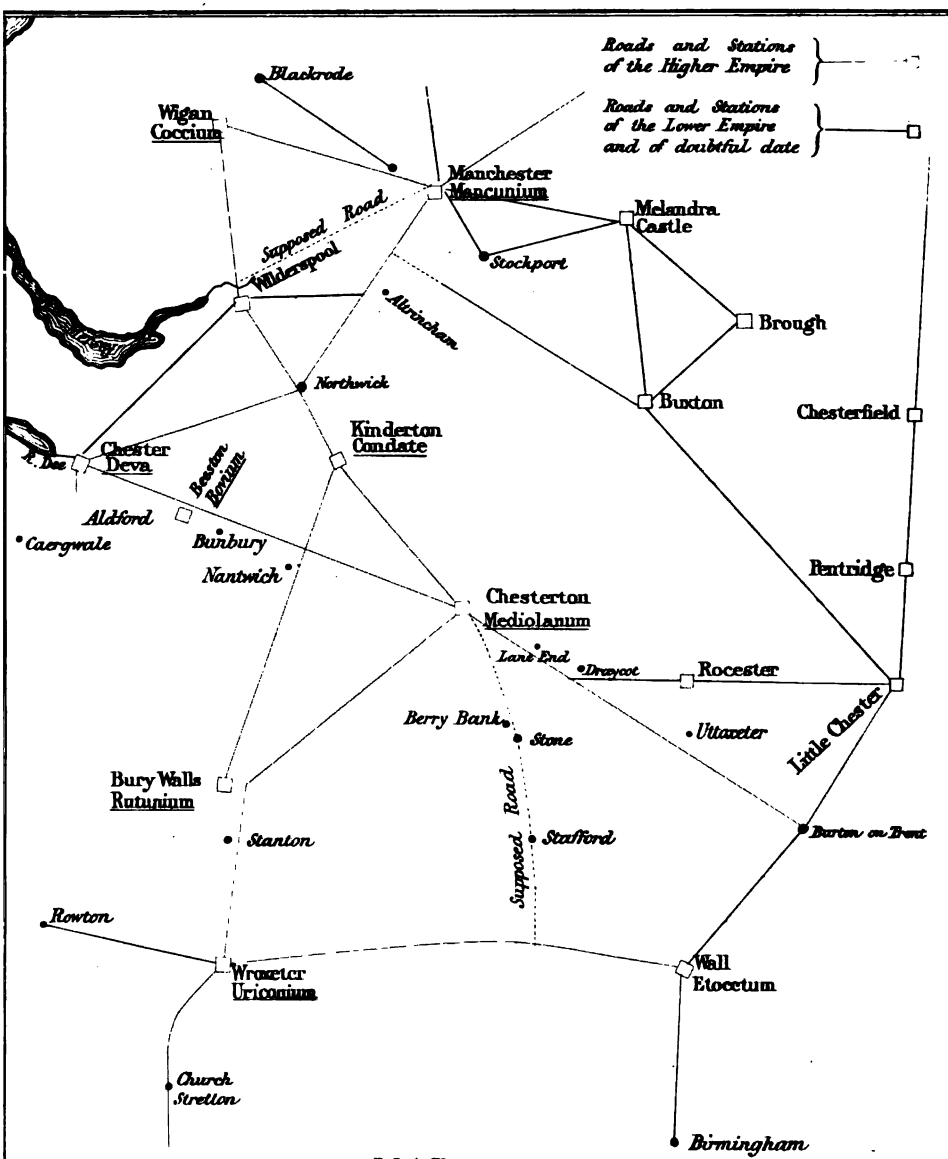

MAP
EXPLANATORY OF
the Portion of the
TENTH ITER OF ANTONINUS
SOUTH OF MANCHESTER.

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ON THE SITE OF "MEDIOLANUM," AND THE PORTION OF THE TENTH ITER OF ANTONINUS, SOUTH OF MANCHESTER.

By W. THOMPSON WATKIN.

In my recent Paper on the Tenth Iter of Antoninus, in the *Archaeological Journal* (vol. xxviii. p. 109,) my object was chiefly to elucidate that portion of it lying between Manchester and the neighbourhood of the Wall of Hadrian, which has always been the most doubtful and the most discussed, whilst, with regard to the portion of the Iter south of Manchester, I adopted the generally-received opinion, since the time of Dr. Bennett, Bishop of Cloyne, that Kinderton and Chesterton represented respectively Condate and Mediolanum. I also noticed the recent hypothesis started by Dr. Robson, and stated my conviction that everything depended upon the identification of Mediolanum.

Since the compilation of my Paper, however, Dr. Kendrick, in a communication to the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire,[1] has explained Dr. Robson's theory at greater length, and has consequently compelled me to enter into a discussion of the question, holding, as I do, that his views are totally at variance with the evidence.

In this Paper Dr. Kendrick places Condate at Wilderspool (on account of its distance from Chester in the 2nd Iter), Mediolanum he places at Middlewich, on account of its distance from Wilderspool, Mancunium at Wigan (!),[2] Mamucium (of the 2nd Iter) at Manchester, Coccium at Walton on the Ribble, and Bremetonacae at Lancaster. According to this view, there *must* be two stations bearing the name of Mediolanum, one at thirty miles and the other at eighteen

[1] Vol. xi. 2nd series, pp. 153—172.

[2] In his map Dr. Kendrick places Mancunium at Wigan, but in his text of the Iter he gives it "Standish-Wigan," probably because the distance from Wilderspool to Wigan is only thirteen miles. There is no trace of a Roman post at Standish. With regard to Wigan, I omitted to mention in my former Paper the fact of a fine gold coin of Vitellius having been found there, in addition to the other remains I named. It is preserved in the Mayer Museum at Liverpool.

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miles from Chester, and two stations bearing the almost similar names of Mamucium and Mancunium, both at exactly the same distance (eighteen miles) from Condate. Although Drs. Kendrick and Robson are the authors of the latter hypothesis, the former (regarding Mediolanum) is by no means new.

To me it appears that the errors of these gentlemen, with regard to Coccium and Mancunium, are chiefly to be attributed to their persistently ignoring the existence of the fine road between Wigan and Manchester; and with regard to Mediolanum, by their ignoring in a similar manner the existence of the road from Chester[3] to Chesterton. In my former Paper I dwelt at some length upon the first of these, in this I purpose tracing the second road.

Manchester is admitted by all to be the Mamucium of the 2nd Iter, we have, then, to find a Roman town eighteen miles distant from it, and twenty miles distant from Chester, in order to ascertain the site of Condate. Following the fine Roman road leading south by west from Manchester, eighteen miles will bring us to Northwich. The distance by the modern road, which in the main follows the track of its Roman predecessor, is a little over nineteen miles, but the difference is owing to the curve at Altrincham. What do we find at Northwich? The road we have just traversed is joined by another coming southwards from the station at Wilderspool, and a third coming eastwards from Chester.[4] There should, according to the plan generally adopted by the Romans, have been a considerable station at this point, but that is not the case; just sufficient remains, such as funeral urns, coins, &c., have been found to testify to the existence of a small outpost, but nothing that would indicate the site of a station of sufficient importance to be named in both the 2nd and 10th Iters. Instead of this, the station is five miles to the south at Kinderton, and from the point where the three roads meet there starts a grand wide road, far wider than either of them, called the Kind Street or Broadway;[5] which runs into it, and from it in

[3] Dr. Kendrick gives neither of these roads in his map.

[4] In the map accompanying my former Paper this road was erroneously represented as leading from Chester to Kinderton *direct*, instead of to Northwich.

[5] Camden says of this road (Gough's Camden, edit. 1789, vol. ii. p. 425), "For from Middlewich to Norwich runs a noble road raised with gravel to such a height as easily to be known for a Roman work, gravel being very scarce all over

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turn issue a number of other roads. Now it must be borne in mind, that the 2nd Iter is aiming for Chester (Deva); if, therefore, its author had traced it to Northwich, then into Kinderton, from Kinderton again to Northwich, and then on to Chester (this being the only route available), he would have twice gone over the five miles between Kinderton and Northwich. This error he avoids. He first stops short at Northwich, which, to use modern railway phraseology, would in his time be "Kinderton Junction," giving the distance eighteen miles correctly, and then, in the second place, he gives the exact distance, *i. e.*, twenty miles, which any one going from Condate (Kinderton) to Deva (Chester) would have to traverse, for the distance from Northwich to Chester, along the Roman road, is fifteen miles.

It will be well at this stage to collect all the evidence bearing upon this station at Kinderton, which appears to have been unknown until a Mr. Ralph Vernon, of Warmingham Forge, wrote to Dr. Wilkes, at Willenhall, near Wolverhampton (Shaw's "Hist. Staffordshire," vol. ii., p. 10), on 15th May, 1750, announcing that he had discovered it. This letter remained unpublished until the production of Rev. Stebbing Shaw's "History of Staffordshire," in 1798. In the meantime, a Mr. Thomas Percival communicated to the Society of Antiquaries a letter dated Royston, July 6, 1760, of which the following is an extract:—"I have traced the Roman roads from Manchester with the utmost care, and find that the Condate of the Romans was Kinderton in Cheshire. The road is visible almost all the way, and the camp visible at Kinderton, where the Dane and Weaver join. There is a Roman way from thence to Chester, another to Chesterton, near Newcastle-under-Lyne, and another, by Nantwich and Whitchurch, to Wroxeter." ("Archæologia," vol. i., p. 70.)

Mr. Whitaker, in his "History of Manchester," published in 1771, also recognises Kinderton as the site of Condate, and says of the roads issuing from it that one of them, after traversing "a field immediately without the camp, goes to

these parts, and therefore now carried from this road to private houses." The Bishop of Cloyne (Lyson's "Magna Britannia," vol. ii. part ii. p. 434) confirms the destruction of this road, by the removal of the gravel, and says, "little of it now remains, except its ancient straight line and name." It thus exists at the present day.

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Mediolanum, in Shropshire. Another went by Holme Street Hall to Chester, and a third extended by Street Forge and Red Street to Chesterton, near Newcastle."[6] The Bishop of Cloyne, in the Cheshire volume of the "Magna Britannia" also identifies these three roads, besides others issuing from the station, and Dr. Ormerod, in his elaborate "History of Chester," (vol. i., p. 24, note), traces not only these but the one to Wilderspool, another southwards by Betley, and into Staffordshire, another "through Twemlowe and Birtles, and intersecting with the line from Buxton and Manchester at Rainow," and another "through Handford to Stockport, where it divided into two branches, one leading into Yorkshire, the other to Melandra Castle." Of the road to Chesterton he says (vol. iii., p. 149):—"The first of these, which has been traced in Bradwall, in Northwich Hundred, proceeded, according to all authorities, by Red Street and Street Forge for Chesterton, near Newcastle." A large find of Roman coins occurred at this Bradwall, and Dr. Ormerod, in the "Archæologia Cambrensis," vol. ii. (1st series), p. 181, says, "When writing the 'History of Cheshire,' I could add no new facts to Mr. Whitaker's *general* idea of a line from Kinderton towards Chesterton, but shortly after the completion of my work, *the actual gravel bank of this line* was found in course of excavations in the Brindley Moors farm, within the estate of my relative, Dr. Latham, to the east of Bradwall Hall, and about four miles south of Kinderton." He then alludes to the find of coins. The line of this road has since been more completely brought to light, and is shown in the Ordnance map of the district.

The late Archdeacon Wood, who also held the opinion that Kinderton was Condate, says of this road to Chesterton, in a Paper read before the Chester Archæological Society, May 6th, 1850,[7] that it is "to be traced in Bradwall, in the parish of Sandbach, the line of which, if extended southwards, would pass Hare Castle, and Chesterton, in Staffordshire, continuing a straight course to Etocetum, or Wall, near Lichfield; if produced northwards, it falls into the straight part of 'Booth Lane,' in the road from Sandbach to Middlewich, and continuing in a line, the course of which can be traced through the fields, meets a short

[6] Vol. i. p. 144.

[7] Transactions of the "Chester Archæological Society," vol. i. p. 46.

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accommodation road, called the 'Parson's Lane,' and following that to its termination, passes onwards, still discernible, until it meets the junction at Kinderton."

Speaking of the station at Kinderton, the Archdeacon says, "It is of an irregular figure, not a true parallelogram, although approaching as near to it as the formation of the land will allow; the sides are not exactly facing the cardinal points, although sufficiently so to be designated by them. This camp is bounded on the north by the river Daven or Dane, on the west by the river Croco, their confluence being at the north-west angle. On the two other sides of the parallelogram, the fosse is plainly discernible, though it has been greatly defaced by being partially levelled a few years ago.[8] Several coins and other trifling articles have been found in levelling and ploughing the field, which unfortunately have not been preserved. On the 25th July, 1849, when digging to ascertain how far the gravel of the road extended, in each place opened small fragments of Roman pottery, some of Samian ware, were immediately thrown out, sufficient to indicate the place to be Roman, and showing the probability of much being discovered if diligent search were instituted."

At a meeting of the Chester Archæological Society in May, 1868, Mr. Vawdrey exhibited Samian and other pottery, including two or three almost perfect vases, coins of Vespasian and Hadrian, fibulæ, a bronze key and knives, &c., which were found in the station. One of the pieces of Samian ware bore the potter's name, CINNAMI, which has occurred on Samian ware at various other places.

Chester again is a key town, and we have to find at ten miles' distance from it the site of Bovium, or Bonium, and twenty miles further on that of Mediolanum. No station in England has been fixed at so many and such widely-distant places as the latter. Camden placed it at Llanvyllyn, Montgomeryshire; Dr. Gale at Festiniog; others at Meivod and at Caersws. These antiquaries all considered it a totally distinct place from the Mediolanum of the 10th Iter, and Bovium was generally considered by them to be at Bangor (Issacoed), in Flintshire, as a Roman road, leads almost due south from Chester, but is only traceable for a few miles. Horsley

[8] Whitaker, "History of Manchester," vol. i. p. 143, says the area of this station is about ten statute acres.

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was the first to reject these opinions, but he was ignorant of the course of the Via Devana, and of the existence of the stations at Kinderton and Chesterton, with the roads issuing from them. Nevertheless, under all these disadvantages, he concluded ("Britannia Romana," p. 417), from the fact of some Roman coins having been found at Burton Hill, that there was a Roman road going more to the south-east from Chester towards London, than the one through Aldford, and rejected Bangor as the site of Bovium, on the ground of distance, its having nothing Roman about it, and no Roman road being visible near it. On account of its etymology, he named Bunbury, as possibly being near Bonium, and, in a note at p. 418, added, "But till we can discover some surer evidences of Roman ways and stations hereabout, I am afraid we must remain in uncertainty." Condate, he had previously concluded with Dr. Stukeley, "has been at Northwich, or near it," and he added that one of his correspondents, Dr. Tilston, imagined it to be at Kinderton. Mediolanum he considered as the same place of that name mentioned in the 10th Iter, and thought its site might be upon the river Tern, near Drayton, or at Middle, in Shropshire, whilst Rutunium, the intermediate station between it and Wroxeter, he placed at "Bury Walls," near Wem. He says concerning this latter:—"Remains, distance, and the course of the military way favour, as I think, this opinion, which may make it the more deserving of some regard. And Rodan is not unlike to Rutunium, so that the affinity of name makes also for us; for I have had frequent occasion to observe that the ancient name is often preserved in the name of the river. The way from Wroxeter to this station seems to be the continuance of the military way from Monmouthshire." [9]

Dr. Mason of Trinity College, Cambridge, Dr. Wilkes, and Mr. J. Whitfield, between the years 1754 and 1758 (Shaw's "History of Staffordshire," vol. i. pp. 13-15), entered further into this subject, and all of them concluded that the Mediolanum of the 2nd Iter was to the east of the Severn. Still they were not aware of Chesterton. Dr. Mason, in a letter to Dr. Wilkes, dated 15th March, 1758, says, "I should be glad to know whether you have any knowledge of a Roman way from Burton-upon-Trent to Chester by New-

[9] "Britannia Romana," p. 418.

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castle, for parts of such a one I have seen, and it is part of a great one that crosses the whole kingdom in a very direct course. * * * * I have traced another from Wroxeter, ten miles toward Chester, but there I lost it."

The almost total obliteration of the Roman roads in South Cheshire, North Shropshire, and North Staffordshire,[1] was the great stumbling-block of these antiquaries of the last century. Although the discovery of the station at Kinderton (circa 1750), and its identification as Condate, simplified the question somewhat, the numerous roads issuing from Wroxeter northwards could not be traced, whilst those leading from Chesterton were totally unknown. Matters remained in this state some thirty or forty years longer, when Dr. Bennett (Bishop of Cloyne) and the Rev. Thomas Leman of Bath traced by personal observation the course of the Via Devana, and other roads of North Staffordshire, as well as those of Derbyshire, Cheshire, &c. The conclusion which these celebrated antiquaries arrived at, was that Chesterton, near Newcastle-under-Lyne, was the true site of Mediolanum.[2] And here, before tracing the roads round Chesterton, we will first consider the place itself.

Camden, in his "Britannia," when speaking of Newcastle-under-Lyne, says it is "so called in respect to an older castle anciently situated near it at Chesterton-under-Lyne, where I saw many walls of a half-ruined castle, which, at first by the gift of King John, belonged to Ralph, Earl of Chester, afterwards, by favour of Henry III., to the House of Lancaster."—Gough's Camden (edit. 1806), vol. ii. p. 496.

Erdeswicke, in his "Survey of Staffordshire," the materials

[1] The high state of cultivation to which the soil of this part of England has been subject, will, in some degree, account for this. Numerous soft boggy districts also intervene, in which both roads and buildings would in the lapse of ages gradually sink. It is remarkable that neither in Lancashire, Cheshire, Staffordshire, nor in that part of Shropshire north of Shrewsbury, have any traces of Roman villas been found. The large stations only are discernible.

[2] In the "Magna Britannia," vol. ii. part ii. (Cheshire) p. 433, the Bishop of Cloyne says—"A third road by way of Street Forge and Red Street connected Kinderton with the station of Chesterton, near Newcastle-under-Line; it corresponded, as I conceive, with the tenth Iter of Antonine, and Chesterton is the Mediolanum of that Iter, of which circumstance I shall treat more at length when I come to examine the Roman towns in Staffordshire." In vol. v. of the same work (Derbyshire), p. ccxiii., the bishop states again that he considers Chesterton to be the Mediolanum of the tenth Iter. The "Magna Britannia," commencing alphabetically with the English counties, was only continued as far as Devonshire, and consequently the Bishop's remarks on the Roman towns of Staffordshire were never published. He died in London, 16th July, 1820, and was buried in Plumstead Church, Kent. I have endeavoured to trace his MSS. on this subject, but hitherto in vain.

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for which he gathered between A.D. 1593-1603, in which latter year he died, says, in the edition of his work published by Sir Simon Degge in 1723, at p. 9: "A little lower" (than Bradwell) "stands Chesterton, where are to be seen the ruins of a very ancient town or castle, there yet remaining some rubbish of stone and lime, whereby may be perceived that the walls have been of a marvellous thickness, and the name doth argue, some town or rather castle there to have been seated; as also by the decay thereof which may seem to be occasioned by the building of Newcastle, whereupon as I take it, the same took the name of Newcastle. The walls whereof begin to follow the other, shewing themselves also very ruinous, and almost as little to the view, but that they stand in a great lake or pool as the other do not."

Dr. Plot, who visited Chesterton in 1680, says: "It seems, too, to be pretty certain, that the town or castle of Chesterton-under-Lyne, as Mr. Camden calls it, given by King John to the last Randall, Earl of Chester, must be a place of note before the Conquest, it goeing to decay as long agoe as the reigne of King Hen. 3, when the Earle of Lancaster built another[3] near by, in the midst of a great poole, which he called the Newcastle, that gave original (no doubt) to the Towne of that name close by it; whereof yet there is now almost as little remaining as of the walls of Chesterton, which were so firmly built that as Mr. Camden and Mr. Erdeswicke both owne there remain'd so much of the rubbish of them in their days, that it might be perceived thereby that they were of a marvellous thickness; but all was gone before I came there, nothing now being to be seen but some faint footsteps of them in the place where the mark is set in the map."

These "faint footsteps" seen by Dr. Plot must, however, have been sufficient to prove the existence of the fortress, for

[3] This is a mistake, for both town and castle of Newcastle-under-Lyne were in existence before this reign. In the record of "Assisæ et Placita Coronæ," taken at Lichfield, on St. Matthew's day 5th King John (1203) it is stated that the *town* of *Newcastle* was amerced for having changed its market day from Sunday to Saturday (*vide* "Abbreviatio Placitorum," p. 43). And in the 17th King John (1215) the Crown granted to Ranulph de Blondeville, Earl of Chester, "Newcastle-under-Line and its liberties" ("Calendarium Chartarum," &c., in the Exchequer, published 1803, p. 30). These appear soon to have been forfeited, for early in the reign of Henry III. we find (Calendarium Inquisit post mort, vol. i. p. 202) that the king held the *New Castle* town and manor. It was under the governorship of a Constable. For this information I am indebted to Pitt's History of Staffordshire, pp. 352—3.

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Mr. Joseph Mayer, F.S.A.,[4] informs me, that even so late at 1820-25, he remembers portions of the walls remaining three or four courses high, he having many times observed them.

It is thus certain, that prior to the reign of King John there existed a walled *castrum* or castle, which was even then ancient, and bore the Saxon name of Chesterton. Every tittle of evidence having been lost as to the date of its erection, a rigid inquiry on the point is required. Had it been erected by any of the followers of the Conqueror, or by any of the barons of the four succeeding reigns, no doubt some record of its existence as a fortress would have been preserved, and it would hardly have gone to decay as early as the reign of Henry III., only 150 years after the Conquest. Indeed, it is probable that the castle of *New*castle was one of the numerous fortresses erected in the reign of Stephen, which would thus bring the *new* building within 70 years of the Conquest. Again, there is no reason to suppose that the Saxons built any fortifications here. They were not a castle-building people, and we possess very few remains of their castellated architecture. Mr. Pitt, in his "History of Staffordshire," p. 352, endeavours to ignore the fact of any remains of a castle at *Chesterton* having been seen by Camden. He says: "Later authors have been led into error by the ungrammatical construction of the above quotation (*i.e.*, Camden's description of Chesterton), for it is certain that Camden must have meant that the ruinous walls which he had seen of an old castle, formerly belonging to the Earl of Chester, and afterwards to the House of Lancaster, were the walls of Newcastle, and not, as the sentence at first reading seems to imply, the walls of Chesterton." But there is no doubt of Camden meaning *Chesterton* in the above passage, for he is confirmed by Erdeswicke, who distinctly speaks of the *two* castles being then visible. It is hardly necessary to repeat here the derivation of the word "Chester" or "Ceastre" from the Latin word *castrum*, and the almost universal application of it by the Saxons to any Roman stronghold which had survived their attacks, or become one of their towns.

After all, the best evidence in these cases is generally to

[4] Mr. Mayer is a native of Newcastle-under-Lyne, and remembers Chesterton from his boyhood.

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be found in the ground plan, and accordingly at Chesterton it is not that of a Saxon or mediæval castle, but the distinct outline of a Roman *castrum* that presents itself.

Mr. Ward, in his "Borough of Stoke-upon-Trent," thus speaks of this camp at p. 15: "The situation must have been chosen by Agricola, or whoever else fixed upon it, with considerable judgment, as commanding a view on all sides from which an enemy could approach. The hill on which the fortress stood is considerably elevated, but considerably below the lofty ridges on the west and north. Along the north side of what was evidently the camp or station, is an immense foss, still partly filled with water from a copious spring within its bed, issuing from the red sandstone rock on which the station was elevated, and which still supplies two fish ponds in the cavity, measuring together about 120 yards in length. The breadth of the foss cannot have been less than 20 yards when in an entire state. Along the rampart, on the outer side of it, appears to be the way which led by a gradual ascent from the north-east corner of the station to the centre or prætorium over a draw-bridge, at which spot the hollow is now filled up for a space of 25 or 30 yards, and beyond that is partially filled, though clearly marked out, for at least 150 yards more. The whole extent of this entrenchment measures about 370 yards, and it must have formed an impregnable barrier along the north side of the station. On the east, the camp seems to have been defended by a ditch and rampart cut from the sandstone rock; several houses in the village, the principal being Chesterton Old Hall, now occupy the inner side of the vallum at intervals for about 300 yards in extent. The station then turns at a right angle to the west up a lane, which appears to have been the southern vallum, and goes over the summit of the hill on which the castle stood. The whole station seems to have formed a parallelogram of about 370 by 300 yards, and to have enclosed upwards of 20 acres of ground, an area sufficient for accommodating a Roman cohort, which contained 600 men, with equipage, stabling and stores. The entrenchment on the west has been levelled, and is only marked by the line of a modern fence. The surface in this direction slopes gently towards Apedale, and was not open to any sudden assaults from an enemy. At a distance of about 150 yards from the eastern rampart is a brook to which a road

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leads from the south-east angle of the camp, and which supplied convenient watering for the troops."

On the 19th September, 1871, Dr. J. Barnard Davis, F.R.S., examined the site carefully on behalf of the writer, and he says: "I am quite satisfied that *it is the site of a Roman camp.* It is a parallelogram placed with the long diameter pretty nearly due north and south. It is in a commanding situation, and is raised above the surrounding lands evidently by human hands. On the east side where there is stone, the stone has been cut away to the depth of 10 ft., on the west side the elevation is about 3 ft., on the south it is less, and on the north side is the ditch described by Ward 10 or 12 ft. below the surface of the camp. This ditch, supposed by Ward to be supplied by a spring, is now quite dried up.

"The area of the camp is still a green field unoccupied by any building, whilst the surrounding land about the village is now being built upon on all sides. The road runs along the east side where the camp has been defended by a ditch cut in the sandstone. On this side stands Chesterton Old Hall as formerly. Just below the hall is the road into the camp near the south-eastern corner.

"On the extreme northern edge of the camp still stand the remains of some ancient yew trees. * * * * *

"On the eastern side some cottages have been erected parallel with Chesterton Old Hall, fifty or more years ago. About these cottages are some stones which may have belonged to the camp. There are two small ones which have been chiselled on each side and have something like a Roman appearance. The marks of the chisel are rather peculiar.

"A hoard of Roman coins was found in 1817, at Madeley Park, about three miles from Chesterton. They were contained in two urns, and are small brass chiefly, quite fresh and unworn. They comprise coins of the reigns of Maximinus, Posthumus, Tetricus, Licinius, Constantine the Great, Crispus, &c."

Of the road leading from Kinderton to Chesterton, I have already spoken. Dr. Mason (Shaw's "History of Staffordshire," vol. i. p. 34) says of the Via Devana, after tracing it satisfactorily from Ashby de la Zouch to Burton upon Trent, that it crosses the Ryknield Street near this latter town,

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"thence up the hill into Needwood Forest. Its direction is then towards Hanbury. * * * * The road is said to proceed straight through the forest, but in many places so bad and boggy as not to be ventured upon, only by the keepers and sportsmen, for which reason the present road goes round by Tutbury, Sudbury, Dovebridge, to Uttoxeter,[5] which seems to have stood above a mile from the course of the road, the lanes from thence being crooked till past Checkley, near which or about Tene, I found myself to be again upon the old road, proceeding in the same direction by Draycot, over the end of Mere Heath, to a place called Lane End, the road being there closed up. In this part it kept parallel to the foot of the highlands, called the Moorlands, at about half a mile distance. At Lane End its direction was straight by Wolferly to Chesterton, at four miles distance, but all the intermediate space being either meadow or land enclosed and cultivated, I could find no traces of it though I searched carefully for above half way. The rise of Newcastle, by drawing all traffic, has directed all the roads to itself for so many ages, may well occasion the other to be lost. You ascend to Chesterton up a hollow way, the rocks on each side being perpendicular to a great height, yet retaining no marks of any tool. * * * * The road from Newcastle passing through the town goes full west for Talk on the Hill and Congleton. But I was told that at the next bottom northwards, there went off a road to the west, continuing very straight towards Nantwich, though but little frequented, some part of which was called Watling Street."

From a note on the same page, the Rev. T. Leman apparently confirms, by actual survey, this statement of Dr. Mason's, in the main.

At Draycot, before mentioned, the Via Devana is joined by another Roman road bearing for Chesterton. Shaw thus alludes to it ("History of Staffordshire," vol. i. p. 34,): "Mr. Allen tells me that there are the traces of an old road, going from Chester by Chesterton and Draicote to Roucester,[6] and

[5] There have been recent considerable discoveries of Roman remains at this place.

[6] This place is situated at the junction of the rivers Dove and Churnet. In some excavations in 1792 at Mr. Arkwright's cotton-mill, some Roman works, which the labourers described as being like "tan pits," were found. Several Roman coins and a bronze spear head were found at the same time. Shaw (History of Staffordshire, vol. i. p. 34, *note*) thinks they were probably baths.

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so to Little Chester near Derby, being reckoned six miles nearer than by the common road." He adds a note to the effect that in 1789, the Bishop of Cloyne and Mr. Leman travelled this part of the road from Little Chester, running straight by Muckworth and Langley, by the name of Long Lane to Rocester and pointing towards Draycot on the Via Devana. In Lysons' "Magna Britannia," vol. v. p. 213, the Bishop of Cloyne further describes this road, which still exists (1873) in much the same condition.

The Via Devana in its last stage (*i.e.* from Chesterton to Chester) is more accurately traced by the Bishop of Cloyne in the "Magna Britannia," vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 434, from his own personal survey. He says that the road "at the second bottom to the north of Chesterton, bears for Nantwich, under the name of the Watling Street, for a reason before explained; the turnpike road since the time of Dr. Mason has nearly obliterated it except about Bunbury,[7] where the modern road declines to the right, while the Roman way keeps straight under the north-east side of Beeston Hill, on which, being so commanding a situation, there was probably a post for the protection of travellers, and from whence the line of the old road is plainly to be distinguished, for about two miles and a half, when the turnpike road again joins it, and proceeds with it."

Dr. Ormerod, in his "History of Cheshire," vol. i. p. 24, in a note on the Roman roads of the county, thus speaks of it:—"No. III. The Via Devana or road from Colchester to Chester through the counties of Cambridge, Leicester, and Stafford, entering Nantwich Hundred near Chesterton, in the last county and bearing by Nantwich and Beeston on Chester." And at vol. iii. p. 1, he says, "The line of another Roman road, which formed the communication between Colchester and Chester, * * * * passes through the second of these openings (that of Tarporley) most probably on the site of a more antient road, and has been recently traced under the rock of Beeston, converging to the same point, the city of Chester." He adds that there are several tumuli along its route. A glance at the Ordnance Map will show the final stage of this road, after crossing Rowton Heath. It is there marked STREET WAY.

Various other roads met at Chesterton. Salmon, in his

[7] *Vide* Horsley's conjectures as to the site of Bovium.

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"Survey of England," speaks of a Roman military way, as passing from Newport (Shropshire) by Eccleshall to Newcastle under Lyne. Dr. Plot ("Nat. Hist. of Staffordshire," p. 402) mentions a high paved way, which he calls a *via vicinalis*, at Wotton near Eccleshall, and Dr. Mason (Shaw's "History of Staffordshire," p. 34) says, "it has the appearance of being continued one way to Forton near Newport, and the other towards Darlaston by Stone." In Pitt's "History of Staffordshire" (1817), p. 319, it is said that the foundation of a Roman road, running from east-north-east to west-south-west, is "traceable on the lands, a little northward of the church" at High Offley, and that "Roman coins in great numbers, flat bricks, armour, fragments of pottery," &c., have "been ploughed and dug up on the side of the hill, south of the churchyard." This road is still visible. Whitaker in his "History of Manchester" (vol. i. p. 222), says that the Roman road from Kinderton to Chesterton, was continued to Wall (Etocetum), by way of Newcastle aud Berry Bank, a large camp upon a hill about one mile to the south of Stone, which, he says, in an ancient deed bears the name of Wulferecester.[8] Roman remains have occasionally been found at Stone.[9] There is another road traced by Dr. Wilkes, Mr. Whitaker, the Bishop of Cloyne, and Dr. Ormerod, from Kinderton southwards through Betley, and Madeley (four miles east of Chesterton) to Newport. Dr. Wilkes says of it (Shaw's "Staffordshire," vol. i. p. 15), that "it is very visible as far as Madeley, where it is lost in a soft clay and dirty country," but at p. 34 he indicates its route to Newport by remaining traces. Passing so close to Chesterton, this road would undoubtedly have communication with that station.

Of the Roman road leading south-west from Chesterton, I will speak shortly; in the meantime let us analyse the evidence already adduced. In the first place, we have a *walled castrum* (such as would form the terminus of an iter), with at least five, if not more, Roman roads leading from it, one of them being the important Via Devana, connecting

[8] Dr. J. Barnard Davis, F.S.A., informs me that a few years ago he made excavations "in the most promising position" at the Camp on Berry Bank. Nothing was found, however, but charcoal. The same gentleman also informs me that Roman remains are frequently found at Madeley.

[9] There is a fine funeral urn from this place in the Derby Museum.

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Colchester with Chester. The distance, according to the second Iter, of the latter place (Deva) from Mediolanum is thirty miles; its distance from Chesterton by the road just named is exactly the same. Moreover, the Iter gives us at ten miles from Deva, an intermediate station, Bovium or Bonium. Accordingly, at just ten miles from Chester is the grand insulated rock of Beeston, rising precipitously from the vast plain of Cheshire to the height of 366 ft, crowned with rock-cut trenches, and the imposing ruins of the all but impregnable castle, built in 1220 by Ralph (or Randle) Blundeville, sixth Earl of Chester—the same to whom King John gave the ruined castle of Chesterton. The engineering skill of the Romans, which recognised the importance of the site of Lincoln (similarly situated) would not neglect this formidable position, especially when the Via Devana ran beneath it. No records exist of any Roman remains having been found within the ruins, but anything *above* ground would be destroyed by the builders of the castle, and the soil has probably never been disturbed since that period. That any considerable station was placed here I do not assert, its proximity to Chester would not require one, and the limited space on the summit of the rock would render one impossible. A small *mansio* or *mutatio* would in all probability be erected. My own opinion is that Beeston represents the site of Bovium. It is less than two miles from Bunbury, where Horsley conjectured that Bovium might have been situated, and only three miles from Burton, where the coins were found which led him to make the conjecture. This latter place is close to the line of the Via Devana.

Again, according to the tenth Iter, Mancunium was situated at a distance of thirty-seven miles (viâ Condate) from Mediolanum. The distance of Manchester (viâ Kinderton) from Chesterton agrees exactly with this. As before seen in tracing the course of the second Iter, the distance from Manchester to the point of junction of all the roads to the north of Kinderton, at Northwich, is eighteen miles. This point is again adopted in the tenth Iter as equivalent to Condate, the distance being correctly given. The distance from this point along the Kind Street, through (or past) the station at Kinderton, and thence along the road to Chesterton, is between eighteen and nineteen miles,

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thus agreeing again with the distance given in the Itinerary.

Adjoining Chesterton is Bradwell. This name seems always significant of the site of a Roman station. A Bradwall is close to Kinderton (about four miles distant); it is the place where Dr. Ormerod discovered the road to Chesterton.

Another Bradwell adjoins the Roman station near Hope in Derbyshire, which is at the confluence of the Bradwell and the Noe; another adjoins the Roman station near Fenny Stratford in Buckinghamshire; another, the great station (Garianonum) at Burgh Castle, Suffolk; another adjoins Coggeshall in Essex, where Roman remains are continually found. A Broadwell is on the line of the Roman Fosse way close to Stowe-on-the-Wold in Gloucestershire, and another on that of the Akeman Street, near Burford, in Oxfordshire. Last, but not least, at Bradwell-juxta-Mare, in Essex, within the last nine years have been disinterred the remains of the Roman *castrum* of Othona. The massive walls of this station had entirely disappeared, as well as all traces of the roads leading to it, and no remains, such as coins, pottery, &c., were recorded as having been discovered. It was not until deep excavations were accidentally made that the site became known; the whole area was then gradually uncovered, and the exterior walls and gateways laid bare. Many coins and other remains were also brought to light. This place was known in Saxon times as Ithanchester.

A similar fate appears to have overtaken the Chesterton of Saxon times. The remains of the walls of the *castrum* are buried, and the many roads leading to it, traceable a few miles off, but lost in its vicinity, seem also to have been neglected and to have sunk, like many others, beneath the surface. Like Ithanchester, the site has probably been undisturbed, at least since the Conquest, as the state of the sod and the presence of venerable yew trees testify.[1]

[1] Through the courtesy of the Rev. H. M. Scarth, formerly of Bath, now rector of Wrington, I am enabled to give the views of the Rev. T. Leman on the subject.

In Mr. Leman's copy of Horsley's "Britannia Romana," preserved in the Institute of Bath, a MS. note in his handwriting at p. 448, says, concerning the tenth Iter: "Mediolano. Chesterton, near Newcastle, Staffordshire, where this road formed a junction with the Via Devana, &c."

Of the second Iter he says, in a note at p. 477: "The Mediolanum of this Iter is a place totally distinct from the Mediolanum of the tenth Iter—this lying on the road through Bangor, and the other on that through Kinderton; and as the last may be well fixed at Chesterton, near

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In the second Iter, the distance between Mediolanum and Uriconium (Wroxeter) is given as twenty-three miles, with an intermediate station, named Rutunium, at eleven miles from the latter. A Roman road was visible at the close of last century, leading from Chesterton, and pointing direct for Wroxeter. It is shown in the map accompanying Shaw's History of Staffordshire, where it is marked Pepper Street, passing to the west of Keel. Its other extremity would probably be the road traced by Dr. Mason, ten miles from Wroxeter towards Chester, and then lost. In the manuscript notes of the Rev. T. Leman, preserved by the Bath Scientific Society, that learned antiquary distinctly states that there is a Roman road leading from Wroxeter to Chesterton, and his statements were invariably based upon personal survey. The actual distance between the two places is about twenty-seven miles. Lying a little to the west of the line of road, and overlooking it (like Beeston Castle), is the celebrated camp called "Bury Walls," an undoubted Roman station. Horsley places Rutunium here; Reynolds, in his "Iter Britanniarum" (published 1799), arrives at the same conclusion. Its distance from Wroxeter is nearly identical with the itinerary distance between Uriconium and Rutunium, *i. e.*, eleven miles. Camden says of this place:[2]—"Scarce a mile from hence[3] is a spot of ground where a small city once stood, the very ruins of which are almost gone, but the Roman coins found there, with such bricks as they used in building, are evidences of its antiquity and founders. The people of the neighbourhood call it *Bery*, from Burgh, and affirm it to have been very famous in King Arthur's days." Gough, in his additions to Camden (vol. iii. edit. 1806, p. 31), calls it "a square Roman encampment, in which coins and *armour* have been found." C. Hulbert, in his History of Shropshire (1837), vol. ii. p. 114, says of it, "ruins are yet discoverable." The site was visited by the members of the Archæological Institute in 1855, during the Shrewsbury meeting, in the report of which[4] it is said that

Newcastle-under-Line, so this, I have no doubt, is the camp called Clawydd Goch at the confluence of the Tanadd and the Vyrnwy, &c."

It is strange that having fixed the Mediolanum of the tenth Iter at Chesterton, Mr. Leman did not notice the fact, that its distance from Chester by the Via Devana agreed exactly with that of the Mediolanum of the second Iter.

[2] Gibson's Camden, p. 654.

[3] Red Castle, now in Hawkstone Park.

[4] In Shrewsbury Chronicle, August 10th, 1855.

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the Roman camp at "Bury Walls" is "allowed by antiquaries to be the most perfect in the kingdom. It encompasses about twenty acres of ground, and is secured on all sides but one by a chain of inaccessible rocks. The side on which there is no natural defence is strongly guarded by a triple entrenchment, which must have been a work of immense labour. Here Roman coins have frequently been found, and in the year 1821 a spur, pronounced by competent judges to be of Roman workmanship, was found in the garden of the Bury Farm, about a quarter of a mile from the Bury Walls."

There would seem, however, to be little more visible at the present day than at Chesterton or Beeston, notwithstanding the ruined city noticed by Camden. In a letter to the writer, dated November 15th, 1871, Mr. Wm. Massey, the tenant of the Bury Farm, says :—"There is nothing to indicate foundations of walls or buildings of any description within the camp. The only thing found worthy of note since I have held the land was a large hewn stone, which had something the appearance of a tombstone, but it was disturbed and broken before noticed. There is a spring within the area, with remains of stone work round it below the surface, supposed to have been a bath. The land has been under tillage some years." He adds that the spur found in 1821 was of silver.

The road which runs south-west from Kinderton seems to point direct to this station. It is traceable some six or seven miles from Kinderton, leading by Occleston, Minshull, Vernon, Bradfield Green, and Leighton, near which it is crossed by the Chester and Crewe Railway, and beyond this point all trace of it above ground is lost, although near Nantwich it must cross the Via Devana (the traces of which are equally lost) at right angles, probably at a place called the "Wall Field."

Archdeacon Wood, in a note to the paper before mentioned, says of this road :—"The farmers tell me that they find this road very little below the green sod, and that, like many Roman roads, it has at intervals narrow footways branching from it."

The second Iter of Antoninus is a long and circuitous one. It is nominally from the advanced posts north of the Wall of Hadrian, to London and Richborough for the Continent.

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Commencing to the north-west of Carlisle, it runs south-east as far as York; but, instead of proceeding straight for London, it turns to the south-west, so as to include Deva (Chester). It is evident, from the distance, that it does not take the direct road thence to Wroxeter, and for what reason? Simply to include another large *castrum* in its course, that of Mediolanum. Had the author of the Itinerary taken the direct road from Mediolanum to Londinium (London), Wroxeter would have been excluded from the route, and he evidently aims at connecting all these large *castra*.

There are a few facts stated in Dr. Robson's and Dr. Kendrick's papers, which require some comment. In the first place, they consider, on the ground of etymology, that Mediolanum is represented by Middlewich.[5] It is evident that this name merely represents the centre of the Cheshire *wiches* or salt springs, Middlewich lying in the line between Northwich and Nantwich. Salt has been obtained for ages at all of these places; even Nantwich, the least important, being named in the Domesday Survey as possessing salt-works. On this principle, Horsley's suggestion of Middle in Shropshire being the site is equally valid.

Dr. Kendrick (p. 154) thinks that excavations at Kinderton would reveal much more than at Wilderspool, as the former (according to his ideas) was the terminus of the Iter. This is probably based on Mr. Roach Smith's statement (which I agree with) that the commencement and terminus of every Iter was a large *walled* station. Dr. Kendrick is right in supposing that more should be found on the site of Mediolanum than on that of Condate, but there is no evidence of Kinderton having been a *walled* station, whilst *there is* of Chesterton having been so.

In the Chorography of Ravennas, immediately preceding Condate we have a place named Salinæ. I agree with Archdeacon Wood, Dr. Robson, and Dr. Kendrick, that Northwich is doubtless the place indicated, its pre-eminence as a salt-producing site being sufficient to warrant such a conclusion. As it is only five miles from Kinderton, nothing is more likely than that the one should follow the other in the list given by Ravennas, and it is to my mind

[5] Kinderton adjoins Middlewich, from which it is distant only a few hundred yards.

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another reason for concluding Condate to have been at Kinderton.[6]

Of the point raised by Dr. Robson, that Mancunium was a different place to Mamucium, I must say a word. In the fifth Iter we have a place between Lincoln and Doncaster, called Segelocum; in the eighth Iter the same place is plainly called Agelocum. In the sixth Iter we have a place between Ratæ and Margidunum called Verometum; in the eighth Iter the same place is called Vernemetum. In the same manner the Legeolium of the fifth Iter is the Lagecium of the eighth. There is no greater difference between the Mamucium of the second Iter and the Mancunium of the tenth than in the examples I have quoted; and the distance from Condate being in each case the same, I see no reason for doubting that they are one and the same place.

In the map which accompanies his paper, Dr. Kendrick marks the road which leads south-south-west from Kinderton with the words "To Rutunium." Of course, this suggests the idea that he recognises Kinderton as the Mediolanum of the second Iter, as well as that of the tenth, and "Bury Walls" as Rutunium; but what is fatal to this arrangement (and, indeed, to the whole theory of Drs. Robson and Kendrick) is the fact that, even *in a straight line*, Kinderton is at least *thirty-five* miles from Wroxeter (Uriconium), whilst the distance between the latter and Mediolanum, as given in the second Iter, is only *twenty-three* miles. There is no station on the line of road Dr. Kendrick thus marks, until we come to "Bury Walls," which from Kinderton are double the distance named in the Itinerary as occurring between Mediolanum and Rutunium. That the latter place *is* at "Bury Walls" I have little doubt, as before stated; but if Dr. Kendrick acknowledges this, he cannot place Mediolanum at Kinderton.

Again, I find from Dr. Kendrick's map, that he and Dr. Robson measure the route from Wilderspool to Manchester along an obscure road (only partially traced, in a few places beneath the surface), which runs through Lymm, and falls

[6] In a letter to the writer, dated 27th of September, 1871, Dr. Kendrick says that he had just been made aware of a charter still existing, dated A.D. 1186, in which occurs the phrase "magna via de Warringtun per Wilderspool versum Sale." *Sale* he considers the abbreviation of *Salinæ*.

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at right angles upon the road from Manchester to Kinderton, near Altrincham. In other words, although the Iter from Manchester is aiming straight for Kinderton, the author, when he has accomplished half the distance, goes out of his way to traverse a small road, which leads to the station at Wilderspool, and thus takes him many miles from his destination, which he has afterwards to regain. In my former paper I was under the impression that Dr. Robson connected Manchester with Wilderspool by a road which led through Barton and Eccles;[7] but the route which is indicated in the above-named map is much longer than that through Barton.

There remains one other point to be noticed, and that is the etymology of Mediolanum. The first portion, *Medio*, is plain enough, the remainder uncertain; it may be taken from the British word *lan*, "an enclosure," but this is doubtful. However this may be, my own opinion would lead me to suggest that the *castrum* bearing this name was the centre of Roman Britain. Chesterton answers well for such a position. Not so with Kinderton.

With these remarks I must close this article, which has considerably exceeded the limits I originally assigned to it. In entering upon the subject at such a length, I have endeavoured simply to lay before antiquaries the *reason* for the selection of Chesterton as Mediolanum. I shall only be too happy to find them *satisfactorily* refuted, as thereby we shall have advanced a step further towards the solution of the problem. My sole object is to arrive at the truth, and the more the subject is discussed, the sooner will that end be attained.

[7] Baines' "History of Lancashire" (edit. 1836), vol. i. p. 14, and vol. iii. p. 110.

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Original Documents.

CHARTER OF CUTHWULF, BISHOP OF HEREFORD.
[A.D. 840].

[*Extended Copy*].

✝ In nomine arci poli conditoris. Ego Cuðuulf divina dispensatione Christi ecclesiæ antestis, necnon et illa congregatio sanctæ ecclesiæ Herefordensis cum consensu et licentia Berhtwulfi Merciorum regis, damus Ælfstano duce terram iiii. manentium in uilla qui juxta flumine qui dicitur From situm est, ut habeat beneque perfruat in diem trium hominum, et postea sine ullo obstaculo intus tota reddatur ista terra ad monasterio qui dicitur Bromgeard, et qui agrum habeat semel semper in anno ad Bromgearde de agro isto reddat. xv. modios de pura celia, hoc est buttam plenam uasque plenum mellis, vel eius pretium in liquore . . . . s cocto, alter dulcatum, unumque armentum cum. c. panibus, unumque ouem cum uno suillo . . . . nasterii qui pertinent ad Bromgearde foras nullo modo concedamus, id est jugerorum xxv. . . . . hanc terram supradictam liberaliter liberabo Ælfstano duce omnibusque eam habentibus . . . . ecunio, id est in uno anulo. xv. mancusarum, nisi pontum faciat et arcem et expeditione solacium . . . . ad ad pœnam foras nihil persoluat. Testes namque hujus donationis sunt . . . . atque libertatis quorum infra nomina notantur. . . . .

[On the back] . . . . hanc meam donationem atque libertatem simul cum signo crucis Christi confirmavi . . . . si et subscripsi. ✝ Ego Cuðwulf episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ✝ Ælfstan dux consensi et subscripsi. ✝ Mucel dux . . . . . noð consensi et subscripsi. ✝ Aldred consensi et subscripsi. ✝ Eadgar consensi et subscripsi. ✝ Wiglaf consensi et subscripsi.

At the bottom of the deed in front, on the right-hand side, the upper parts of the letters of the word "continetur" remain; the word having been cut through lengthwise.

This instrument is a grant by Bishop Cuthwulf and the congregation of the church of Hereford, with the consent of Berhtwulf, King of the Mercians, to Ælfstan, "Dux," of certain land for three lives, and afterwards to the monastery of Bromyard, subject to the payment of the rent therein specified, and free from all services except the "trinoda necessitas." It was found in the office of a legal gentleman, Mr. Kent, of Fakenham, in a parcel of comparatively modern writings which had recently come into his possession, and there is good reason for assuming it to be an original charter of the ninth century.

The language of the charter is, like many others of the Saxon period, not without faults of grammar as regards several words, which seem to indicate its being the production of an ill-educated scribe. The Invocation of the preamble is simple and forcible, free from the turgid magniloquence which often—especially at a later period—disfigured such instruments. The use of the heteroclyte genitive, Arci for Arcûs,

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+ In nomine dni qui poli con
conzpicatq ꝟcas eccle
damur astrytano duce t
ur habeat benedi: pesspi
ista tesspa domonasteri
de zpo isto pedat. xv: m

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Carta regis Ethelstani
antistes

ꝟno quadragi conpar mani.
cum hux ꝟ ipb. tunce hux ꝟ Tpub.
pub. + pis iar ꝟ Tpub.

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hanc meam donationem atq: li[illegible]ntatem simul cum
[illegible]ri ipsum scriptum. † ego eudpulf episcopus ipsum. † alf[illegible]
nod sacerdos ipsum. † aldred comes ipsum. † gadzaf sacerdos

Carta Ethelwulfi
anni Petis 839

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although very unusual, is not otherwise than classical, as it may be found in Cicero and Lucretius.

Of Bishop Cuthwulf, who makes the donation recorded in the document now under consideration, no charter has yet been printed; but there are several examples of such instruments by Berhtwulf, King of the Mercians, given in the works of Mr. Kemble and Mr. Thorpe. Berhtwulf's predecessor was Wiglaf, from whom he had received the sceptre in troublous times, while the Danes were ravaging the country. In one of Wiglaf's latest charters (A.D. 836), only four years before Berhtwulf set his hand to the one before us, he alludes to the state of the kingdom in these melancholy words, "vos qui hanc [*sic*] labens regnum post me obtineatis." Berhtwulf himself, as a subject, had attested that document, which is given in Thorpe, and the passage may be referred to as another example "of monastic Latinity."

Of the grantees the first was Ælfstan, "Dux," or military leader, who was to have the land for three lives. None of these lives are named, but the first would doubtless be his own. The origin of the practice of granting a lease for three lives—a practice which still holds its ground as regards church property—would appear to be lost in remote antiquity.

The parcel of land conveyed may appear at first sight to be described somewhat vaguely, as "terram quatuor manentium," but the phrase was by no means an unusual one and had a definite meaning. The "manentes" are synonymous with "coloni" or "tenentes," "qui præstant certa servitia Domino" (Du Cange), and were "adscripti glebæ." The "terra manentis" was therefore the plough-land, the hide (whatever that might mean), the carucate of later times—otherwise described as the "terra mansionis." Kemble defines the hide to be as much as could support a family; originally uncertain, but gradually settling down into a fixed quantity—about thirty Saxon acres—and he gives an instance in an extant charter of Berhtwulf (Cod. Dipl., No. ccxliii), in which the phrase "nigen higida lond" occurs in the description.

With regard to several of the terms and phrases in this charter, we have been led into an examination of some of the well-known collections of those instruments, and submit some observations which have occurred to us in the course of that examination as tending to elucidate the interesting specimen before us.

There are several expressions in the charters in the "Codex Diplomaticus" which seem to indicate that the "manentes" held a certain fixed quantity of land, "terra quæ continet antiquo jure xliii. manentes" (V. 21). "Quantitas harum vii. manentium" (Ibid. 45). "Terra juxta æstimationem incolarum xxii. manentium" (Ibid. 70). And see, lastly, "Augmentum telluris, quod addidi, C. ac. xxxiii. constat quantitate manentium" (Ibid. 101). "Mansa" commonly occurs in these deeds (V. 15, 80, 85, 104, &c.), and apparently as equivalent to "terra manentis"; and that this view is correct is shown by a charter which has "dedi iiii. *mansas* in W., et iii. in C., quantitas harum vii. *manentium*, &c." So that the words plainly denote the same thing; the vii. being made by adding the iii. and iv. together. Another deed proves that "mansa" is equal to a hide of land. It is a grant of "bis denas mansas, quod Anglicè dicitur twentig hida" (V. Cod. Dipl. 312).

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Other occupiers of land frequently mentioned in these charters are "Cassati." These are clearly different from "manentes"; for both occur in the same charters (V. 41., Ibid. 60); and "manentes" are placed before "cassati." What they occupied is called "cassatum" or "cassata," and this is said to be a house, with land sufficient to maintain one family. All these words are derived from "casa," a house, and no very certain meaning seems to be attached to them by Spelman or in Jacob's Law Dictionary.

Whether the possessions of the Crown in Saxon times were or were not conferred by the same persons who elected the monarch, it suffices to say that the kings clearly possessed much land, and there are numerous grants of land by the king, some of which are with, and some without, the consent of the magnum concilium (Cod. Dipl. V. 56, 75), or Wittenagemot; and, perhaps, this difference may be explained. We find a Charter of Ælfred (Ib. 127), where he speaks of the inheritance "quam deus ac principes cum senioribus populi dederunt," and of that "quam pater meus nobis tribus fratribus delegavit." It may well be that the consent of the Wittenagemot was necessary to the grant in the former and not in the latter case, because in the former the lands were public property, but not in the latter.

And here it may be observed that the Saxon Charters seem to confirm Hume's opinion (1 Vol. 202) that the Wittenagemot was composed exclusively of the higher orders, for the names of those attached to these charters seem invariably of the higher orders; and where the grant is by the king with the consent of the Wittenagemot, the additions to the names at the end seem to prove that they were members of the Wittenagemot. Thus we commonly find added to the names, "consensi," "non renui," "corroboravi," &c., &c., which plainly import that these persons exercised a judgment as to making the grant contained in the deed; and as they were not the grantors in the deed, they could only be members of the Wittenagemot, who were included in the words, "cum consensu optimatum," or "consentientibus omnibus episcopis ac principibus," or the like; and this inference is fortified by the fact that we find archbishops, bishops, abbots, dukes, or ealdormen, &c., who are known to have been members of the Wittenagemot, with these additions; and in one charter we have "cum consilio et licentiâ terrenorum principum quorum inferius nomina scripta sunt—" (V. Cod. Dipl. 55).

The kings in many instances granted lands, with the consent of the Wittenagemot, to congregations or churches. These grants were sometimes made to the church and sometimes to the bishop and church, and when lands had been so granted, the bishop and congregation sometimes granted them to others. One charter supplies examples of both: "Swyðun Wentanæ ecclesiæ episcopus, cum consensu et licentiâ ejusdem ecclesiæ congregationis, hoc est, presbyteris, diaconibus et omni clero consentientibus, dedi atque concessi dilectissimo domino meo Regi Æðebaldo terram LX cassatorum;" and afterwards in the same deed: "Ego Æðebaldus dono atque concedo post obitum meum ipsam terram, hoc est, LX cassatorum, episcopo et omni congregationi Wentanæ ecclesiæ" (V. Cod. Dipl. 115). The grants regularly merely specify the congregation, church, or family, *e.g.* "Concedo ecclesiæ Christi in Doberniâ et familiæ in eâdem ecclesiâ Deo servienti" (V. Cod. Dipl. 2).

No instance of a lease of lands in anything like a similar form to

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leases generally used since the Conquest has been found; but there are grants to persons upon condition that they shall make payments to others, of which the following is a curious instance. The Abbess Cynewara grants to Humbert certain land on condition "ut omni anno det ecclesiæ Christi in Doroberniâ pro gablo (rent or service, Jac. L. D.) plumbum trecentorum solidorum ad opus ecclesiæ ejusdem" (V. Cod. Dipl. 90). It is remarkable that in the Byron deed, a copy of which is printed in Arch. Journ., vol. XXIX, p. 89, Roger de Buron acquits Henry, son of Fulcher, of five shillings a year in order that he may pay it to the Canons of Derby. This well accords with the Saxon Charters.

Grants of lands were frequently made for lives, and afterwards either to specified persons, or to those to whom the grantee might devise them. Thus there is a grant to Bishop Brihtelm, "et post ultimum vitæ suæ terminum ad vetustum monasterium sancti Petri" (VI. Cod. Dipl. 26). So there is a grant to Aðulf, "ut habeat quamdiu vivat, et post se duobus hæredibus derelinquat" (VI. Cod. Dipl. 33. See Ibid. 176). So there is a grant to Witgar for life, "et post se trium hominum *dierum* habeat liberam potestatem donandi" (V. Cod. Dipl. 220). Again we find that lands were granted "per spatium temporis trium hominum, id est, duorum post se heredum" (VI. Cod. Dipl. 124). Lastly, there is a grant to three brothers, and after their deaths to whomsoever they may devise the land (VI. Cod. Dipl. 136).

The "trinoda necessitas" (that is, the liability to contribute to the repair of bridges, castles, or garrisons, and to serve on expeditions against the enemy) was so generally reserved in kings' grants that any grant without that reservation is very suspicious. And this remark is strongly supported by a charter, which grants immunity from all services, "tribus semotis causis, *a quibus nullus nostrorum poterit expers fore*, id est generalis expeditionis necessariâ societate, ac pontium urbiumque jugi assolidatione" (V. Cod. Dipl. 232). And by another charter, which runs, "præter id quod *nobis omnibus communiter indigeri videtur*, id est tria, exercitûs aditum, pontis ædificium, munitionis castellique auxilium" (Ibid. 334, 77, 83). Another charter runs, "nisi forte *cunctæ plebi necesse sit* vallum aut fossam hostis objicere exercitui, seu certè pontem construere regis, regisve expeditionem inire" (VI. Cod. Dipl. 163).

Nothing has been discovered to throw light upon the manner in which any of these services were performed, where the grant was to a congregation or church, except from a charter of Bishop Oswald (VI. Cod. Dipl. 124), by which it would appear that regularly-trained cavalry were part of the services; for the lands were granted to the tenants on condition "ut omnis equitandi lex ab eis impleatur, quæ ad equites pertinet." * * * * "equos præstent; ipsi equitent." But, unfortunately, there is nothing to show what the "lex equitandi" here spoken of was; though the expression plainly indicates that there was some general rule as to training cavalry, and, as they alone are mentioned, perhaps there was no rule as to training foot soldiers.

The direction that the land "sine ullo obstaculo reddatur"—"be rendered without any obstacle" to the monastery of Bromyard, may possibly imply that it had formerly been attached to that monastery, and is to be "given back" to it; but it may also simply express an absolute and decided gift, conveyed in terms implying the acknowledgment that it belonged to him who originally gave everything

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to man; and if (as we shall see reason to think) that monastery belonged to the bishop and church of Hereford, this document is substantially a lease for three lives. As the payment of the rent was to be made by every one who held the land at Bromyard, and the monastery at Bromyard is immediately before mentioned, there can be little doubt that the payment was to be made to that monastery.

The word "celia," expressing the rent in kind reserved by this charter, occurs twice in Prompt. Parvul.—(p. 9) "Ale, while it is new, *celia*;" (p. 193) "Gyylde, or new ale, *celium vel celia*." Mr. Way says that Orosius states that celia was the name of a Spanish drink made of wheat, and he thinks it may have been sweet or unhopped wort. In Minshieu's Dict. bragget is said to be a drink made of honey, used in Wales, being the names of two Welsh words—brag, malt, and gots, honeycombs. Portug., Agoa mellada. Ital. Medóne, Hydromeli, Bevanda di acqua et miele. And in this charter it seems to be a drink of honey mixed with water, from the description given of it, "hoc est buttam plenam vasque plenum mellis."

One charter requires the tenant to render "iiii boves vel vaccas dignâ ætate, seu iiii vasa plena de melle" (V. Cod. Dipl. 68). This is very similar to the terms of the present charter. Spelman cites Concil. Tiburiens. anno 895, Can. 56, "Abstineat se a carne et a caseo, a vino et medone ac mellitâ cervisiâ," where "medo" and "mellita cervisia" seem different liquids; and as "alter dulcatum" plainly applies to the latter, "medo" may have occurred in the missing space; and this goes to support the conjecture that the words were "alter ex medone bis cocto." A doubt may exist as to whether the words were "vel ejus pretium." One charter has "centum viginti porcis et quinquaginta armentis" (V. Cod. Dipl. 88). This shows that one animal was meant by "armentum" in these charters: and it is worthy of remark and deserves consideration with reference to the genuineness of this charter, that the one above cited proves that a "vas plenum mellis" was of equal value to an ox or cow.

The blank after "suillo" may perhaps be filled up, "CÆTERAS vero terras monasterii quæ pertinent ad Bromyeard," &c. The words "nullo modo concedamus" plainly show that the missing part contained something that was not intended to be granted or included in the previous words.

No suggestion appears feasible as to the blank after XXV.

There is no doubt as to the substance of the words missing after "habentibus." We have "pro ejus amabili pecuniâ" (V. Cod. Dipl. 124); "placabili pecuniâ" (Ibid., 135); "competenti pecuniâ" (Ibid., 188), &c.; any of these might well supply the missing words.

The expression "liberaliter liberabo," without anything more, is very questionable. One *suspicious* charter alone has "liberabo omnem terram" (Ibid., 249); but this charter is rather a recital than a grant. "Omni servitio," "omni seculari servitio et regio tributo," "omni terrenæ servitutis jugo," and the like, are regularly added, and then comes the exception of the trinoda necessitas.

One charter mentions the exemption from all secular burthens, "nisi quod nostro communi labore pertinet, id est expeditione, pontis arcisve constructione" (Ibid., 296); and from this it may be inferred that "nisi" is used in the sense of "but" or "except;" and this inference is

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supported by a passage, which runs "quia nec filium nec filiam nisi me habuit" (VI. Cod. Dipl. 45); and also by "ab omni sæculari gravedine expers nisi expeditione," &c. (Ibid., 193).

The expression, "in uno anulo XV mancusarum," is similar to "unum anulum in XXX mancusis" in a charter of Berhtwulf (Cod. Dipl. cclv). The term "mancussæ" frequently occurs in these charters: "mancæ" is another form. Both mean marks. They seem to have been made of different kinds of metal. In these charters we have "mancas de puro auro" (V. Cod. Dipl. 188); "mancussas purissimi auri" (Ibid., 299); "mancusis auri" (VI. Cod. Dipl. 16), and the like; all which expressions show that there were "mancussæ" of other metals. And we find mixed metals, "libris inter aurum et argentum" (V. Cod. Dipl. 187); "auri cocti et purissimi argenti stateras" (Ibid., 231); "libris probati argenti" (VI. Cod. Dipl. 16).

"Solacium" nowhere else occurs in conjunction with "expeditio." It occurs in one instance, where land was granted "in monasterii solatium" (V. Cod. Dipl. 1); where it evidently means support or maintenance.

No satisfactory solution occurs of the missing words after "solacium," and no similar passage has been found to clear it up.

The passage "hanc meam donationem atque libertatem simul cum signo crucis Christi confirmavi" is very like the passage, "Ego Ecbertus Rex hanc meam donationem," &c. (V. Cod. Dipl. 79); and possibly "Ego Berhtwulfus Rex" may have been in the blank before it. But then he was not the grantor. The grantors were Cudwulf, the bishop, and his congregation; but the mention of them cannot have filled the vacant space, for two reasons: "confirmavi" must have had the name of one person only before it, and Cudwulf is named afterwards. Some person, therefore, was named, and he was not the grantor. Again, Cudwulf, who was the bishop who joined in the grant, is named as consenting and subscribing, which is the common form with those who are not parties to the grant, but only consent to it. As the King consented to the grant, his name ought to have appeared, and as a consenting party. Thus, in a grant by Aldwlf, with the consent of Offa, King of the Mercians, we have "✠ Ego Aldwlf dux, qui donavi, signum sanctæ crucis infixi"; and below, "Ego Offa, rex, &c., confirmo et subscribo ✠," &c. (V. Cod. Dipl. 54). No satisfactory solution of this difficulty occurs.

Saxon charters usually show that the names were written under them; they use such terms as "infra," "subtus," "inferius," "infra in schedulâ;" and this charter has "quorum infra nomina notantur." But all the names are on the back of this charter, and the word "continetur" appears to have been placed at the lower right hand corner. This word would refer to the extent and boundaries of the land granted, which may have been added. It has been cut through, somewhat as the word "cyrographum" was used at a later period, but it could scarcely have been for the same purpose in the present instance. Somewhat similar statements occur in other charters; *e.g.*, "nomina in fronte hujus cartulæ ascripta" (V. Cod. Dipl. 74); "vocabula in aliâ parte istius cartulæ karaxata" (Ibid. 139); and "nomina extrinsecus scripta" (Ibid. 106). These instances show that the names were not placed in all cases under the deed, and the last shows that they might be placed on the outside of it. Ayloffe, "Calendars of

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the Ancient Charters," &c., Introd., p. xiii., speaks of original Acts of Councils being constantly written on both sides of the "leaf of vellum," and gives an instance where three witnesses' names occur on the front side, and adds, "these occupying the whole space of the one side of the leaf, the subscriptions of the numerous other witnesses are continued on the backside thereof." No doubt, therefore, arises from the names being on the back of this charter.

It is clear that this charter has had a piece below it cut off through the middle of a word, so as to leave the upper part of the letters still on this part. This is very like the old mode of framing indentures where a wavy line was made across the parchment, and then the parchment cut with an indented line running through the wavy line, and the name "indentures" arose from the indentations in each; and the whole deed was written on each piece of parchment. There is a charter having "duasque scripturas per omnia consimiles hujus reconciliationis *conscribere* statuimus, alteram habeat episcopus cum telligraphis ecclesiæ; alteram Egberht et Æðeluulf reges cum hæreditatis eorum scripturis" (V. Cod. Dipl., 91). And Ayloffe, "Calendars of the Ancient Charters," &c., Intr., p. xiii., speaks of "bipartite chirographa" as being not uncommon in Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Danish times. There may well, therefore, have been a copy of this charter cut off at the bottom. (See VI. Cod. Dipl., 126, where "tres harum textus epistolarum" are mentioned.)

The inference from the deed is that there existed a monastery at Bromyard at the time it was made; and this may well have been the case, and the monastery may have been destroyed by the Danes, and never rebuilt. Folkstone had a monastery which was so destroyed (V. Cod. Dipl., 189; and see Ibid., 329). And at Whitby and Hartlepool there were abbeys which were destroyed by the Danes; the former about 867, and which was not restored until after the Norman Conquest. An old mansion in Bromyard was called Rowton Abbey, in which may be retained the name of the abbey destroyed long ago. It is much more probable that there once was a monastery at Bromyard, and that it was destroyed and never rebuilt, than that there never was one at all, if this deed be genuine.

The fact that the manor of Bromyard belonged to the Church of Hereford at the Domesday Survey tends to support the deed, and the further fact that the church is styled Collegiate, though inaccurately, tends the same way.

The expression "foras" may refer to the outlying district in the neighbourhood of Bromyard, called "the Foreign," a term by no means unusual.

C. S. GREAVES.
J. LEE-WARNER.

[In the repairing of the original, the edges where broken at the second fold have been brought too closely together, making the "d" in "conditoris" almost illegible, and much cramping other letters below it.]

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Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

February 7, 1873.

Sir Sibbald D. Scott, Bart., V.P., F.S A. in the Chair.

Mr. C. D. E. Fortnum, F.S.A., read "Notes on a Roman Key-like Finger-ring of Gold, and a bi-cephalic Signet of the same metal," which were illustrated by a small series of Roman key-rings in bronze and gold, and by two Roman fibulæ of bronze (the memoir has been printed, vol. xxix., p. 305, and the Institute has been much aided in its illustration by the kind contributions of Mr. Fortnum and Mr. Franks).

Mr. E. A. Freeman, D.C.L., gave a discourse upon the church of Bradford-on-Avon. He had taken up the subject afresh, as it seemed to give him a fitting opportunity for replying to some remarks of Mr. Parker, when treating of the church of St. Mary, Guildford, in a recent number of the "Journal" (Arch. Jour. xxix., p. 170). In these remarks Mr. Parker had put forth views which had been long discussed and settled, and had stirred up anew a controversy which Mr. Freeman thought had been decided. In discussing the date of the tower of the church at Guildford, Mr. Parker spoke of the prevailing idea that it was of the time of King Alfred, "a statement which," Mr. Parker said, "involved the whole question whether the English people were in the habit of building in stone before the eleventh century." Mr. Parker thought they were *not*. "He had not been able to find any remains that he could place earlier than the first half of the eleventh century, and what Beda said of the buildings at Yarrow and Monks Wearmouth showed that they were exceptional buildings *in the Roman manner*." The chief argument upon which this opinion was founded is thus stated by Mr. Parker. "In the long interval between the years 500 and 1000 (in round numbers) it appears to have been the general custom in most parts of the world to live in wooden houses, and to use wood almost entirely for other buildings also. In the tenth century we are told by contemporary writers that it was the general belief of the people that the world would come to an end at the year 1000. This led them to erect temporary buildings only, but immediately after that year they began vigorously to build in stone, and that very substantially, though rudely at first. There were no masons, no skilled workmen, the people had everything to learn from imitating the Roman buildings then remaining." In reply to such a general statement, Mr. Freeman referred to the numerous stone buildings at Ravenna, Constantinople, Romain-moutier, Lorsch, Beauvais, Aachen, and other places upon the continent which came within

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the period named, and especially to those constructed during the latter half of the tenth century at Glastonbury, Canterbury, Winchester, Worcester, Ely, Ramsey, and other places in England. Rudolf Glaber, quoted by Mr. Parker in support of his theory, did not, Mr. Freeman contended, mean that nothing was built in the tenth century, but only that a great deal was built in the eleventh. There was very early in the eleventh century a change of style, a fashion for making things bigger, but there is nothing to show that the idea of building in stone had come in as anything new. In Cnut's day a "minster of stone and lime" was remarkable in Essex; a "lignea basilica" equally so in Somerset, on account of the existence of special local materials.

And the church at Bradford-on-Avon was an admirable illustration of an eighth century building in England. The attention of the Institute had been first called to the existence of that early structure at the Annual Meeting in Bath in 1857, when Mr. Davis of that city gave a report upon the church, and he (Mr. Freeman) pointed out the special features of its construction when the place was visited in the course of one of the excursions from Bath. But the church had long been in a very neglected condition, the chancel and nave had for centuries been separated from each other, and used as distinct tenements, the one as a cottage, the latter as a school-house. An effort was being made to remedy this state of things, an effort which he thought most praiseworthy, and, coming as it did at a time when Mr. Parker had thought proper again to give publicity to his peculiar views, and by implication to rob the church at Bradford of its claims to the antiquity which had been generally assigned to it, he (Mr. Freeman) ventured once more to draw attention to those claims, and to justify his opinion that it was undoubtedly an original construction of the eighth century, and that there was at Bradford still very much remaining of the "ecclesiola" which William of Malmesbury saw, and which he said had been built by Bishop Ealdhelm in honour of St. Lawrence. After touching lightly upon the early history of that part of England, and the other establishments founded by Bishop Ealdhelm, all of which had disappeared, Mr. Freeman continued: "But at Bradford the case is widely different. The building is there standing, which there can be no reasonable doubt is the 'ecclesiola' spoken of by William of Malmesbury, and which he believed to be the work of Ealdhelm. The only question is, whether he was right in his belief."

The building stands at a little distance to the north-east of the parish church, and is an *ecclesiola* indeed, consisting of a nave, chancel, and north porch, but measuring within from east to west less than forty feet. Its proportionate height however is most remarkable; the walls alone of the nave are as high as the nave is long, while in the chancel the height again, without reckoning the roof, is considerably greater than the length. Both nave and chancel are enriched with flat pilaster-strips, and with a flat arcade cut out of single stones, which also runs round the flat end, there being no east window. In the gables and in the porch the arcade seems to have been exchanged for small shafts not supporting arches, as in many Italian churches. The masonry is remarkably good, being made of square stones, though now unluckily some ugly gaps are seen between them. The doorway and the chancel-arch are of distinctly Primitive Romanesque, and very narrow, the chancel-arch especially so. Over the chancel are two carved figures of angels very like some of those in early

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manuscripts, especially in the Benedictional of St. Æthelwold. Such is the "ecclesiola" which William of Malmesbury believed to be the genuine work of Aldhelm. Its most important features were well shown in the drawings Mr. Irvine had kindly sent for their examination.

There is a notice of the church or monastery of Bradford in a charter of King Ethelred (Codex Diplomat. III. 319), in which the monastery of Bradford is given to the nuns of Shaftesbury as a place of refuge, to which they might flee with the body of the newly-martyred King Edward in case of Danish incursions; but this does not prove anything as to the date of the building. There is no objection to the belief of William of Malmesbury, that the building was the work of Ealdhelm, but the vague notion that Ealdhelm, at the end of the seventh century or beginning of the eighth, could not have built anything. William of Malmesbury was a good architectural antiquary, as his account of Westminster showed, and it was for those who disputed his witness to prove, and not to assume, that he was wrong.

Sir Gilbert Scott considered that Mr. Freeman had fully proved his case, and spoke at some length on the special characteristics which distinguished pre-Norman work, about which he thought there could be no possible doubt—and in Norman work there was but little difficulty in distinguishing the early from the late. In the course of his remarks he referred to the discovery of balusters in the early work at Dover, precisely similar to those at Monks Wearmouth and Jarrow, and instanced other examples of special features indicating an early period of construction. Mr. Ferrey also supported Mr. Freeman, and remarked specially upon the arcading existing at Bradford. Mr. Dickinson also added some observations, and thought that there were still some points of difficulty about the architecture at Bradford as regards the arcade work, the sham arches, recesses, &c.

Mr. Waller made some remarks upon the drapery of the figures, and Mr. Freeman replied shortly to the observations that had been made, in acknowledging the vote of thanks expressed to him by the chairman.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. C. D. E. Fortnum, F.S.A.—A series of fourteen Roman Key-rings in bronze, a gold Byzantine Signet-ring, and two Roman Fibulæ of bronze.

By Mr. J. T. Irvine.—A series of drawings and sketches illustrating the church of St. Lawrence, Bradford-on-Avon, consisting of a ground plan, various sections, elevations, and diagrams. Also drawings of architectural details at Widdlebury, Salop, and Milbourne Port, Dorset, in illustration of those at Bradford.

By the Chairman.—A long-necked rowel spur (neck three inches long), fifteenth century; found A.D. 1870, between four and five feet below the surface, in Goswell Street, opposite the office of the Chartered Gas Company, No. 147;—The contents of two cases preserved in the Board Room of the National Provincial Bank of England, Bishopsgate Street, comprising sundry articles of various dates found in making the foundations for the New Bank House, in 1862. Among them may be specified—Fragments of Roman pottery, on one is the mark Rvfiani, M.;—Coins of Nero, Carausius (A. D. 293, Rev. *Pax Aug.*), Vespasian, Antoninus Pius, Faustina I, Faustina II., Trajan, Domitian, and many others;—a short-necked rowel

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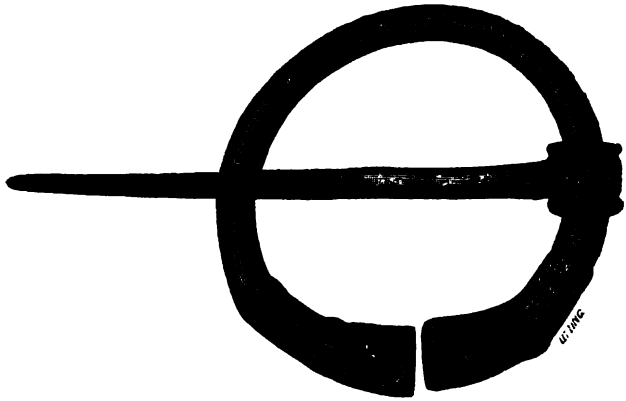
spur, much corroded, probably fourteenth century;—an English encaustic tile, fourteenth century;—an earthenware side flash or costrel, probably fifteenth century;—a Flemish tile, sixteenth century;—a gallipot, English delft, end of seventeenth century.

By the Lord Digby, through the Rev. C. W. Bingham.—A Ring-brooch of bronze, found on his estate in King's County, Ireland. The flat extremities, which were probably enamelled, will be seen to be ornamented with peculiar crosses, unique on such objects. It may probably be assigned to the ninth century of our era.



Ring-brooch found in King's County, Ireland. (Full size.)

By the Rev. J. E. Waldy.—A Sword formerly belonging to one of the De Veres, Earl of Oxford. The blade is probably German, and may be of the time of Henry VIII. On it is the mark of a dog (wolf?) somewhat similar to that noticed on one of the "Edwardus Prins Anglie" weapons. The hilt is comparatively modern.

By Mr. R. H. Soden-Smith, F.S.A.—Two Roman Key-rings of bronze, one of which was found at Silchester;—an antique silver ring with bronze key attached. On the bezel is a representation of a fisherman and inscription.

By the Rev. E. Venables.—A thumb-ring of steel, lined with gold. On the bezel is engraved a bee-hive with bees and an inscription, apparently in Greek characters. It is probably of the eighteenth century and was found by Mr. Akrill, of Eastgate, Lincoln, some fifty years ago, when digging in the ruins of the Benedictine Priory of St. Mary Magdalen, Lincoln (a cell of St. Mary's Abbey, York), called by Leland, St. Beges, and said to be "in one of the East suburbs, scant half a mile from the Minster." The remains of the chapel and of some of the domestic buildings still exist in meadows on the north bank of the Witham, half a mile south-east of the Cathedral.

By Mr. F. C. Spurrell.—Two "surface" flint implements found near each other at Erith Marsh, Kent.

By the Rev. A. C. Smith.—A Roman Dice, found near the house of Capt. Wyndham, of Wans, Wilts. The site is near the Wans Dyke, and

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close to the Roman Station, Verlucio, on the road from Bath to Marlborough.

Roman Dice found near the Wans Dyke, Wilts. (Full size.)

By Mr. J. H. Mathews.—Two Bracelets made of gold coins, consisting of four angels of the time of Henry VII., two angels of Henry VIII., one crown of Edward VI., three angels of Elizabeth, and two half-sovereigns of Elizabeth (figured in Ruding, vols. II. and III.). They were discovered about fourteen years ago in a bag hidden away in the thatch of a cottage at Malpas, Cheshire, on the property of J. Tyrwhitt Drake, Esq.

March 7, 1873.

Octavius Morgan, Esq., M.P. and V.P., in the Chair.

Mr. S. A. Hankey read "Remarks" upon a series of forty-nine historical cards, with engravings, representing the conspiracy of Titus Oates.

"It is, I believe, undisputed that playing cards have an ancient and Eastern origin. Undoubtedly painted papers or cards have long been in use among the Chinese and Hindus, and a pack of Hindustane origin, is said to be in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society, which, when presented to Captain Cromline Smith, in 1815, by a high class Brahmin, was declared to be 1000 years old. These cards resemble neither the modern Asiatic nor European descriptions, the pack consisting of eight suits in various colours. There are kings mounted on elephants, and viziers on horses, tigers and bulls; but the signs which indicate the values of the common cards are too obscure and unrecognizable to be now used even by native players.

"Sir William Jones maintained that card-playing was only a modification of the still more ancient game of chess, which also, derived from the East, has been adopted by every civilized nation on the face of the earth, and has solaced the leisure of the more refined among men from a very remote period. And, in truth, the same principle would seem to pervade the one and the other. In both games there is an antagonism between the parties, who seek to overpower each other by the use of instruments varying in intrinsic power or value, which also lose or acquire influence under given combinations of time or place. And it may well be conceived that such a modification of the contest as, while preserving the main features of the game, should substitute the fascinations of chance for a sustained effort of thought and calculation, would be congenial and acceptable to Eastern indolence. To work out the change, coloured papers or cards would become the natural substitutes of the movable carved figures employed on the chess board, retaining, as far as possible, similar names and uses. The parallel may not be complete, yet there is enough resemblance between the

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two games to warrant Sir W. Jones in his theory, and it is an interesting fact in its support, that the ancient Hindu game of chess was played by two persons on a side, who were allied in attack and defence precisely as in a whist party of our own day. And, further, as the original Hindu chess bore the name of the game of the Four Rajahs or Kings, this very term may be found in the wardrobe accounts of our Edward I. as an item of expenditure, 'Ad opus regis ad ludendum ad quatuor reges,' an entry which is considered to have referred to a game at cards.

"The distinguishing signs or characters of the playing cards have varied immensely at different times and in different countries. The pips or spots which are now spades, clubs, hearts, and diamonds, have been put as leaves, acorns, bells, cups, swords, fruit, heads, and other objects. In like manner, the court cards have undergone many varieties of representation. In harmony with the ancient title of 'the Game of the Four Kings,' royalty has generally taken and maintained the prominent place. About the year 1660, heraldic cards were introduced into this country, the king of clubs being represented by the arms of the Pope, of spades by those of the King of France, of diamonds by those of the King of Spain, and of hearts by those of England. Hence Mr. William Chatto, in his 'Origin and History of Playing Cards,' prefers the term 'Coat Cards,' as more correct than the usual phrase, 'Court Cards,' for which, however, Strutt assigns another reason, that 'men and women wore coats in contradistinction to the other devices of flowers or animals.' But, be this as it may, it is certain that such cards have been subjected to great and whimsical mutations, in obedience to the tone of the national mind and the varying phases of popular feeling. Thus, in the earlier times, the French represented the kings by David, Alexander, Cæsar, and Charlemagne, or by Solomon, Augustus, Clovis, and Constantine. Later, under the influences of the great Revolution, the places of the kings were supplied by names eminent in literature, as Molière, La Fontaine, Voltaire, and Rousseau; while the anti-monarchical sentiment of the day gratified itself by replacing the queens by the four virtues, Prudence, Justice, Temperance, and Fortitude. In like manner, Republican preferences have been reflected in the playing cards of the United States, where the chief magistrates have been made to usurp the time-honoured places of the four kings. In a pack manufactured some thirty years ago, in New York, the president of hearts is Washington, the president of diamonds, John Adams, while Franklin and La Fayette preside over the clubs and spades; Venus, Circe, Fortune, and Minerva appear as representatives of the obnoxious queens, while the harmless knaves are with some inconsistency transformed into Indian chiefs.

"But the cards which I have the pleasure to exhibit to-day, supply a very singular (and possibly unique) example of the display of popular feeling as stamped upon the ordinary appendages to mere play or amusement. And the publication of a series of plates so intensely partizan in their character, affords a remarkable testimony to the agitated state of the public mind, while under the influence of the stirring revelations of Titus Oates, Bedloe, and the other informers. This pack of cards was published in the year 1679 or 1680, when the excitement and apprehension of the alleged Popish plot was at its highest, and it contains the history of all the imputed conspiracies, 'excellently engraved,' as the advertisement runs, 'on copper plates, with very large descriptions under each card.' 'Aspersers of this pack,' it is added,' 'plainly show themselves to be popishly affected.'

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"This class of cards will be found to be the offspring of periods of extraordinary political or party excitement. They were the caricatures of the day, and it may be doubted if their publication had any other object than the expression of popular feeling in a form which, if convenient for general circulation, must have been objectionable to players, as likely to distract their attention from the game. In 1733 Sir Joseph Banks exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries a pack of this nature, turning on the incidents of the Spanish Invasion. The 'Journal of the Archæological Association for 1853-4' contains a full description by Mr. Pettigrew of another pack, holding up to ridicule the Rump Parliament and its leading members. That pack was purchased at the Hague, by the late Mr. Prest, who believed it to be unique, and supposed the designs to have been made and engraved in Holland, for the amusement of Charles and his refugee Court.

"Reverting to the cards now exhibited, there are some curious circumstances connected with their publication, which may be worthy of mention. In the first number of 'Mercurius Domesticus, or Pieces both from City and Country, published Fryday, December 19, 1679,' was advertised, 'A pack of cards containing an history of all the Popish plots that have been in England, beginning with those in Queen Elizabeth's time, and ending with this last damnable plot against his Majesty Charles II., excellently engraven, &c. (as above). The like not extant. Sold by Randal Taylor, near Stationers' Hall, and Benjamin Harris, at the Stationers' Arms, under the Royal Exchange in Cornhill. Price One Shilling each pack.'

"Now this pack, though thus set forth as newly published, never appears to have seen the light. No example, at least, has been discovered by the writers on the history of playing cards. Probably the scheme was too wide, and the incidents of 'all the plots that have been in England' too numerous to be comprised in one pack; and as it can hardly be supposed that two separate series so identical in character, would be issued at the same moment, it may reasonably be concluded that the cards before us were published as a modification of the original and more extensive design.

"The pack is not quite complete, three cards—the eight of spades, the knave, and the ten of diamonds—being deficient. The copperplate engravings are printed on paper, so thin as to be useless for purposes of card-playing until pasted on a thicker fabric. I have vainly essayed to discover a connection between the sequence of the cards under their respective suits and the order of the events which the several plates record. For the personal history of the informers is so intermingled with the story of the plot, that it is difficult even to set out the cards in their historical order; and except in the account of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, such an effort at arrangement only brings about a hopeless confusion in suits and numbers. Godfrey's prominence in these events is, however, well sustained, for his tragic history occupies nearly the whole of the suit of spades, the description of which section may serve as a fair sample of the entire series.

"Beginning with the queen, and following in order downward to the two of spades, we find pictorial representations described as follows:—1. The Club at the Plow Ale House for the murther of Sir E. B. Godfrie; 2. He is dogg'd by St. Clement's Church; 3. He is persuaded to goe down Sommerset House Yard; 4. He is strangled—Girald going to stab him; 5. (The eight of spades missing); 6. The body is shewed to Capt. Bedlow

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and Mr. Prance; 7. The dead body conveyed out of Sommerset House in a Sedan; 8. The body carry'd to Primrose Hill on a Horse; 9. The Murtherers are diverting themselves at Bow after the Murther; 10. (Next, but out of its historical place, comes the three of spades) showing the execution of the Murtherers; 11. (And after that) the Funerall of Sir E. Godfrie. The two of hearts actually opens this story, the description at foot being, 'Sir E. B. Godfrie takeing Dr. Oates his depositions,' while the king of spades, which in the natural order should have commenced the history, only represents an after event, viz., 'Mr. Prance discovering the Murther to the King and Council.' Not less than six of the cards represent Capital Executions, and the spirit of the whole series may be observed in the ace or one of hearts, which represents 'The plot first hatcht at Rome by the Pope and Cardinalls,' &c., in which his Holiness appears sitting, key in hand, with three Cardinals and a Bishop, while the Devil is seen crouching under the Council-table.

"Besides this, are depicted several 'Consults,' or minor plots among Jesuits and others in various localities. In one plate, Father Conyers occupies the pulpit, preaching disloyalty; and in several others bribes are being offered, or money distributed to forward the designs of the conspiracy. Coleman, Whitebread, Langhorne, and Dugdale have each their respective histories, while two of the cards bring into the plot the guilt of the Fire of London, one of these representing 'Giffard and Stubbs bribing a Made to set fire to her Master's House,' and the other showing London in flames, with the inscription at foot—

> "London. remember
> The Second September (date) 2 September 1666.'

"The cards are the property of the widow of a Brighton tradesman. She inherited them from her father, a tenant-farmer, whose family (Buckhurst by name) had occupied the same farm, at Old Romney, in Kent, during a period of two hundred years.

"It is not known how or when these were acquired, but we have first the fact of possession for three generations, and, secondly, that two of these generations bring us within eighty years of the date of issue. And in a family so singularly prone as that of the owner to follow in each other's steps, and possessed, as her little properties clearly indicate, with a taste for relics and curiosities, it may reasonably be inferred that they have been the first and the only proprietors. The family traditions have assigned a high importance and value to these cards."

Mr. Oldfield added some remarks, chiefly in reference to other somewhat similar packs of cards. Mr. J. G. Nichols said that, in 1849, he had an imperfect set of similar cards, eight of which were published in the "Gentleman's Magazine" for September, 1849, and he referred to the "Herald and Genealogist" (vol. iii., p. 67), in which such pictorial cards were reviewed. At least four such sets were known.

Mr. J. G. Waller read a Memoir "On Wall-paintings recently discovered" (printed at p. 35).

Mr. W. F. Vernon contributed "Supplementary Notes on the Silver Oar as a badge of Admiralty Jurisdiction." These were in continuation of those supplied by Mr. Albert Way upon the photograph of the Silver Oar forwarded by General Lefroy from Bermuda, to which they have been added (see p. 94). Mr. Dunkin, Sir Edward Smirke, and the Chairman

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added some remarks in reference to examples known to them; Mr. Morgan specially referring to that figured upon the tomb of Dr. Lewis, in the church of Abergavenny.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. S. A. HANKEY.—Forty-nine cards engraved with incidents in the conspiracy of Titus Oates.

By Mr. J. G. WALLER.—Photographs and sketches of wall-paintings at Wisboro' Green, Sussex, and South Leigh, Oxfordshire.

By the CHAIRMAN.—An etui (eighteenth century) of silver and green fishskin, containing the following instruments:—A pair of silver handles; a knife and fork; a nutmeg grater; a corkscrew; a packing needle and stiletto; a penknife; pair of scissors; tweezers and nail file; toothpick and earpick; pencil and pen; ivory tablets; pair of compasses; silver 6-inch ruler.

By Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH.—Nine examples of curved swords, of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They may be compared with that lately exhibited by Mr. Dod, and inscribed, "Edwardus Prins Angliæ" (see p. 6). Seven of the present examples have grips of stag's horn, like the inscribed sword; and one, that dated anno 1666, has a guard for the knuckles of much the same type, but is probably of earlier date, being contemporary with the blade. The *guard* of the "Prins Angliæ" sword appears to be of the Georgian era, but the blade may well be of the reign of King Edward VI., and was perhaps made for an attendant of his when Prince of Wales, by some foreign cutler, who committed the blunder of substituting "Angliæ" for "Walliæ." One of the blades is dated anno 1553, but it seems very doubtful if any weapon of this class is earlier than the reign of Henry VIII. It was remarked by Mr. Hewitt, that as Henry VIII. had German artizans in England in his pay, the swords of this special character might have been made in England. The inscribed swords were doubtless not military weapons.

By the Rev. EDWIN JARVIS.—Two portions of the bronze frame of an *aulmonière*, found in Lincoln, with inscription inlaid in silver. On one side might be read "REQVIES . . . . VIVIS;" on the other, "LAVS DEO . . . . DES";—Sassanian signet of white cornelian, from the north of India—a fine specimen.

By Mr. E. PEPYS.—A small collection of flint implements (about sixteen in number). They were found about two miles south of the Humber, on "warrens" known by the names of Scunthorpe Warren and Coningsby Warren. They had been picked up by a labourer during the last ten years, when he had occasion to cross the "warrens" on his way to work. These "warrens" are fast changing their appearance, and are now no longer a harbour for conies, iron blast-furnaces taking their place.

April 4, 1873.

OCTAVIUS MORGAN, Esq., M.P. and V.P., in the Chair.

The Rev. J. LEE-WARNER read "Remarks on a Charter of Cuthwulf, Bishop of Hereford, in the time of Berhtwulf, King of the Mercians," which he exhibited. (These have been embodied in the notes and comments appended to an extended copy of the document at p. 174). Many of the

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terms and phrases in this instrument excited discussion, in which the Chairman, Mr. Clark, Mr. Greaves, Mr. W. Hamilton, and others, joined.

Mr. G. M. Atkinson read "Notes on the supposed Ædes of Mythra discovered beneath the Basilica of San Clemente at Rome," which had been furnished, at his suggestion, by Mr. Caspar Clarke, of the South Kensington Museum, together with some photographs of the objects noticed.

"The Basilica of San Clemente at Rome (possessing the arrangement and details of the earliest form of a Christian church), was, until recently considered as one that still remained perfect and unaltered. The claim to antiquity resting upon an uninterrupted history for nearly eighteen centuries, few, if any, of the Roman churches could show in ecclesiastical record such constant allusion to important events connected with one edifice. The earliest history is furnished by the traditions of the Church, according to which Clemens (third Pope, A.D. 67 to 78) built an oratory in his house on the Esquiline. This was on the site of the present church which was supposed to have replaced the private chapel, when in the fourth century the public celebration of the Christian worship was permitted. To John II. (A.D. 532—535) is ascribed the choir; and there, sixty years later, Pope Gregory delivered his thirty-second and thirty-eighth homilies. The church was sufficiently old to require a considerable restoration by Adrian I. (A.D. 772—795), and to connect the later edifice with the earlier oratory. St. Jerome in his writing speaks of a 'church in Rome which still preserves the oratory of Saint Clement.' Again restored or nearly rebuilt by Paschal II. (A.D. 1099—1118), the vault of the tribune was covered with mosaic in 1297, and from that date constant improvements, each in the style of the successive periods, connect the past with the present. However, details and materials of acknowledged antiquity, though supported by history and tradition, do not always constitute an antique work; and when, in 1857, the original Basilica was discovered nearly perfect beneath the present building, little surprise was felt by those learned in Roman archæology. Greatly to the credit of the monks of the Dominican Convent to which the church belongs, discovery did not stop with the treasure they had found—with the possession of the long-buried edifice standing entire, with columns of rich marble and walls covered with fresco pictures, some as fresh as when produced more than a thousand years before.*

"Walls were broken through and trial shafts dug; between forty and fifty thousand loads of earth were removed, massive vaults were constructed in brickwork to preserve the superstructure, and other labours which were rewarded: for under the apse or tribune of the newly-discovered ancient church were found passages and chambers of an earlier-constructed work, probably of the first century; these were built upon older works still. Two parallel walls had to be broken through, one the work of the early kings, the other a massive work dating from the first years of the Republic; these walls bounded a passage, and on descending to the level of this the explorers were rewarded with further discoveries, the principal of which is the chamber shown in one of the photographs. A hall, about 20 ft. by 40 ft., covered with a low elliptical vault, pierced in many places with lights or

[1] The principal of these fresco paintings have been copied for the South Kensington Museum, under the superintendence of the Dominican Prior, Father Mullooley, and can be seen in the North Court.

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windows, the floor flat but occupying only a small portion of the horizontal surface, the rest consisting of banks or steps solidly built in brickwork and covered with stucco. This interior is difficult to describe, as there is much detail constructed to serve some purpose not explained, although the chamber remains untouched apparently since the day when last it was used for the service for which it was designed. The photograph of the interior was taken from a carefully prepared perspective drawing, it being impossible to photograph the whole of the actual work from nature. Every part of the chamber, to within a foot of the entrance, is shown; a bank or counter which runs round three sides of the room stops short at the entrance end by several feet, but a step which is in front of this bank runs on almost to the entrance, as if to mask the small flight of two steps up to the bank. These flights of steps are really hidden from the entrance by screen walls. On ascending them you arrive at the bank which runs round the three sides of the room; this is a few inches higher than the step which runs along the two sides of the room only. The bank slopes or curves downwards from the outer edge to the side of the room, the width being about five feet and the fall of the slope six inches. Semicircular breaks occur on either side; these are shallow, going only down to the level of the step, which is thus continued into the bank; two openings in front of the step beneath suggest places for fire, but to the present time no flues have been discovered. At the extreme end of the room the bank stops at the screen wall, where a flight of steps was found descending to a greater depth. A low step fronts the bank at this end of the chamber which stops in the centre against a stone or altar, against which is placed a smaller block; a smaller and cylindrical stone is placed in front of the other two and rests on the floor. The wall behind the altar sounding hollow, a break was made at the centre, disclosing a nitch or small chamber in which the mutilated statue of Mythra was found; the wall at the back of this recess was then pierced, but solid earth prevented further progress. The altar shown in one of the photographs was found in one of the chambers beneath the apse, also the marble bust of Apollo; the latter shown as restored presents horns, or rays of light, not unfrequent in representations of the Sun-god.

"This short description of the so-called Mythric chamber or 'Ædes' shows that little has been done of any practical value towards the discovery of the actual use or purpose for which this construction was designed: we cannot blame the monks of San Clemente for relaxing in their discoveries in this portion of the vast works that they have undertaken; for not only is this section of less interest to them than the portions of the old Basilica yet unexplored, but the great depth increases their expenses, especially as regards the removal of water which percolates through every portion of the vaultings. At the time of my visits to the Mythric chamber there was a foot of water on the floor.

"The ceiling of the vault is covered with a mosaic, consisting of pieces or cubes of glass and marble; a border is visible through the mass of stalactite covering the whole of the surface. This ceiling, if cleared from this thick incrustation, might disclose much; at least it might fix the period of the mosaic enrichment; the staircase at the upper end of the room, now full of water, should be explored, and should any pieces of sculpture, Mythric or otherwise, reward the search, care should be taken that neither pretty arrangements nor restoration be attempted."

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Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the Rev. J. Lee-Warner.—Original charter of Cuthwulf, Bishop of Hereford, A.D. 840.

By Mr. J. E. Lee.—Cast of the handle of a sickle of the "bronze period," which had been lately found in the lake of Bienne, Switzerland. The circumstances of this discovery are detailed in the following extracts from a letter from Dr. Ferdinand Keller, late President of the Society of Antiquaries of Switzerland, to Mr. J. E. Lee:—

"Very little has been done here lately in archæology, and few antiquities have been discovered which are new. The only places where any considerable work has been carried on are on the Lake of Bienne. Lüscherz is one of the richest localities on this lake for objects of the stone age, and Möringen for those of the bronze age, and many relics have been found in both places by the peasantry.

"A few weeks ago, at the lake dwelling of Möringen a bronze celt was found, and also a sickle *with the handle*. As you are aware, bronze sickles (Lake Dwellings, Pl. xxix. figs. 22, 29, 48, 55, 62) have been found in considerable numbers, but a complete sickle—one with a handle—has never till now been discovered, and there has even been a question whether it was possible that these sickles had been used without handles.

"Mr. Gross, of Neuveville, on the Lake of Bienne, has solved this enigma by obtaining from Möringen a piece of carved wood, which he recognised as the handle of a sickle.

"This specimen, which is now in a capital state of preservation, is of yew wood, and has been contrived with a great deal of ingenuity, and carved with much skill. It was formed so that the hand of the workman could lie very conveniently in the hollow of the wood. At the upper part the termination is of a round form, with a portion cut off obliquely. On this flat surface (*a*) the sickle, which usually has projecting lines upon it, was fastened, and secured to the wood by a ring, which again was made fast by one or two nails, thus—

"The oblique position of the sickle evidently was intended to keep the hand of the workman from touching the ground.

"At the lower part of the handle there is a thin projection, somewhat in the form of a comb, which has two perforations. These holes show that the implement was suspended or carried by a cord passing through them.

"The hand of the man or woman who used this handle must have been surprisingly small.

"The handle is arranged for use by the right hand. Even in the Stone

Ring or ferule.

a Space to receive the end of the sickle.

Age it has already been noticed that the implements in use at that time were fitted for the right hand only."

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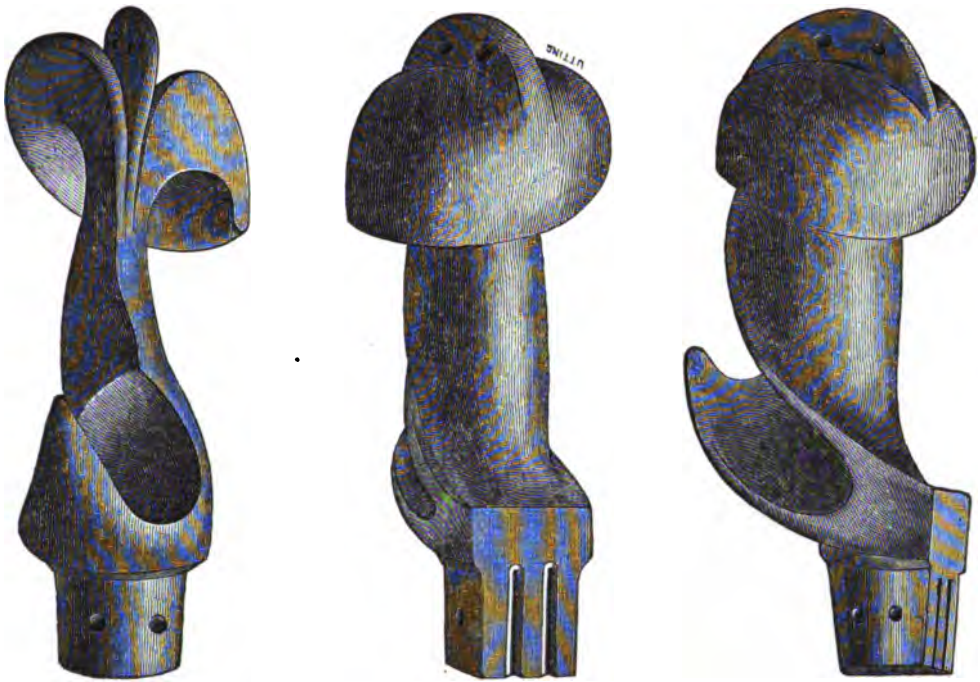

Three Views of Handle of Sickle.

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By Mr. G. M. Atkinson.—Four photographs in illustration of the discoveries connected with the church of San Clemente, Rome.—No. 1. The supposed Mythric chamber; No. 2. "Mythra Tauroctonus," showing four broken pieces of sculpture in stone; No. 3. "Mythra ex petra nascens," showing a diminutive figure of the god springing out of the rock; No. 4. A bust of Apollo, restored, with five horns projecting from around his head.—Plan showing the ancient Basilica under the church of San Clemente, with a ground plan of the oratory, and of the supposed Mythric chamber.

By Mr. C. D. E. Fortnum, F.S.A.—An English signet ring, of the latter part of the 16th or beginning of the 17th century, with "memento mori" and a skull enamelled on the back, and a coat of arms engraved on the front of the bezel, which turned on a swivel.

By the Rev. J. Fuller Russell.—A rare book in illustration of the Titus Oates' cards exhibited at the preceding meeting (*see* p. 185). "The Protestants *Vade Mecum:* or Popery display'd in its proper Colours, in Thirty Emblems, Lively representing all the Jesuitical Plots against this nation, and more fully this late hellish Designe against his Sacred Majesty. Curiously engraven in copper-plates. London: printed for Dan. Browne, Sam. Lee, and Dan Major, at the Black Swan without Temple-bar, the Feathers in Lumbard Street, and the Hand and Scepter over against St. Dunstan's Church in Fleet Street. 1680." A perfect copy. Extremely rare when in that state.—Also an Etui case, somewhat similar to that exhibited by Mr. Morgan at the preceding meeting (*see* p. 189).

By Mr. C. Golding.—Copies of drawings of wall-paintings lately found in churches in Suffolk:—Bacton, St. Mary; The Last Judgment, late 15th century;—Belton, All Saints; St. James the Great, with flowing hair and a chocolate-coloured vestment, shell on hat or turban, and on wallet; late 15th century;—Bramfield, S. Andrew; St. John the Apostle, St. Mary Magdalen, both from the rood screen;—Fretton, St. Edmund; St. Christopher;—Westhall, St. Andrew; St. Leonard and St. Michael, the latter more probably St. George;—Yaxley; Part of the Last Judgment. These appeared to be finished with somewhat too much artistic skill to be considered accurate representations of the objects.

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Notices of Archaeological Publications.

A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF THE MAIOLICA, HISPANO-MORISCO, PERSIAN, DAMASCUS, AND RHODIAN WARES IN THE SOUTH KENSINGTON MUSEUM. By C. DRURY E. FORTNUM, F.S.A. London, 1873.

THIS is another of the series of works on art of which Mr. Maskell's "Ivories" is so favourable a specimen. Mr. Fortnum's volume is nearly twice as thick as Mr. Maskell's, and differs from it also in having avoided photography for the production of its illustrations. Instead of a faded, and in many cases, deceptive picture—deceptive in a wrong way—we have here chromolithographs and woodcuts of high, if not the highest, order. The woodcuts are very superior to the coloured illustrations, which contrast unfavourably with the productions in the same style of French artists. Having said so much by way of adverse criticism we have nothing more to do in the way of fault-finding. The book is a great credit to its author, with whom alone we are concerned. That the same confusing method of numbering which interferes with the value of Mr. Maskell's book is here repeated, and that the lithography is of a second-rate kind, are matters which concern the department by which the volume is issued.

Mr. Fortnum in a modest preface points out that the collection of Maiolica at South Kensington was mainly formed by Mr. J. C. Robinson, who was prevented "by circumstances" from issuing such a work as the present one. We have no intention of inquiring into these "circumstances," but we agree with Mr. Fortnum that the public should be made aware to whose care and ability they owe the noble collection now national property: a collection which, if it were united to that in the British Museum, and thus placed in a situation more accessible to the working classes, would be not only the largest, but perhaps the most useful in Europe.

It is not very easy to make any exact classification of the different kinds of earthenware comprehended now under the name of "Maiolica," a term which indicates with sufficient exactness the source from which medieval Europe became acquainted with the manufacture. Mr. Fortnum commences with an account of the Persian, Damascus, and Rhodian wares, which may be considered the lineal ancestors of the glazed pottery of Italy. He makes use of some definitions worth pausing at. They occur in the Introduction. Thus, we are told that "pottery, as distinct from porcelain, is formed of potter's clay mixed with marl of argillaceous and calcareous nature and sand, variously proportioned, and may be classed under two divisions: soft, and hard, according to the nature of the composition or the degree of heat under which it has been fired in the kiln." After explaining that what we call stoneware and queen's-ware are "hard," and that the

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"soft" ware may be scratched with a knife or file, he proceeds to divide the "softwares" into unglazed, lustrous, glazed, and enamelled. The ancient pottery of Greece and Rome, what we know as Etruscan, and that found in Egypt, all belong, as a rule, to the first two divisions. The last two include Maiolica. The most ancient method of glazing appears to be that of applying to the surface of a vessel the translucent substance, the discovery of which has always been attributed to the Phœnicians. As common earthenware would not bear the heat necessary for coating it with glass, pottery came to be made of materials more nearly the same as those which enter into the composition of glass itself, and many very ancient specimens exist of a kind analogous even to modern porcelain. Glazed and painted ware, and encaustic tiles, which are of a similar character, were common throughout western Europe in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and much earlier in some districts. But in the twelfth century an expedition to Majorca by the Pisans, who had been annoyed by the depredations of the Moors, then the inhabitants of the island, brought home in its plunder many specimens of the pottery, for which that people were already celebrated, and possibly also some of the potters themselves. To the Moors, too, Mr. Fortnum traces the introduction into Europe of other methods of glazing and enamelling, especially that for the production of a white or coloured opaque glaze: and connects the use of tin for this purpose with the existence in Spain of tin ores in considerable abundance. With regard to the use of the terms "Maiolica" and "Majolica," Mr. Fortnum says it "has long been and is still erroneously applied to all varieties of glazed earthenware of Italian origin." Originally the term was restricted to the lustred wares, which were peculiarly those of Majorca: and he remarks, "it is a curious fact, proving their estimation" in Italy, "that nearly all the specimens of Hispano-Moresque pottery, which adorn our cabinets and enrich our museums, have been procured in Italy, comparatively few pieces having been found in Spain." He also thinks with many other authorities that "the word *Maiolica* should be again restricted to the lustred wares," a proposal in which we cannot agree with him, and which the publication of his book, in which it is necessarily applied by inference from the title to many other kinds, will largely assist to counteract.

It would take us too long to follow Mr. Fortnum throughout the history of Italian maiolica. There are several interesting references to the practice of decorating houses with plaques of this material, a practice highly suggestive at the present day, with the prevalent longing for variety in architecture, and the increasing demand for decoration. Luca della Robbia, who seems first to have made pottery coated with stanniferous enamel in Italy, has an extended notice, chiefly derived from Mr. Robinson's catalogue of Italian sculpture at the South Kensington Museum. There is much information also respecting the founders of the Urbino, Gubbio, and other centres of the art. The second chapter consists chiefly of an abstract from the MS. of Cipriano Picolpasso, who worked about 1550; it is now in the Art Library of the South Kensington Museum, and has been printed before, but not in English. It contains many receipts both for glazing and colours, and also for forms, and gives a perfect idea of the manner and comparatively simple appliances under which in the sixteenth century the Italian potter worked. Mr. Fortnum's third chapter is devoted to an enumeration of the finest collections in existence, arranged

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under their respective countries. The chief Italian museums seem to have come to England, or to be in the possession of our countrymen residing abroad. There are few specimens, as already noted, in Spain. Germany is better off, and the Louvre collection comprises upwards of 650 pieces. The British Museum has only about 160 specimens, but they are very choice. It is not very easy, by the "Register Number" of the South Kensington Museum, which appears invented on purpose to baffle enquiry, to tell how many specimens it contains, but at a rough calculation they seem to be about 800 in number; their value and beauty are fully attested by this volume and its illustrations. The private collections in England are also both extensive and excellent, including those of Mr. Fountaine, of which there is some account, of Mr. Cook, of Mr. Fortnum himself, of Sir Richard Wallace, and of some fifty other gentlemen. After the Introduction we have the Catalogue itself; but Mr. Fortnum has prefixed to each class of which he treats another short introduction, containing much special information respecting particular specimens, marks, and monograms, and other things of importance. The first is on the oriental manu-

Plate. Portrait of a Prince, Persian, 16th century (p. 17).

factures to which the names of Persian, Damascus, and Rhodian wares are applied; and here we have further information regarding the use of glazed tiles for architectural purposes, a practice of which Mr. Fortnum heartily approves. At Constantinople he tells us these decorations are in a somewhat better state of preservation than in many other places, and he instances various curious examples. Glazed pottery for wall decoration does not seem to have obtained in ancient Greece and Rome, where Mosaic

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was in the ascendant, and in later times it does not seem to have been so used in Italy, except in a few instances by Luca della Robbia. There

Wall Tile. Persian, 17th century (p. 22).

is said to be a revival of the fashion in Persia of recent growth, and some examples of the kind from Scinde were shown in last year's Exhibition at South Kensington in the Indian Annexe.

There is also at p. 39 an interesting disquisition on the Moorish Pottery of Spain. "When first recognised as a distinct family these wares were found to be difficult of classification, from the entire absence of dates or names of manufactories. Labarte and others considered the copper-lustred pieces to be the earlier, but Mr. J. C. Robinson, with his usual acumen, saw in the ornamentation of various examples reasons for reversing this arrangement, and suggested one which subsequent observation has only tended to confirm. He ranked those pieces having a decoration in a paler lustre, with interlacings and other ornaments in manganese and blue, coats of arms, &c., to be of the earlier period; those having the ornament in

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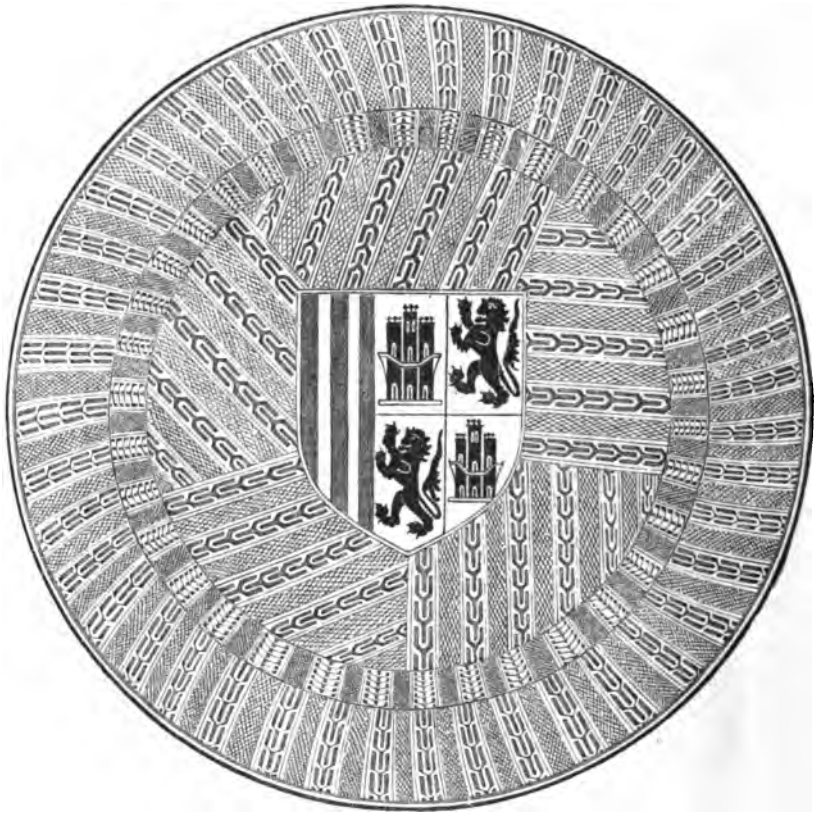
the paler lustre only, without colour, to be of nearly equal date, as also some of the darker coppery examples with shields of arms, and of a still



Salver, with Arms of Castile, Leon, and Aragon. Hispano Moresque, 15th or 16th century (p. 54).

later period those, so glaring in copper-coloured lustre, as to be more painful than pleasing to the eye."

The first Italian wares noticed are the "Sgraffiati," or incised specimens, ornamented in a mode of the most primitive and universal kind in its ruder form, but, like everything of the kind undertaken by the Italians, improved by them to the highest point. Caffagiolo and its pottery comes next. "It is probable that, were the archives of Florence thoroughly searched, some record might be found of the establishment or existence at Caffagiolo of an artistic pottery encouraged and patronised" by the Medici, "but at present, we have no such recorded history. Here again the objects themselves have been their best and only historians. It was but a few years since that the ill-indited name of this 'botega' noticed upon the back of a plate, was read as that of the artist who had painted it, until the discovery of others more legibly written, proved that at this spot important and highly artistic works had been produced. The occurrence of a mono-

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gram upon several, and the comparison of their technical details, has led to the recognition of many others, and revealed the fact that this *fabrique* had existed from an early period, and was productive of a large number of pieces of varying quality." Of this manufacture is a magnificent ewer ornamented with the arms and emblems of Leo X. It was bought at the Bernal sale for 60*l.*, and is now at the South Kensington Museum. This book contains an excellent woodcut of it, in which the comparative depth

Ewer. The Arms and Emblems of Pope Leo X. Caffagiolo, about 1520 (p. 116).

of the various tints in which it is painted are admirably rendered. We are enabled to reproduce this illustration, and several others. *Apropos* of another piece of Caffagiolo also in the Museum, Mr. Fortnum says: "This extremely interesting piece has a certain degree of notoriety, from having been described as representing Raffaelle painting the portrait of the

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Fornarina on a plate, and thus the myth that Raffaelle did occasionally paint on pottery was the more accredited." This fine plate was purchased from the same collection for 120*l.* Short notices of Siena, Monte Lupo, and other Tuscan manufactories follow, and then we reach the Duchy of

Circular Dish. Bust Portrait of a Lady. Pesaro or Gubbio, about 1490—1500 (p. 212).

Urbino, with Pesaro, Gubbio, Gualdo, and Castel Durante. This is perhaps the most important part of the book. Gubbio was the scene of Maestro Giorgio's triumphs. To him many of those charming plates which artists of our time admire are to be attributed, bearing portraits of some fair lady with a simple and appropriate inscription. The Gubbio ware is in most cases lustred, and may be taken as, on the whole, the highest development of this branch of the art. It is not always possible, or indeed worth while, to distinguish between the work of Gubbio and Pesaro. A relievo of St. Sebastian is the earliest dated piece. It is marked 1501, but has not the name of the maker. The manufacture of lustred ware ceased before half a century had elapsed. To Castel Durante is to be attributed a circular dish of which Mr. Fortnum gives a woodcut; it bears a full-face portrait of Peter Perugino, and is considered by Mr. Robinson a specimen of unique interest. It was in the Soulages collection, and was bought for 200*l.* Mr. Fortnum seems pretty sure it is of Castel Durante, or at least of Urbino make, but it has also been thought to come from Caffagiolo. The town of Urbino also had its pottery, where Nicolo da Urbino and the Fontana family flourished, and at which some of the most beautiful specimens were produced. There is a poor and confused chromo-lithograph of a plateau of

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this ware, and several very fair woodcuts, especially one of a pilgrim's bottle. Roman work is next noticed, and then we reach Faenza, which is commonly believed to have given its name to all kinds of fictile ware in the French form *Fayence*. Mr. Fortnum is at great pains to distinguish the

Tazza. Gubbio, 1520—30 (p. 256).

chief artists and their marks. We cannot follow him into his researches, but to persons specially interested in the subject, they will be found of the highest value. Among the specimens at South Kensington is a plateau of blue covered with a magnificent design in a lighter shade, and with a yellow

Marks on Faenza Pottery (p. 491).

and red shield in the centre. The effect of this plate, of which a coloured picture is given, is extremely pleasing and harmonious. The system of painting in shades of blue and white is known as "Sopra azzuro." The

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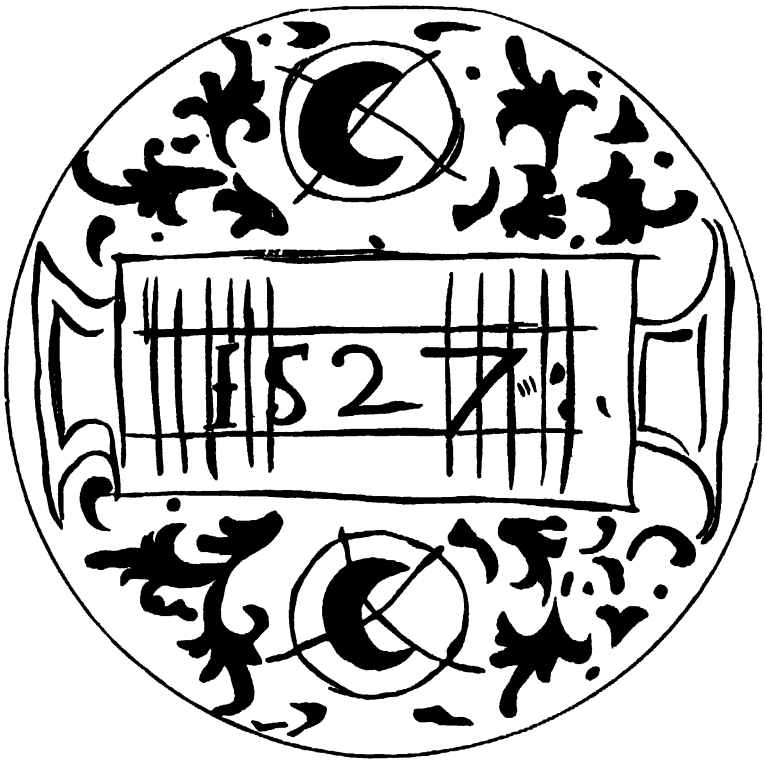
arms may be described heraldically as "bendy, or and gules." The crest is "a demi-angel" holding the motto "Pax." Mr. Fortnum does not tell us to whom these bearings belonged. There are several similar examples in the Museum, one of which is engraved on p. 514. When the works of Faenza, and other potteries in the Marches have been exhausted, the author proceeds to mention a number of doubtful pieces, among which are some of the prettiest in this book, and concludes with a copious table of books of reference, and an admirable index.

On the whole this is a very complete book. Mr. Fortnum's views are



Marks on Faenza Pottery (p. 491).

here and there open to a certain amount of question, but as he always impartially states the other side of the matter, this is no blemish. His work comes out opportunely, when the attention of the public is largely directed to the convenient and often beautiful productions of modern "majolica" potteries, and if his volume tends to improve the taste of the public, as well as to satisfy the antiquary and the connoisseur in art, it will not be thought that he has laboured in vain.

W. J. L.

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Archæological Intelligence.

Some interest has been excited by the recovery of a brass plate lost in the fire at the Chapel Royal of the Savoy. There were many monuments in the chapel, almost all remains of which have disappeared; and it is satisfactory that this brass is one of the most interesting. The inscription runs as follows:—"Hic jacet Thomas Halsey, Leglinensis Episcopus, in Basilica Sancti Stephani Romæ nationis Anglicanæ penitenciarius, summæ probitatis vir qui hoc solum post se reliquit, vixit dum vixit bene. Cui lævus conditur Gavan Dolkglas natione Scotus, Dunkellensis Presul patria sua exul. Anno Xti. 1522." Halsey was appointed to the see of Leighlin in Ireland by Cardinal Wolsey, but appears never to have proceeded to his charge. The second name is that of the celebrated Scottish poet and statesman, the third son of Archibald "Bell the Cat," Earl of Angus. Among the State Papers, are several references to his journey into England. The safe-conduct was granted in January, 1522. He had started from Scotland, December 13, 1521, and appears to have reached London in February. He was probably at Norham Castle with Lord Dacre on his way, and seems to have been received and lodged at the same nobleman's house, in the parish of St. Clement Danes, when he reached London. It has been supposed that he had lodgings in the Savoy; but an anonymous correspondent of the *Times* of September 23 points out that in his will, he speaks of being "apud hospitium Domini Dacris in partibus Angliæ in parochiæ Sancti Clementis prope Lundonium." He directs that his body should be buried in the Chapel of the Savoy; and his will, which was dated on the 10th September, was proved on the 19th. He died, it is believed, of the plague, and probably at the same time Bishop Halsey also died of the same epidemic, and so the two prelates are laid side by side and commemorated in the same brass. Their bodies were seen some years ago by the chaplain in a vaulted grave under the chancel, and the brass is to be placed in a black marble slab and restored to its former position in front of the altar.

A most interesting discovery in the Troad is reported by Dr. H. Schliemann in a letter published in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*. It is described as most probably the actual treasure of King Priam, found in the place in which it was concealed before the capture of Troy. Dr. Schliemann has been indefatigably occupied in exploring during the last three years, and his exertions seem to have been at last crowned with the fullest success. Vessels of copper, gold and silver, and weapons of copper, have been found in large numbers and of great intrinsic value. These objects present appearances of having been packed away in a wooden box, which was destroyed by fire, but the key of which has been found. An account of this most remarkable discovery will be published by F. A. Brockhaus, of Leipzig; but the articles themselves are destined for the museum at Athens, in return for permission to make excavations in Greece.

Dr. Birch has published a new edition, profusely illustrated, of his History of Ancient Pottery, originally published sixteen years ago. The author seems to think, and with good reason, that little more is likely to be discovered in illustration of the subject, and he has so treated it. That his manner of dealing with this very important and interesting subject leaves nothing to be desired, Dr. Birch's many contributions to the early pages of the *Journal* bear ample evidence.

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Great improvements have recently been made by Sir Stephen Glynne at Hawarden Castle, in the course of which the opportunity has been afforded of examining some of the details of this very interesting structure. An account of the building is given in vol. xxvii. (p. 239). At the gate-house tower is a drawbridge, with the bridge-pit under it, which is popularly called "the dungeon." This pit has been an object of much discussion, and is a somewhat puzzling feature. Late investigations have led to the conclusion that it was made out of the inner fosse of the old earthworks, which was formed into an oblong pit, very deep, and with good ashlar masonry on all four sides. This was probably done during the Edwardian period, so that the inner fosse must have been filled up at that time. It may have been used as a reservoir by the garrison, as no well or other receptacle for water has been found. A so-called subterranean passage is probably a drain or waste-pipe. That a drawbridge passed over this pit, and was a road for horses into the court-yard, with steps only to the keep, is very evident. The gate-house is now only a mound of earth. In this mound is a small triangular chamber, with stone steps leading to it, the door at the bottom of which has been barred on the outside from a guard chamber, which has two other doors also, barred on the inside between the gate-house and the pit, and thus originally under the drawbridge. The road to this *tête-du-pont* from the valley below, winding round the foot of the keep, can be very distinctly traced.

Mr. Llewellyn Jewitt, F.S.A., has issued proposals for publishing, by subscription, "An entirely new, large, and comprehensive History, Topography, and Genealogy of the County of Derby." Subscribers' names should be forwarded to the author at Winster Hall, Matlock.

Mr. J. H. Parker, C.B., has circulated an appeal on behalf of the "Roman Exploration Fund," in which are some matters of interest. He says:—"An Act has passed the Italian Parliament, ordering that the general law of Italy with regard to Church property shall be applied to Rome without further delay. Thus more than half the buildings and the land within the walls of Rome must be sold in the course of the ensuing year. The stagnation, which had been caused by the locking up so much ground, had roused the Government to action. But this stagnation was favourable to the preservation of ancient buildings. The population of Rome is rapidly increasing; great manufactories and warehouses are called for; there is no saying how many of the old buildings will be destroyed. The new City is building on the hills, on the site of the City of the Empire, not on the low ground where the City of the Popes was built. The great *agger* of Servius Tullius is almost gone. A portion of the inner fosse, with the pavement at the bottom of it, was visible two years since. I am anxious to raise funds to save a section of it, as an historical monument. The monastery of S. Gregory, from which Augustine was sent to England to convert the Saxons to Christianity; the Forum of Augustus; the great Thermæ of Caracalla; are all threatened with destruction. It is known that Rome is undermined by subterranean passages, some of them very early, and similar to that lately excavated at the Mamertine Prison. Permission would readily be obtained to clear them out and examine them thoroughly at the present time; but when new streets and sewers are made, the opportunity will be lost. The Italian Government would have no objection to the action of a neutral body, such as a Society of Archæologists, trying to save the ancient monuments of Rome. All well-educated persons are interested in the Antiquities of Rome."

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The Archaeological Journal.

SEPTEMBER.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF THE EARL OF DEVON TO THE ANNUAL MEETING HELD AT EXETER, 1873.[1]

In taking the chair on the present occasion, I cannot commence the few remarks which it is my intention to submit to the Meeting without taking the opportunity of giving expression to that feeling of deep sorrow which must be entertained by all who hear me for the lamentable accident which has deprived the Church and the country of the distinguished man who did us the honour to act last year as our President.

Every one who has known the public career of Bishop Wilberforce (and who can have failed to know it?) will recognise the loss which England has sustained in the death of one who was always foremost in every undertaking which had for its object the religious, moral, or social benefit of his countrymen. To all who have had the advantage of personal intercourse with him will the recollection be ever present of a kindness of heart, a ready sympathy, and an unaffected warmth of manner which won the affectionate regards of all who were brought in contact with him. I have heard the late Bishop Wilberforce described as "*many-sided*;" I am not sure that that epithet was not sometimes applied to him in a disparaging sense, and in any such sense it was entirely undeserved. If, however, a man who habitually devoted his great energies and powers to the general good, who was ready for that object to co-operate with others at any sacrifice except that of principle, who, combining great natural powers with larger acquirements, and uniting vigour of character and boldness in action with sympathy and tender regard for the feelings of others,

[1] Delivered July 29, 1873.

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and who was ever ready to minister to the social wants of his countrymen, if such a man be termed "*many-sided*," then do I say that it becomes a term of high praise, and that to none could it be more properly applied than to Bishop Wilberforce.

In now proceeding to address you, I trust that I may be allowed to consider myself as acting, in some sense, in a double character. In the first place, as a resident in this county and neighbourhood, I desire, on the part of the inhabitants of this part of Devonshire, to offer to the members of the Royal Archæological Institute a cordial welcome, and to tender to them our united thanks for the compliment paid to our county in the selection of Exeter as the place of meeting for the present year. It will be the earnest endeavour of all concerned to render the visit as agreeable to the members, and as conducive to the objects of the Society as circumstances will permit. In the second place, as having the honour to hold the office of President of the Meeting, I ask permission to offer, by way of preface to our proceedings, a few observations of an introductory and general character.

On the interest which attaches to archæological studies, it is obviously unnecessary for me to dwell, in addressing such an audience as the present. The main reason why most of us are here is, that we are anxious to receive information in respect to the memorials of ancient times and the vestiges of the former inhabitants of this County which are to be found among us, and that we desire, through the examination and study of these relics and records of the past, to become better acquainted than we are with the modes of life of those who have gone before us. We believe, too, that such studies are not without material advantages. Few of us can observe such indications of the habits and physical condition of the earliest inhabitants of this island as are afforded by the remains of their rude dwellings, and by the rude implements occasionally found, without a sense of thankfulness that our lot has been mercifully cast in times of improved knowledge, of advanced civilization, and more refined habits; or, as I trust that I may add, without readily recognising the truth that greater advantages entail greater social, moral, and religious responsibilities.

Again, in examining the remains of our early castles

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and our later domestic buildings, we cannot fail to be struck with the contrast between the numerous and carefully-studied provisions for attack and defence, indicating a state of society where every man's hand was against his neighbour, and might held sway over right; and the indications of a more peaceful, free, and well-ordered society afforded, as years pass on, by the gradual changes in our architecture. And, once more, the study of our ecclesiastical remains, proving, as it does, that our ancestors deemed it fitting to give, for the glory of God, and the due celebration of His worship, whatever they had most to be prized in the natural material or in the productions of art, may well stimulate the devotion of their descendants, and elevate and guide their judgment. Nor, lastly, ought we to doubt that the study of the past has, if properly and thoughtfully conducted, a sound mental and moral influence.

Living, as we do, in the full enjoyment of all the appliances of modern civilization, we shall yet be led, by archæological observations, to feel grateful to those who have gone before us for the treasures in art, and in architecture, which have been handed down to us; we shall consider what would, in many respects, have been our condition had our ancestors done nothing for us, and, unlike the man who said he would do nothing for posterity because posterity had done nothing for him, we shall be the more inclined to endeavour, in our measure, to leave something behind for the benefit of those who are to follow us.

To pass, however, from these general considerations to the special circumstances of our Meeting, I venture to claim for these Western counties some objects of special interest, while I am prepared to admit that, as regards certain other points, other districts of England have the advantage over us. I do not venture to deny that, as regards churches, we do not, with one or two remarkable exceptions, possess such noble specimens of various styles of architecture as may be found in some of the Midland or Northern counties of England, while, with regard to our castles, we have none equally large or equally perfect with others of which remains exist, in a few instances, elsewhere.

Let it not, however, be supposed by any one that we, in the south-west, are destitute of objects of interest to the Archæologist, or that there have not been, in various in-

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stances, discoveries made and facts brought to light which, while they have rewarded research, are calculated to stimulate and encourage further investigation. In some respects, indeed, it might naturally be expected that Cornwall and Devonshire would present interesting peculiarities. Known, at a very early period, to the Phœnicians, and, from their numerous harbours and their mineral wealth, much frequented by their vessels, these two counties, it cannot be doubted, became partially civilized at an earlier date than some other parts of England; while, at the same time, the existence of large tracts of elevated and uncultivated land, more especially Dartmoor, has tended to the preservation of remains of ancient character which might, under other circumstances, have been effaced or mutilated.

It is thus that archæology, no longer, as twenty or thirty years ago, limiting its researches to times illuminated by the light of history, is enabled in Devonshire to carry its investigations beyond the times of the Romans into prehistoric times, and, in the cairns and barrows found on some of our hills, (such as those explored by one whose loss to archæology cannot be over-estimated—I mean the late much-lamented Mr. Kirwan) in the graves of the men of olden times which have been opened, and in the caverns, such as those so carefully explored by Mr. Vivian and Mr. Pengelly, near Torquay, which seem to have been their dwelling-places, to form conjectures from the implements and ornaments found, and from other remains, as to the modes of life of the primitive inhabitants.

Of our churches, too, it may safely be asserted that, if they are not usually marked by great size, or by the characteristics of the purest times of ecclesiastical architecture, they possess, in their numerous rood-screens, and in the carved seat-ends, which have survived the so-called improvements of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, peculiar claims to attention. Nor ought it to be forgotten that, though the ordinary parochial church may not be specially noteworthy, the Church of St. Mary's, Ottery, restored mainly by the zeal and liberality of one family, that of Coleridge, whose name is synonymous with intellectual culture and enlightened public spirit; that of Crediton, whose grand fabric awaits, it may be hoped, at no distant period, similar restoration; and those of Plympton, Cul-

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lompton, Tiverton, and others, need not shrink from comparison with the remarkable churches which (in greater numbers, it is true) may be found in other counties. Especially, however, may we invite the attention of those of our visitors to whom, as yet, Exeter is untrodden ground, to the noble Cathedral that rises above our city, to its Norman towers, to its unusual breadth, to the rare beauty and variety of its window tracery; and we venture to believe that, in the work of repair and restoration now being carried on by the munificence, collective and individual, of the Dean and Chapter, liberally aided, as it has been, by the donations of this city and diocese, they will not fail to recognise a zealous endeavour to reproduce the glories of a noble fabric, and to adapt the Mother Church of the Diocese, if not as yet quite as completely as might have been desired, still, with no slight success, to the requirements of increasing assemblages of devout worshippers.

Our castles, we have already acknowledged, cannot compare in point of size, or in their state of preservation, with the Edwardian castles of Wales, or with the Border fortresses of the Northern counties. Still, in the remains of Exeter, Totnes, Plympton, and Launceston castles, nay, even in the picturesque tower of Okehampton, as it rises above the rushing water which washes its base, we trace vestiges of the Norman works of ancient times, while at Berry Pomeroy will be seen at once the ruins of the feudal castle and the remains of the manor house of the sixteenth century. Nor can I omit, in this place, to refer to one castle, to which, though beyond the border of Devonshire, we may justly prefer a claim as belonging to the West, viz., the grand pile of Dunster.

Nor, lastly, if we turn to the specimens of our ancient domestic architecture, whether as exhibited in those buildings which properly belong to the class of castellated houses assigned to the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, or in the remains of the later times of Elizabeth and James I., are we, in these Western Counties devoid of interesting specimens. Under the first class Cothele on the Tamar, if smaller than Haddon Hall, is a no less perfect and unspoilt example of the fifteenth century, while, notably in Compton Castle, and, in a less degree, at Powderham Castle, details not without interest are to be met with. Of the times of Elizabeth and

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James, Holcombe Rogus and Bradfield, both recently restored with care and judgment, and Bradley, near Newton Abbot, may be referred to as among remarkable examples. At the same time, it is right to add that, in not a few cases, buildings now used as farm-houses in various parts of the country, retain in the old hall, or the projecting oriel, traces of the times when the owner was an independent proprietor.

In the few remarks which I have now taken the liberty of submitting, it has been my object merely to indicate some of the objects of archæological interests which this county, and the county immediately bordering upon it, possess, but by no means to occupy ground which will be trodden with far greater success and appropriateness by those who, whether in the Sections, or at the visits which may be paid to different spots by the members of the Association, will favour us with the results of their minute observation and extensive knowledge. Interest in archæological pursuits is, happily, shown by many; but minute and accurate knowledge on the subject is the property of the few who can bring to bear upon them the power of careful observation of details, and the faculty of thoughtful generalization. It has been my endeavour only to supply the text; the explanation, the illustration, and the practical conclusion, will come from abler hands.

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THE CELT AND THE TEUTON IN EXETER.[1]

By THOMAS KERSLAKE, OF BRISTOL.

It has often been truly said that the ground-plans, or ancient lines of the streets, in cities and towns, are much more permanent than the houses or other material buildings which constitute them; that while the buildings themselves may have been many times renewed in the lapse of ages, there is a persistent tendency in the lines of the thoroughfares to survive frequent and substantial destruction, even when a large space has been cleared at one time by the demolition of an entire city. The failure of Sir Christopher Wren's attempt to reconstruct the plan of London, after the fire, is a striking example of this tenacity. The sentiment or instinct by which this ancient charm has been maintained, may, perhaps, not inaptly be called Nabothism. It is to be feared, however, that it has now received a severe blow from the facilities lately extended to municipal corporations for over-riding the private rights of their citizens by means of the Lands' Clauses Act.

But when a learned writer refers to Exeter as a distinguished example of this permanence of plan, saying that it is "one of the few towns in England which have been continuously inhabited since Roman days," and that "the main lines of the Roman city are there as plain as ever,"[2] his assertion must be accepted with a very considerable and substantial reduction. One-third of the whole united length of the present great cross-ways is not the same as that of the original Roman plan; and, in fact, the most striking feature of the resemblance of the present outline to the Roman is not yet a hundred years old.

But the greatest divergence from the Roman outline had been already made at least five hundred years before that,—

[1] Read in the Historical Section of the Annual Meeting of the Institute at Exeter, Aug. 4, 1873.

[2] Saturday Review, March 8, 1873, p. 310.

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must have been at any rate as old as the inclosure of the Cathedral Close, the ancient gates of which have been destroyed within living memory. This inclosure was made under a license of King Edward the First, dated January 1st, in the fourteenth year of his reign, about the same time as similar licences to inclose and crenellate were granted to other English cathedrals. That for Wells,[3] dated about three months later, contains a specific power to "divert streets;" but, although this does not appear in the Exeter licence, there can be no doubt that an encroachment upon the city was then made, by taking into the close what is now the north-west corner of it, from near the Broad Gate to South Street; causing a northward diversion of the main street from its ancient direct line between the East Gate and the West Gate, and even shifting the Carfoix, or rather creating a new one, more towards the north.

The effect of this early diversion was, that, although the ancient West Gate was still the only entrance to the city from that side—except the Quay Gate, which does not concern us—the diverted main street actually reached the west wall at a point more than a hundred yards to the north of the gate; at a spot where then stood the Church of All-hallows-on-the-Walls. The West Gate was thence reached by the steep, sharp turning to the left, along the inside of the wall,—an arrangement believed to be unlikely in a Roman plan. The present striking likeness to the usual more perfect cross was only obtained, in the year 1778, by the opening of the present bridge to the north of the old one, with its approach towards the city upon high arches, and a new opening through the wall to the bottom of the anciently diverted main street.

But a considerable length of the forsaken Roman street still exists in a degraded condition. It proceeds directly from the ancient West Gate up a steep ascent—now called Stepcot Hill, Smithen Street, and the Butcher Row—until it reaches the western entrance to the present Lower Market. Before this market-house was built, in 1836, the street continued through what is now the middle avenue of it; and a small continuation of it still exists, proceeding from the

[3] Prynne's Records, vol. iii. pp. 356, 357. For the licence to St. Paul's London (June 10), York (May 18), Lincoln (May 8), see pp. 344, 345. The Exeter licence is printed at length by Dr. Oliver, Hist. of Exeter, p. 65.

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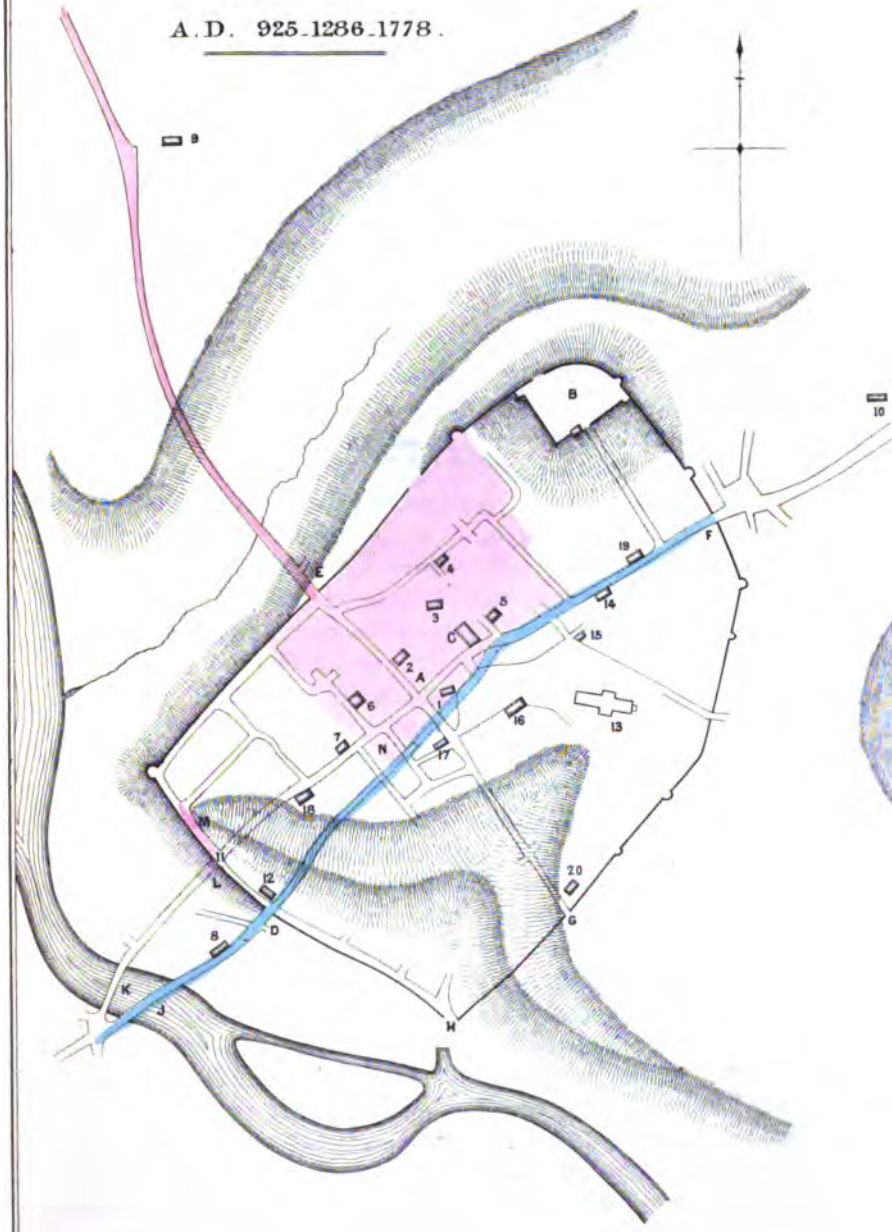
EXETER.

A.D. 925-1286-1778.



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Standidge & Co. Lithe. London.

REFERENCES :—

C. Guildhall.

F. East Gate.

J. Site of Old Bridge.

M. Little Britain.

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eastern side of the market towards South Street—the southern arm of the great four ways—which, however, it does not reach, but ends with the back doors of houses. By this time it has dwindled to a small, though still a public, courtlage; but not a thoroughfare, except for the annual parish perambulations on Ascension Day; and even then with the reserved customary right to throw water over the procession by the servants and younger inhabitants of the houses to be passed through. Is it too much to see in this custom a relic of ancient conflicts between those who had built upon public land, and the public annually re-asserting its right of way?

I venture to continue the ancient street line from this point, through the houses, eastward, across the South Street, into the Close; and therein along the fronts of St. Petrock's Church and the two Banks—a line which is the southern boundary of the parish of St. Petrock—until it joined the present High Street, nearly opposite the Guildhall, where a bend in the street seems yet to indicate the junction; and a corresponding bend is still more plainly visible in the line of the other front of the houses, within the close. From this point the existing street is direct to the East Gate.

It will be seen that we have thus restored a street in a direct line from the West Gate to the East Gate: much more likely, therefore, to be a part of the original Roman plan, than what is now, at sight, so much like it as, even by practised eyes, to have been mistaken for it. But this is not all. It is found that, while the existing street cuts into two most of the ancient parishes which it passes, the forsaken street actually coincides with the boundaries of most of them; showing that, when these boundaries were adopted, it formed a more obvious line of separation than any which would then have been furnished by the present street.

Again: many inhabitants will still remember that, until the year 1836, the market was held throughout the length of the open main street. But the forsaken street still continued to be the Butcher Row. From this it may be inferred that, although the general market passed into the newer street, the flesh-market remained in the old one—a relic or continuance of the older market. The ancient name, Fore Street—a street-name which itself may be a relic of Roman Exeter, and perhaps equivalent to *Fori Straat* or

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Market Street—most likely passed, with the market itself, to the newer main street.[4]

When, therefore, the Cathedral Close was fortified in the year 1285–86, the encroachment upon the city jurisdiction, which must have caused this diversion, was probably made. And this may have been one of the latent grounds of the disputes between the Bishops and the Mayors, one of which, in 1477, is so curiously reflected in the lately published correspondence of John Shillingford, a Mayor who would have done honour to any city in any age. Almost every speaker at this meeting has had a good word for him. An Exeter man is not a new invention; he is indomitable when he knows he is right. It may be noticed that the mischievous firing of the wood-stack, about which, at that time, so much recrimination passed between the townsmen and the Bishop's party, seems to have occurred in the very part of the close here supposed to have been formerly taken from the city. It would, perhaps, be too great a stretch of the principle of continuity to suppose that the annual burning of a lofty stack of faggots, by "Young Exeter," within the close, on the 5th of November, is a continuance of a custom, begun by this incident, but adapted to a later annual commemoration. It has usually been done as near to this part of the Close as it could with ordinary safety.

So much for the difference of the present general plan of the city from what it was when a Roman-British *urbs*. But another inquiry, perhaps of still greater interest, is intimately connected with this one. This is, the peculiar social condition which is said to have prevailed in Exeter before the complete subjugation of the Britons in the western pro-

[4] It has been aptly objected that the "Fore Street" of London cannot partake of this derivation from *Forum* or Market, being without the London Wall. It is not only without the wall, but runs along by the outside of it, and its name therefore evidently signifies—the street be*fore* the wall. There is at Shrewsbury a small row of houses similarly situated, along the outside of the town-wall, called 'Murivant," built on the escarpment, upon land perhaps traditionally so called. The "Foregate Streets" of Chester and Worcester must also have had this sort of origin, as continuing the space outside the gate, still separately called "The Foregate" at Worcester. There is also the "Abbey Foregate" outside Shrewsbury. The street at Exeter has however no such relation to the outside, but is a central street, which was the market. The street which skirts the market at Taunton is also called "Fore Street;" also at Westbury, Wilts, a street in the market place within the last twenty years has been altered from Fore Street to Maristow Street, in compliment to the Lord of the Manor. This name seems to take the place in south-western towns, of what in other parts is called "Cheapside." But Bath has a "Cheap Street" in the market place, which must have been the mote-place of the Hundred of Bath-Forum.

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vinces, by the Saxons under King Athelstan,—that the two separate nations were found living, in a state of commercial truce, within the walls of the same city, at peace, but without mixture; like oil and water in a glass. This remarkable state of things within Exeter has been frequently described by our political antiquaries, but without any attempt to define the boundaries which separated the two peoples.

Sir Francis Palgrave's account of the state of the larger cities of England generally, before their entire subjection, is, that they had not become incorporated into the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms within which they were locally included; but that they remained in the condition of separate, though dependent, states. This, he thought, was the state of London; but he adopts Exeter as a more definite illustration. Commenting upon William of Malmesbury's assertion "that the Britons and Saxons inhabited Exeter 'æquo jure,'" he suggests, as a question, "that Exeter constituted a kind of free city, though rendering 'gafol' to the king and acknowledging his supreme authority?" "Marseilles," he goes on to say, "continued in a similar state of dependent freedom until the reign of Louis XIII."[5]

Reverting, in a later chapter, to this phenomenon, of the compromise of the two nationalities when found in contact in small communities, he says:—"When the 'Wealh' [or Britons] were few in number, they may have been dispersed among their rulers [the Saxons]; but the more numerous masses of Cymric population lived apart from the Saxon colonies. When we are told that the Britons and Saxons divided Exeter between them, we are not to suppose that they lived in the same street, and that a Saxon townsman kept house by the side of a Cymric neighbour. Judging from invariable analogy, we cannot doubt but that the two races were severed from each other; each forming a distinct community,—an English town and a Welsh town,—English Exeter and Welsh Exeter; just as the Celtic population of the 'Irish town' of Kilkenny constituted a corporation distinct from the 'Sassenach' intruders; and, to return to England, in many of the townships of the Welsh marches analogous divisions continued almost within time of memory."[6]

[5] English Commonwealth, vol. i. p. 410.

[6] English Commonwealth, vol. i. pp. 463, 464.

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This is, in effect, to say, that there was a time when the frontier line, between England and Wales, actually passed through the interior of the city of Exeter, dividing it into two distinct parts, each occupied by one of these two nationalities. This is a state of things so curious as to raise a wish for a closer view, if we can get at it.

The author of one of the most important and influential books of the present generation—"The History of the Norman Conquest"[7]—confirms this inference, as far as regards the separate existence of the two nations within the city, which is all that we are here concerned with. One of the great attractions of this work is the frequency and vividness of its topographical realizations—the restitution of decayed intelligence dormant in ancient localities. But no attempt is made by either of these two learned writers—nor, I believe, by any other—to restore the long-forgotten actual boundary of the two peoples within this border capital. It is thought, however, that what Sir Francis Palgrave was content to infer "from invariable analogy" may still be actually realized and defined, in the city chosen for his example, with some approach to distinctness, if not certainty.

Whatever may be understood by the "total ruin" of the town, recorded to have been perpetrated by the Danes, A.D. 1003, it was probably far short of a complete obliteration. It is at any rate certain that, within the next forty-seven years, the monastery was still so pre-eminent in this province as to be the chosen receptacle for the Bishop's chair for the two united western sees. If there are still traces of the earlier Roman plan, why also may there not remain some vestiges of this later municipal arrangement?

At first, it might be supposed that the part of the city held by the Cornish or British would, as a matter of course, be the western half. Sir Francis Palgrave himself seems to have thought so. At any rate, he does not guard himself from being so understood when, in the next paragraph, he goes on to speak of that nation as the inhabitants "probably of that part of Devon which lies beyond the Exe," flowing by the west side of the city. Mr. Kemble also called it "the frontier town and market," "as the Saxon arms advanced westward."[8]

[7] E. A. Freeman, D.C.L., vol. i., p. 338 [8] Saxons in England, vol. ii. p. 554.

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It cannot be supposed that the state of dependent equality described could have been maintained by the small handful of half-conquered Britons included within the city, without the support of the large body of their compatriots in the open country. Indeed, their supplies of provisions to the international market would have been a principal inducement and condition of the truce. But it is believed that this contact was not on the western side, but the northern; and that the intercourse was through the North Gate, by a way which continues on the eastern side of the river for nearly two miles, to where the river makes the southward bend which brings it to the city. Moreover, it is likely that the frontier of the two peoples was not the river, dividing them east and west; but that while the intruding conquerors held the tracts of country more accessible from the seaboard, often far to the west, the Britons then, as no doubt they do now, peopled the inland mountainous highland districts, including Dartmoor and Exmoor, and extending eastward far into Somersetshire.

In fact, if we enter Exeter from the river, through the West Gate, the theory of the division east and west seems to stumble at the threshold. Upon the remaining fragment of the old bridge still stands the church of which the dedication is St. Edmund-the-King. Proceeding eastward, and far into the heart of the city, the next national dedication we reach is St. Olave. These two dedications are, of course, obviously later than the time we are speaking of, the expulsion by Athelstan; and any testimony they may contain is therefore only negative. It is only when we have passed the carfoix, or central cross-ways, that we come to the unmistakable Cornish dedication of St. Petrock. Beyond this, however, to the East Gate, are none but those common to all nations—All-hallows, St. Stephen, and St. Lawrence. We return, therefore, to St. Petrock; when we immediately renew our scent by finding that the next parish *northward* is St. Kerian. Two undoubted British parishes adjoining each other. We are now certainly on British ground, whatever may surround us.

Adjoining both St. Kerian and St. Petrock is St. Pancras. This is a catholic dedication, it is true, but there are three others of it in the Cornish side of the county, one at "Pancras-Week," or Wick, only separated from Cornwall by

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the Tamar, another north of Plymouth, corrupted to "Pennycross;" and a third at Withecombe-on-the-Moor, Dartmoor. St. Pancras is also invoked in the Armorican Litany, printed in the second volume of "Councils," &c., by Messrs. Haddan and Stubbs.[9] But the Exeter St. Pancras does not rest on its own claims to a British origin. It is so completely embedded and surrounded in the group of parishes now being submitted to judgment that it must inevitably go with the rest.

Filling the space from the north boundary of St. Kerian and St. Pancras, up to the north wall of the city, is the parish of St. Paul. Thus associated and surrounded, it can scarcely be doubted that this is one of two famous British saints of that name. It may have been the Welsh Pawl Hên—Paul the Old—Paulinus, the preceptor of St. David, and the patron of Llangors Brecknock, and of Capel Peulin, Carmarthenshire. The church at Paul, in the Lands End district, has also been attributed to him, and there are three other St. Pauls in the highland parts of Devon. But it is much more likely that all these of Devon and Cornwall, with the Exeter one, belong to St. Paul, Bishop of Leon in Armorica, an insular Danmonian Briton by birth and connections.[1]

If we now turn to a list of the known ancient parochial dedications within the city walls, we find, among those that are catholic or non-national, two that have duplicates, reasonably accounted for by their being such as must evidently have been necessary to both nations. These are All-hallows and St. Mary. Of St. Mary, indeed, there is a third, now parochial; but the church, being within the precincts of the cathedral, may have had a conventua origin, and its large parochial territory is abnormally situated, stretching away from the church, as if it had been a reclaimed waste part of the city, afterwards appropriated to the church from expediency. But there are two St. Mary's of ancient secular city parishes. We may fairly include one of each of those two duplicates in our British group, if found to be contiguous.

Taking, therefore, St. Petrock and St. Kerian as indisputably Celtic; if we add to them St. Pancras, St. Paul, one of the All-hallows (Goldsmith Street), and one St. Mary

[9] Vol. ii. p. 82.

[1] Haddan and Stubbs, vol. ii. p. 87. Sir. T. D. Hardy, Cat. of Materials for British History, vol. i. pp. 157, 158.

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(Arches), we find that they make an unbroken cluster, although selected according to the probabilities thus observed in their names; but when afterwards the general outline of the parishes themselves, thus brought together, was drawn upon a plan of the city, it was found to approach so nearly to a symmetrical figure, as to suggest that it had already existed as an external boundary, before it was afterwards divided by the less regular outlines which separate the contained parishes from each other. It forms, in fact, a compact parallelogram, occupying the central portion of the northern half of the city, extending from the Roman Fore Street as above restored, to the north wall; flanking the North Gate both east and west; having the north arm of the great cross streets for its central thoroughfare; and including one side of the ancient Fore Street, the market-place between the two nations.

As a guarantee of the selection of the dedications, here submitted as indicating the British district, these are what have been relinquished to the Saxon area: St. Lawrence, St. Stephen, St. Martin,[2] St. Peter (the cathedral), St. Mary Major (in the Close), St. Mary Steps (at the West Gate), Holy Trinity, St. George, St. John, All-hallows (on the walls), and two obviously later than the time we are speaking of, namely, St. Olave and St. Edmund-the-King. This last parish occupies marsh land between the outside of the west wall and the river, apparently reclaimed from the estuary after the building of the wall. Like St. Olave, it was most likely dedicated under the reign of Canute, and intended to conciliate Sweyne's insult to the ghost of St. Edmund.

Until the market was removed from the open street in 1836, it had been customary to hold it on one side of the street during one half of the year, and on the other side

[2] The special British influence that has been attributed to St. Martin of Tours, has been thoroughly overlaid or diluted in his more catholic prevalence among the nations of later intrusion. In Yorkshire he has 13 surviving dedications; in Lincolnshire, 12; in Cornwall, 4; in Devon, 6. In all the four Welsh dioceses, 8; of which 6 are in the Norman and Flemish counties, 1 in Salop, and the other, in Denbighshire, is a dependence of the Abbey of Conway.

The small parish of St. Martin at Exeter consists of the two rows of houses, between the Close and the High Street, that had evidently sprung up within and without the inclosure of 1286. Like St. Mary Major, the church is within the Close, and remarkably peninsulated from the parish, and must certainly be on the south side of any restoration of the ancient street. It was probably a chapel, to which the block of houses caused by the street-diversion was afterwards allotted for its parish.

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during the other half. It may be too much to see in this custom a relic of the "æquum jus" above mentioned. It has been usually referred to the advantages of sunshine and shade at the two seasons. It may, however, have originated in one cause, and obtained permanence from the other.

As before said, the British district, as here defined, comprises only the central portion of the northern half of the city. The portion excluded to the eastward of Gandy Street is chiefly occupied by the precincts of the Castle. Whatever may have been the character of any earlier fortress, the great natural strength of this position must have made its occupation a first necessity to the conquering people. It must already have become the seat of whatever authority could either assert the supremacy of its own law, or administer the compromise of it, from the record of which we started.

The western end of our British district is bounded by the parish of St. Olave, a dedication which indicates a later origin under the Danish dynasty. It was probably allotted to a colony of that nation, out of one of those waste spaces which must always have existed in our Roman cities after they had shrunk in their shells. Such spaces, within the walls of our old cities, are now chiefly occupied by houses with large lawns and fruit gardens, and in the middle ages they were often granted to religious fraternities. Those who have accepted what was said about the vitality of street lines may find some reward for their faith in the street which forms this western boundary of our British district, where it is conterminous with St. Olave. During the first half of its course, this street has the houses of both sides of it within our district, but at midway it makes a short double bend, but immediately resumes nearly the same direction on a different parallel, having thenceforth only one side of the street within the district, the other side being in the excluded parish of St. Olave. This seems to indicate that there was once a material barrier or palisade, with a central gate or opening, now represented by the bend, through which, having passed the barrier, the street or path renewed its course towards the north city wall, along the outside of the supposed barrier.

The extrinsic likelihood of the distribution here submitted,

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will be seen by a general view of the natural contour of the ground occupied by the city. The river was then open to the tide, or rather was a part of the maritime estuary, from which it has since been separated within historical record. The south and west sides of the city, which we have relinquished to the invaders, include the lower levels, and the ascents, and that portion of the higher level most accessible from the river. There is indeed a sort of coomb which, by an easy ascent from the Water Gate, penetrates the heart of the city up to the cathedral. This accounts for the double gate at South Gate; also for the external additional wall at that part which was pointed out by Mr. Freeman and Mr. Parker. On the other hand, the portion that we have marked out as that retained by the invaded people, is—except the castle—that most likely to have been held, against intruders, by pre-occupants retreating landwards.

We have already seen that the British occupation within the walls, included the entire possession of the North Gate. Outside this was a deep but narrow valley, with a steep ascent beyond it. Over this ascent passes the north road, already mentioned, leading to those central mountainous districts of the province, which must then—as they probably are to this day—have been occupied by the Celtic nation. This hill commands the North Gate; and here we find the undoubted footsteps of the Britons, in the dedication of the church which crowns the eminence, St. David; the parish of which, outside the walls, covers the whole of our British district within them.

This part of the inquiry was not intended to be followed farther into the county, but the next dedication upon this north road, after it has crossed the river—say at Cowley Bridge—is St. Cyricius (or Curig) and St. Julitta, a joint dedication of which several examples are found both in Cornwall and in Wales. One of these is well known as Capel Curig.

On the other hand, the parish, which is not only conterminous with St. David's on the east, but also covers the eastern side of the city, bears a Teutonic dedication of that strictly local kind which attests the highest antiquity. It transmits the name of a lady—as a woman of her rank would now be properly called, and as she, if our present

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argument is sound, was then most likely called—who was martyred on the site of the church, A.D. 740. Her name—St. Sidwell— obviously indicates that the place where she lived and died, and was afterwards held in remembrance, was already an English settlement.

It is true that in that most valuable digest entitled "Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents," the late Canon Haddan has placed St. Sativola among "British or Cornish Saints," whose legends or lives are "not now extant."[3] The utility of this great work is much enhanced by the fidelity with which one part of its plan is carried out—the reference to their sources of even its most minute contents. In this instance he refers to Leland's Itinerary, vol. iii. p. 49. On turning to this place, we find simply a short abstract of the life of St. Sativola from the manuscript of Bishop Grandisson's *Legenda Sanctorum* according to Exeter use, which Leland saw at Exeter, and which has been seen by most of us at this present meeting in a glass case in the chapter-house of the cathedral. There does not appear in Leland the slightest ground for the inference that she was a Cornish saint. On the contrary, it there appears that her father's name was Benna, a name not unfrequent in the Anglo-Saxon charters, as shown by Mr. Birch's Index. This, with her own name, and the names of her three sisters—Juthwara, Eadwara, and Wilgitha[4]—clearly shows that they were a family who lived within the limits of an Anglo-Saxon colony. Indeed, her name seems to have been known throughout the kingdom of Wessex. A church-service book,[5] which contained an invocation of her, was lately found to have formerly belonged to Romsey Abbey. Bishop Grandisson also commemorates the translation of the reliques of her sister Juthwara at Sherborne (13 die Julii).[6] The fact is, that the name became known to the learned in a form in which its nationality is obscured. For many ages vernacular languages and names were not thought fit to appear even in grave secular literature, much less in the offices of religion. In litanies, calendars, and martyrologies, by which the name of this saint has become

[3] Vol. i. p. 700.

[4] Cressy, Ch. H. Brit. bk. xxiii. ch. ix.

[5] Notes and Queries, 4th S., iv. p. 294. The book is understood to be now in the British Museum.

[6] Quoted by Oliver, Mon. Exon. Add. Supp. p. 38.

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known to history, it is disguised as Sancta Sativola; but when we come to the place where she lived and died, we find it still alive and vigorous, in the mouths of her own neighbours, in the unmistakably English form—St. Sidwell. But an ancient written example of the English form may be seen in the Anglo-Saxon Catalogue of English Saints who have been buried in England, printed by Dr. Hickes, in his *Dissertatio Epistolaris*,[7] from a manuscript assigned by H. Wanley,[8] to the time of the Conquest—"Ðonne resteð scē Siþefulle fæmne Wiþutan Exanceastre:·"

It should not be concealed, that there exists in Cornwall a joint dedication of St. Welvela and St. Sativola. It is at Laneast, near Launceston. This was formerly a chapel to St. Stephen's Priory at Launceston, which was given to Exeter Cathedral by King Henry I. It is certain that, besides her ancient shrinal dedication without the city, St. Sativola had a later or revived veneration accorded to her within the cathedral itself, naturally ambitious of preserving and appropriating her local glory. That such was the case is evident from the special celebration of her day, as shown by the lesson book of Bishop Grandisson, for the use of that church, above referred to. There are also two *icons* of her among the existing decorations of the cathedral. It will likewise be observed that this Cornish dedication does not give the name in its popular form, St. Sidwell, as it is traditionally preserved in her own place, but in the service-book or cartular form, Sativola, indicating a post-Saxon graft, by the Bishops of Exeter, upon a dependent institution, to which there is other evidence that they extended much care and patronage.[9] This is, in truth, an instance of the interpenetrations of the two races. There are five or six other examples of certainly English national dedications found in Cornwall. One of them—St. Neot—is accounted for by history.

We may therefore reasonably believe, that, while the country immediately north of the city was still held by the British race, that on the eastern side was occupied by a Saxon colony. The dedications outside the south wall are catholic or non-national, and therefore have nothing to tell us. That also on the west side, beyond the river, was,

[7] Page 120. Thesaurus. Ling. Sept. Pars. III.

[8] Catal. of MSS. p. 137.

[9] Oliver Mon. Exon. p. 22.

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until the 16th century, St. Thomas of Canterbury: then altered to St. Thomas the Apostle.

But we have yet another trace of the former separate existence of the Britons within the walls; and that in a part of the city not included in the district, to which we have presumed to limit them while in their state of equality with their invaders. At the beginning of the present century, a street, immediately within the west wall, to the north of the West Gate, was still called "Little Britain." It is distinctly separated from our British district by St. Olave and two other intervening parishes. There can be no doubt that this was the place of refuge conceded to that abject remnant of the banished race, who accepted tolerance, with a servile position, after the expulsion of their nation; in which place their designation of contempt has lingered on to nearly our own time. The "Little Britain" of London is perhaps another example; and the "Jewry" of many cities will also be remembered as an analogy: also the strict seclusion of degraded classes still maintained in many continental cities. These examples render needless Sir F. Palgrave's concession, that when the subject race "were few in number, they may have been dispersed among their rulers." Indeed, we see the vital principle, which underlies the whole matter, still active among us, in the neighbourhoods of Leicester Square and of Houndsditch in London.[1]

[1] The parish boundaries used in this inquiry have been derived from a plan of Exeter by J. Wood, 1840, and a "True Plan of Exeter," by Sutton Nicholls, 1724. The local distributions of dedications have been here chiefly collected from Bacon's *Liber Regis*, 1786, 4to. This is nearly the same work as had been previously known as Ecton's *Thesaurus Rerum Ecclesiasticarum*, although unacknowledged by Bacon, who published it as his own work. The dedications of the churches had been mostly recovered by Browne Willis and inserted in Ecton. The Rev. Dr. Oliver has since corrected and augmented those for Devon and Cornwall, from the Exeter Bishop's Registers (Mon. Exon. pp. 436—445, and Addit. Supp. pp. 37—38), and the late Professor Rice Rees has also corrected some of those for Wales. (Essay on Welsh Saints.) But many still remain undiscovered.

The topographical influence of national saints might be well brought into view by a reversed Manual Index, under the names of the dedications, with the counties and other place-notes subjoined. But the necessity of a preliminary augmentation of Browne Willis's collection will be obvious from a single example. The county of Somerset was lately indexed from it in this reversed manner, by a member of the Somerset Arch. and Nat. Hist. Society, but St. Joseph of Arimathea is conspicuously absent, because no surviving benefice gives it a standing-place in Ecton or Bacon. Not only should Dugdale's Monasticon and the numerous topographies, and the contents of parish chests, &c., be contributories to such a manual, but it is believed that there is, outside writing and print, a large amount of materials of a far more fugitive kind, which should be gathered in, while yet they can be, by those who live near them. They are often found in perished chapels, altars formerly in great churches, wayside wells, and extinct sanctuaries that have left nothing

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Of course, we have nothing here to do with the lives or legends of the long-venerated personages above mentioned. Our only business is with the millennial connection of their names with certain limited spots. We have already admired the persistent permanence of unmaterial streets; but here is something still more to be wondered at, and perhaps still more instructive,—the intimate association, for many centuries, of the name of a person with almost every one of the smallest of our territorial divisions, throughout the length and breadth of the land—not to say all Christendom. But even this spectroscope into the long past is perishing—is an instrument which is gradually slipping out of our hands, without having told us all that it can be made to tell. It often stretches backward far beyond the reach of paper or parchment history, and often marks localities more certainly than even lettered stones or coined metal. Except that it is the most liable to be corrupt, tradition would be the most valuable ingredient of history. Here we have the most perfect and the purest form of tradition.

Those who have the privilege to live in this beautiful and interesting city—especially those who have access to the municipal and parish records and plans, or title-deeds of property lying in the path of this inquiry—will have the means of testing, correcting, reversing, or extending it, with much advantage over the resources of these remarks, which have arisen out of superficial observations during hasty visits for other objects, compared with the like desultory glances at the other cities, and many of the ancient towns.

but their names on hills and remote spots, and these more obscure remains are often more indicative of national influence than those that are more prominent. A record of the annual days of ancient fairs, wakes, revels, and village festivals, would be a valuable supplement.

For its more ordinary uses, the Clergy List has of late years supplanted Bacon's Liber Regis. But the modern utilitarian substitute has despised and suppressed these dedications. Thus put aside, the bulky book has become a tempting morsel for the corvorant paper-mill. This was the incidental cause of the pages now before the reader; which had their beginning in an attempt, that soon outgrew its purpose, to exemplify a better use that can still be made of this book.

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ON AN INTAGLIO PROBABLY COMMEMORATING THE GOTHIC VICTORY OF ÆMILIAN.

By C. W. KING, M.A.

No remains of antiquity exhibit in so striking a manner the difference between Greek and Roman ways of thinking as do the gems used for signets by the two races. Their other works of art that have come down to us—of sculpture and painting, for example—are far from affording the same light, for the very sufficient reason that in these branches the Romans were mere copyists of the great masters of ancient Greece, and continued to reproduce their works in an endless succession of facsimiles, and finally of caricatures, as long as the taste for such embodiments of ancient ideas had influence throughout the empire. The diversity of feeling, that really did so strongly exist, is consequently only to be discovered in those artistic productions of the latter people that, belonging to everyday life, are inspired by the spirit of the hour, and are in every sense of the word *original;* and this is peculiarly the nature of the subjects selected for signet devices. Signets had in the ancient world an importance of which the modern can form but a faint idea; they authenticated and secured all the transactions and possessions of the civilized society. It is in this department, then, that the difference of national feeling manifests itself most conspicuously through the different nature of the subjects taken for such devices: a diversity that never fails to strike every intelligent student of a complete collection of engraved gems, and which actually furnishes the amateur with one of his surest guides for a just classification of glyphic monuments. The art of the Greeks draws its inspiration entirely from *religion*, its mythology and poetry being so intimately connected together, and the two systems of nature-worship and hero-worship so inextricably interwoven, that it is evident that the scenes from the Epic Cycle (which was the

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Intaglio probably commemorating the Gothic Victory of Æmilian.

Drawing enlarged to three times the size of original.

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grand repertory for the engraver during the best times) were looked upon by his employers as equally pertaining to the national religion with the actual figures of the deities; which last, indeed, many, sharing the scruples of Pythagoras, deemed too holy to be profaned by promiscuous use. The various animals, also, which the early Greeks loved so much to carry in their signets, appear to have received this honour as being the recognised attributes of different deities, and therefore empowered to act as their representatives, and to shed the same beneficent influence upon the devotee who went about adorned with such symbols. Even in those rare instances (all later than Alexander's reign), where the portraits of living persons were transferred to the gem, the so doing was of itself an assumption of divinity, and was carefully restricted to the signet of the Sovereign. The same observation equally applies to the kindred art of numismatics, where practice was confessedly subjected to the same laws as in glyptics; the two branches being carried on without distinction by the same professors. Greek coins offer representations of mythological scenes, and the ceremonial of local religions, even to the date of the extinction of all autonomous coinage under Diocletian; notwithstanding the example to the contrary so long set by the concurrent imperial mintage. But how different becomes the case as soon as the Romans begin to have an art of their own, and grew independent of the effete Etruscan, itself, at best, only a copyist of the archaic Greek. The majority of Roman signets do indeed carry, as before, the patron-god of the owner, or the ensign of his profession or trade, but a great and important innovation is now visible—people of family assuming for badge the head of some illustrious ancestor, or (what equally interests posterity) the record o some exploit of their own, which they regarded as the crowning glory of their life. It is only necessary here to allude to the signet of the degenerate son of Scipio Africanus; to that of the more degenerate Lentulus; to Pliny's often-cited examples of the "Duel between the Spanish chief and Scipio Æmilianus" (an event on which the victim's son so greatly prided himself); Sylla's seal of the "Surrender of Jugurtha," which he, later in his career, exchanged for that more boastful memento of his perpetual successes, the "Three Trophies;" and Pompey's assumption

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of the same device, with a similar signification.[1] I have also had the happiness of discovering a memorial of the same nature in the signet of Q. Cornelius Lupus, and making it known to the reader of this Journal.[2] The custom was kept up as long as the art itself survived; intagli exist displaying the military feats of Trajan and of Constantine: and the series closes very appropriately with the famous "Sapphire of Constantius," who, having no warlike trophies to display, glorifies himself by spearing the monstrous wild boar, "Xiphias," in his park at Cesarea.

Engravings like the last preserve to us some faint idea of the stupendous works of statuary raised to Imperial vanity by the adulation of their times; all of which have yielded to the ravages of age, and of which great part, even in their own day, did not survive the next change of rulers. This may be gathered from a remarkable passage of Gregory Nazianzen's,[3] where he inveighs against Julian for setting up his own statues accompanied with those of his gods, with the view of entrapping the unwary Christian into adoring the latter whilst doing homage to the figure of his sovereign. He says that his predecessors, even in times of Paganism, had done nothing of the sort, but had regularly caused themselves to be figured in the act either of receiving offerings from subject states, or of being crowned by Victory, or of trampling down their enemies, or of performing some feat in hunting; in which last remark the preacher probably had in view the actual memorial of his much-lauded Constantius, only known to us now through the medium of the gem already quoted.

The object of these statements and citations is to bring before the reader what appear to me sufficient grounds for my explanation of the gem which gives its name to this memoir. This explanation will doubtless, at first sight, strike even persons possessing a special knowledge of the subject as very speculative, not to say rash; but if they carefully weigh the arguments about to be adduced, they may probably find that there is no antecedent impossibility against discovering, with me, in this little relic, an extremely interesting historical monument. They will be led to per-

[1] Valerius Maximus III., 5; Cicero. Catilin. III., 5; Pliny, Nat. Hist. xxvii. 4; Plutarch, 'Sylla.'

[2] Vol. xxiii. p. 79.

[3] Oration iv. 'Invective against Julian.'

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ceive, if my reasons are well founded, that *action*, *actors*, and *attributes* in the tableau supply evidence for attaching the nature of the event commemorated to a person and circumstances almost beyond the reach of doubt: considerations of art likewise lend their aid towards defining the period of its execution within very narrow limits of time; the only uncertainty remaining being which of the two personages, whom all these circumstances appear equally to fit, has the best claim to the honour of the memorial?

But it is now time to come to the description of the object which it is my aim to elucidate. This is a pale sard, of oval form, engraved with a group of an *Imperator*, indicated for such by the helmet on his head and the *paludamentum* thrown over his left arm; whose right hand, Victory, standing in front, clasps, proffering to him at the same time the laurel wreath; whilst her sister, behind, is placing on his head a radiated crown; at his side is seen a stag—an adjunct of which the importance in explaining the scene shall be pointed out in the proper place. The drapery of these Victories is treated in a peculiar style, being composed of large and heavy folds, violently agitated, as though by the rapid movement of the bodies. The same manner may be recognised in the medallic art of the third century, whenever similar figures are introduced. The design of this group is not without merit; the action of the figures is spirited, and tells its tale expressively enough, and they are deeply cut; but their work is without detail, and heavy and coarse in the extreme, much resembling that which so strongly marks the Sassanian style. All these peculiarities combine to point out a late period of the Roman Empire as that at which the engraving was produced, yet one prior to the establishment of Christianity, as the costume and attributes declare. None but an artist reputed the most skilful of his times would have designed so ambitious a composition, and his failure in carrying out his grand conception must be imputed, not to the fault of the individual, but to the decrepitude of the art,—a consideration supplying us with an approximate date for its execution. And that such date is anterior to Constantine, may be certainly inferred from the Pagan symbols that shine so conspicuously in the scene,—the *stag*, for example,—as well as from the *beard* worn by the hero of the piece; that badge of heathenism which dis-

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appeared together with its latest professor from Imperial portraiture. But the early part of the second century of our era would have produced a very superior specimen of the glyptic art, when called for by an event of the evident importance that inspired our engraver (as the numerous gem-portraits of the family of Severus remain to evince); the period for our inquiry, therefore, becomes reduced within the half-century of rapid degeneracy that ensued upon the fall of Decius; whence date the first irruption of the barbarians, and confusion and rebellion throughout the Empire.

To come now to the *action* of the figures, which is so significant that it seems to me to tell a story which can only be understood in one way. The Victory in front presents the hero with a *laurel wreath*, that established announcement of some military success; whilst her sister confers upon him the *radiated crown*, which, from Caracalla's reign, had become the regular form of the crown Imperial, and exclusively used to denote the dignity of an "Augustus." My interpretation of the picture is, therefore, the idea that some military success over the barbarians, conferring great glory upon the leader here complimented, had been closely followed by a second, the result of which was his acquisition of the Imperial dignity. But in searching the history of that tumultuous period (the necessary limits of which have been above defined), I can discover no one amongst the numerous ephemeral Emperors whose fortunes so exactly tally with the requirements of the case as do those of Æmilian; the summary of which I shall here borrow from Gibbon, who has, with his usual lucidity, brought into historical connection the events rather hinted at than narrated by the epitomisers Zosimus and Zonaras:—"The defence of the monarchy, which seemed abandoned by the pusillanimous emperor, was assumed by Æmilianus, governor of Pannonia and Mœsia, who rallied the scattered forces, and renewed the fainting spirits of the troops. The barbarians were unexpectedly attacked, routed, chased, and pursued beyond the Danube. The victorious leader distributed as a donative the money collected for the tribute, and the acclamations of the soldiers proclaimed him Emperor on the field of battle. Gallus, who, careless of the general welfare, indulged himself in the pleasures of Italy, was, almost in the same instant, informed of the success of the revolt, and of the

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rapid approach of his aspiring lieutenant. He advanced to meet him as far as the plains of Spoleto. When the armies came in sight of each other, the soldiers of Gallus compared the ignominious conduct of their sovereign with the glory of his rival. They admired the valour of Æmilianus, they were attracted by his liberality, for he offered a considerable increase of pay to all deserters. The murder of Gallus and of his son Valusianus put an end to the civil war, and the senate gave a legal sanction to the right of conquest. The letters of Æmilianus to that assembly displayed a mixture of moderation and vanity. He assured them that he should resign to their wisdom the civil administration, and, contenting himself with the quality of their general, would in a short time assert the glory of Rome, and deliver the Empire from all the barbarians both of the North and of the East. His pride was flattered by the applause of the senate, and medals are still extant representing him with the name and attributes of Hercules the Victor, and Mars the Avenger."

No one acquainted with the ancient principles of pictorial composition will for a moment doubt that some very important signification was conveyed by the introduction of the *stag* which makes so conspicuous a show in the foreground of the intaglio now under consideration. That it declares the patronage of Diana (or the Lunar Power, as spiritualized in that last phase of Paganism[4]) to have been the cause of the good fortune here commemorated, will not be denied by any numismatist who calls to mind the numerous coins of Gallienus and succeeding reigns, which bear the goddess with her stag, or the latter by itself, with the legend "Diana Conservatrix," as they also do her brother's gryphon with similar title declaring his protection. Now Æmilian appears to have taken this goddess for his special patroness, since he first introduces on the coinage the reverse "Dianæ Victrici"; representing her as drawing an arrow from her quiver to destroy the enemies of her votary, not her usual sylvan prey (for in that case the "Victrix" had no applicability): with her *stag* at her side just as it accompanies the hero of our gem. It was into this animal that she

[4] Trebellius Pollio calls her 'Ephesia Luna,' when mentioning the destruction of her celebrated Temple by the Goths in the time of Gallienus; 'Gallieni Duo,' cap. vi.

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changed herself, in the fabled "War of the Giants," to do battle with the huge Riphœus; and its figure was consequently employed to express her influence when circumstances, like the present limited field, prevented the introduction of Diana in person. The form of the inscription last quoted has also a significance of its own: its being put in the *dative* case shows it not to be merely explanatory of the type it accompanies, but to declare that this particular type was devised "in honour of," or as a token of gratitude to the Power thus represented. It may, therefore, be reasonably assumed that the Prince who first introduced this legend upon his coins had some special motive for boasting of the favour of the sylvan Queen. To quote other examples from the numismatic usages of the same period, where the well-known *attribute* is singly employed to denote the presence and protection of the divinity to whom it is attached; on the coinage of the same period the guardianship of "Liber Conservator" is symbolized by his panther alone; of Venus, by her dove.

It is a fact to be noticed as of much weight in the present inquiry, that this type of the Diana Victrix is employed by none of the succeeding emperors, except Claudius Gothicus. In *his* case, indeed, it was peculiarly appropriate, if we understand it to allude to the signal vengeance taken by the Emperor upon those barbarians who had recently destroyed her famous Temple at Ephesus; but in the case of Æmilian no similar motive is recorded in the brief notices left us of his career. It is, however, easy to be conceived that Diana's aid may have been specially invoked on some great emergency by one who had to combat the innumerable hordes of savages issuing from wood and mountain, and justly comparable in ferocity to the regular subjects of the "montium custos, nemorumque, Virgo."

Upon these grounds the honour of the gem we are discussing might equally well have been assigned to the later of the two Gothic conquerors, had it not been for the circumstance of the *Imperial crown* which the hindmost Victory is conferring upon him: whereas the triumphs which gained Claudius his title of "Gothicus" were not won until *after* his elevation to the vacant throne of Gallienus. But for this the uncertainty had been augmented by the fact that besides his medal already quoted, there exists another

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bearing a device of a somewhat similar nature to the composition we are seeking to interpret. The type is two Victories facing each other, between them a palm-tree supporting a shield inscribed S.C.; legend, VOTA ORBIS. The inscription upon the shield makes it all but certain that we have here the record of some pretentious testimonial voted to Claudius by the grateful senate upon the first news of his deliverance of the Empire from the Gothic invaders: for the notices scattered through the "Historia Augusta" show that although art was fast decaying, yet its productions, such as they were, went on increasing in number, magnitude, and costliness of material. To this same Emperor the senate erected a "palmated column" supporting his portrait-statue, entirely of silver, of the weight of 1500 pounds;[5] and later, another statue in gold, ten feet high: whilst to his successor, Aurelian, they voted one in gold, and two in silver, of probably the same magnificent dimensions. As it is known from other sources that the deities represented upon coins were exactly copied from certain celebrated statues worshipped in the places of mintage, it is allowable to conclude that the types of these later medals represent the monuments recently erected by the same authority that ordered their being struck.[6]

Some thirty years before Æmilian's reign (the earliest known examples belong to Severus Alexander) a fashion had come in of setting the most valuable rings with *aurei* of the reigning Emperor, instead of engraved gems—a change that gave the last blow to the failing glyptic art. The coins so mounted invariably have reverses setting forth the military prowess of the Cæsar, such as "Victoria Germanica," and others of like nature. This choice of subjects indicates that such rings were badges of military rank, even in the Early Empire. Juvenal alludes to the "semestre aurum" conferring the dignity of Tribune upon the man whose lucky finger it encircled. Our gem may have represented some recently-voted evidence of the loyalty of Rome, and have been cut at the order of some zealous partisan of Æmilian, some "worshipper of the rising sun," who preferred the old style

[5] Trebellius Pollio, 'Claudius,' cap. iv., 'Tacitus,' cap. ix.

[6] Perhaps the most valuable example of this practice, for it settled a long disputed question of date of erection, is Constantine's splendid gold medallion representing the "Porta Nigra" of Treves as a monument raised in his honour.

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of intaglio signet that could publish his devotion and admiration every time it sealed his letters, to the new fashion of ring adorned with *aureus*, a mere idle decoration of the hand.

The shortness of Æmilian's reign, indeed, precludes the idea that any complimentary memorial of the kind ever advanced beyond its being voted by the senate, who had hailed in him a deliverer from the misgovernment of Trebonian Gallus: it, nevertheless, allowed time for plans to be prepared, and that the design of our gem was a very natural one for such a testimonial to follow is evident from what Nazianzen, above cited, has remarked upon memorials of the kind. At the late period which the execution of this intaglio bespeaks, nothing in the old classical style was attempted upon gems, beyond the representation of single figures of deities; the chief business of the glyptic art having then sunk to the manufacture of barbarous talismans, emanating directly or indirectly from the superstitions of the East. Some powerful motive in the circumstances of the times must therefore have existed to stir up an artist to so ambitious a flight as the conception of the elaborate group on the gem we are considering. The events above detailed fairly account for such ambition, for the *historical* character of the design appears the more unmistakable the more we examine the details. It is only its attribution to Æmilian that seems to remain an open question; it is, therefore, left for those not convinced by the arguments above induced, to bring forward some other candidate whose history equally well suits the particulars of the picture, and whose date falls within the limits strictly marked out by other considerations.

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THE HERALDRY OF EXETER.

By F. T. COLBY, B.D.

THE City of Exeter is remarkable for its display of armoury not only within the walls of its public buildings, such as the Guildhall, but on the outside also of houses and institutions. I have attempted to collect these, as far as I could do so, under 5 heads:—1. Armorial bearings on *exteriors* of buildings; 2. The same in *interiors;* 3. Those connected with the Cathedral; 4. The heraldry of the Guildhall; and 5. A miscellaneous collection of arms of Exeter families.

(1.) ARMORIAL BEARINGS ON EXTERIORS OF BUILDINGS.

In Bedford Circus we meet with an old carved shield from Bedford House, the ancient mansion of the Russells, with angels for supporters.

Near the site of the East Gate in High Street we find a curious statue of Henry VII., in a long flowing robe, with his shield of arms, dragon and greyhound for supporters, portcullis badge, pomegranates and other ornaments.

At the entrance of the Vicars' Close, in Cathedral Yard, we meet with the arms of Henry VII. again over the gateway, the arms of France being the old coat of France, "*semée of fleurs-de-lys.*" Below there are the arms of Bishop Oldham, "*sa., a chev. or betw. three owls ppr.; on a chief of the second, three roses gu.*"

Immediately opposite to this, on the west end of the Cathedral, we find the statue of Richard II. accompanied by a shield of arms, in which the arms of Edward the Confessor are impaled with his own; and Athelstan bears *a cross flory on a mound, surmounted with a crown*, impaling *a sword in pale and two keys in saltire.* Angels are given as supporters in both cases.

Over the doorway of Mr. Geo. Down's house we meet

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with the arms of the Chancellor of the Cathedral; viz., "*gu. a saltire arg. betw. four crosslets or.*" On another, close by, the arms of Cotton, outside, "*arg. a bend sa. betw. three pellets;*" and over an inner doorway, Bishop Oldham's arms once more.

Over the door of Mr. W. Dawson's house, formerly the residence of the Abbots of Buckfastleigh, and afterwards the property of the Rodd family, the arms of the Rodds are carved, viz., "*arg. two trefoils slipped sa., and a chief of the last,*[1] impaling *az. a saltire erm.*" (Wakeman).

In Magdalen Street, outside the Wynard Almshouses, the arms of the founder are carved in stone: "*arg. on a bend az. three mullets of the field*"; and over the doorway of Hele's school, also, opposite St. David's church, the arms of Hele, "*gu. five fusils in bend erm.*" With regard to the latter, it may be observed that on each fusil one large ermine spot has been carved, which has rather a ludicrous effect, having the appearance of a charge instead of a fur.

At Madford House, in Wonford Lane, which was built by Sir George Smith, we meet with the arms of Queen Elizabeth.

In this class it only remains to mention Livery Dole. On the front are carved the arms of the founder, Sir Thomas Dennis, "*Erm. three battle-axes gu.*" on one side, and on the other those of Rolle impaling Trefusis; "*on a fesse dancettée betw. three billets az. ea. charged with a lion ramp. of the field, as many bezants,*" and "*arg. a chev. betw. three wharrow-spindles sa.*"

Over the gateway, at the back, are the arms of Dennis, with the following quarterings; Dabernon, Gifford, Brewer, Bockerell, Christenstow, Goboldsley, Childersley, Dunn, and Godolphin.

1. Dennis, as before.
2. *Arg., a cross moline, and on a chief. az. three estoiles or.* Dabernon.
3. *Sa., three fusils fesse erm.* Gifford.
4. *Gu., two bends wavy or.* Brewer.
5. *Sa., two bucks pass. arg. betw. five bezants.* Bockerell.
6. *Az. a bend indented or and erm., cotised, counter-changed.* Christenstow.

[1] James Rodd, Esq. was sheriff temp. Ch. ii. There is a monument in St. Stephen's Church, his own arms being impaled with Bampfylde, "*or on a bend gu. three mullets arg.*" Crest, a Colossus of Rhodes. Date 1678.

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7. *Sa., a fesse componée gu. and or, betw. three crosses potent.* Goboldsley.

8. *Arg., on a chev. betw. three rooks' heads erased sa. three acorns or.* Childersley.

9. *Az., a unicorn ramp. arg., horn or, betw. eight crosses crosslet of the third.* Dunn.

10. *Gu., an eagle double-necked arg.* Godolphin, (*between three fleurs-de-lys* omitted).

There is one little curiosity which may here be noticed. In Fore Street, over the house now occupied by Mr. Thompson, chemist, there is a little figure of a man on horseback, which was the sign of the abode of a cavalier.

(2.) Armorial Bearings in Interiors.

The next division consists of Armorial Bearings to be found in interiors of private houses. These are to be found in the Bishop's Palace, where is a fine old mantelpiece of Bishop Peter Courtenay; in the Deanery; in the old mansion of the Bampfyldes (now Mr. Robert Dymond's); in that of the Courtenays (now the Devon and Exeter Institution); in the old Mayoralty House (now occupied by Messrs. Harris and Wreford); in the Apollo Room of the New Inn (now Messrs. Green and Son); in Bellair, the seat of the Rhodes family, a house built by an opulent grocer of this city called Vowler; in the old Tuckers' Hall in Fore Street, built about 1700; and in Mr. Cooper's warehouse, nearly opposite St. Olave's Church. There is one large collection of armorial bearings of this class which calls for special notice. The old house in the Cathedral Yard, now occupied by Mr. Worth, was formerly a famous coffee-house called Moll's, and in the large room over the shop will be found forty-six shields of arms. I suppose they were placed there partly for ornament and partly as a compliment to the gentlemen of the county, just as at the present day you may see engravings of the portraits of our local magnates in the coffee-room of the New London Inn. It is quite clear that at Moll's the arms are those of the *county* people as distinguished from the city. A good many of them have suffered from time and neglect, and in cases where the silver had become discoloured, gold has been substituted, without regard to the Heralds' College. A list of these arms, as far as I can make them out, is subjoined.

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1. Bishop's Palace. Mantelpiece with the arms of Bishop Peter Courtenay and the See of Exeter.

2. Courtenay House. Two shields of arms: (1.) Courtenay, quartered with Redvers, and impaling *or, a chev. betw. three griffins salient sa.*, crest, a dolphin. Supporters, a wild boar and a griffin. (2.) Arms of the See, impaling Courtenay. Supporters, a dolphin and a wild boar. Motto, "Ubi lapsus, quid feci."

3. Bampfylde House. Shield over the fireplace, carved in oak, with the arms and quarterings of Bampfylde.

1. *Or, on a bend gu. three mullets arg.* Bampfylde.
2. *Or, a maunch gu.* Hastings.
3. *Arg., a lion ramp. sa.* Huxham.
4. *Arg. on a fesse sa. three crosses crosslet or, all within a bordure az.* Faber.
5. *Arg., a bend gu. betw. three lions' heads erased sa., crowned of the second.* Pederton.
6. *Gu., semée of crosses crosslet, a lion pass. guard. arg.* Pederton.
7. *Arg., two chev. gu., over all a label az.* St. Maure.
8. *Or, semée of crosses crosslet, a lion ramp. az.* Pederton.

Over the doorway of upstairs room is another shield, giving the arms of Bampfylde impaled with those of Clifton (*sa., semée of cinquefoils, a lion ramp. arg.*). Sir Amias Bampfylde married Eliz. d. of Sir John Clifton, of Barrington (v. Visitation of Devon, 1620, p. 17).

In the hall there are six shields of painted glass in the window (*See* plate).

1. Bampfylde, but the field instead of being *or* is *arg.*

2. Bampfylde (the field being *vert*), impaling, *quarterly* 1 *and* 4 *gu. semée of crosses crosslet, a lion pass. guard. arg.* Pederton; 2 *and* 3, *arg. two chev. gu.; a label of the field.* St. Maure.

3. Bampfylde, impaling, *arg. three lions ramp. gu. within a bord. engr.* Kirkham.

4. The same as the last.

5. Bampfylde, impaling, *vert, a chev. betw. three mullets or.* Pudsey.

6. The same as (2).

4. Mayoralty House. Three shields over the fireplace:

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II.

III.

IV.

V.

VI.

Coats of Arms in a window in Bampfylde House.

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(1.) *Per chev. engr. or and sa. on three roundels three fleurs-de-lys, all counterchanged.* Mallack. (2.) Royal arms. (3.) *Az. a castle triple-towered or, standing on the waves of the sea proper; in chief two ducal coronets of the second.* Merchant Adventurers of Exeter.

5. New Inn. In the Apollo Room, where the Exeter Lodge of Freemasons held their meetings, are some shields of arms which have been described by Dr. Oliver and Mr. Pitman Jones. They are: (1.) Royal arms; (2.) City of Exeter; (3.) Calmady; (4.) Prestwood; (5.) Acland; (6.) Radcliffe; (7.) Hillerdon. The last I could not make out myself, owing to the light, and I was not quite satisfied about it.

6. Bellair. The arms of the Rhodes family will be found over the drawing-room door: *arg. a lion pass. guard. gu. betw. two acorns ppr. on a bend az. cotised ermines.*

7. Cooper's Warehouse. There is an old carved oak ceiling with some coats of arms: (1.) *Three talbots' heads.* Hull of Larkbear. (Hen. Hull, Mayor, 1588.) (2.) *Three stags' heads.* (3.) *A horse courant.*

8. Moll's Coffee House. Shields round the walls of upper room:

1. *Sa., three swords in pile arg.* Pawlet.

2. *Quarterly gu. and or.* Say (Lord Say).

3. *Quarterly,* 1 *and* 4, *or, a lion ramp. sa.* (*az.?*) Brabant. 2 *and* 3, *gu. three pikes or luces* 2 *and* 1 *or.* Lucy (Duke of Northumberland).

4. *Gu.* (*or?*) *a lion ramp. within a bord. engr. or* (*gu.?*) Pomeroy.

5. *Or, on a bend sa., three bucks' heads of the field.*

6.[1] ?

7. *Barry or, and sa., and on a chief quarterly or and sa. four fleurs-de-lys or.*

8. *Checquy or* (*arg.?*); *sa., a fesse gu.* Acland.

9. *Or, a cross engr. gu. betw. four water-bougets sa.* Bourchier.

10. *Sa., a cross engr. betw. four martlets arg.*

11. *Or* (*arg?*), *a lion ramp. gu.; on a chief sa., three escallops of the field.* Russell.

[1] Some of the shields are in such a bad state that the arms cannot be made out at all, and in other cases must remain doubtful.

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12. *Sa., three lions ramp. or, within a bordure comp. or, and gu.*

13. *Gu., two lions combatant or?*

14. *Or, a fesse gu. (two bars gu.?), and in chief three torteauxes.* Mules.

15. *Quarterly or and gu., over all a bend vairée or and sa.*

16. *Barry or and sa.?*

17. *Or, fretty sa. (sa. fretty or?)* Bellew?

18. *Gu., five fusils in bend or (arg.?).* Raleigh.

19. *Gu. a chev. or —?*

20. *?*

21. *Or, a chev. betw. three mullets sa.*

22. *Az. on a bend, betw. two escallops or, a Cornish chough ppr.* Petre.

23. *Or, three torteauxes.* Courtenay.

24. *Gu., a chev. or (arg.?)* Fulford.

25. *Barry nebulée or and sa.* Blount.

26. *Checquy or and gu., a chief vair.* Chichester.

27. *Erm., three battle-axes gu.* Dennis.

28. *Or, three lioncels pass. in pale sa.* Carew.

29. *Sa., a fesse wavy betw. two estoiles arg.* Drake.

30. *Or (arg.?), on a chev. sa., three roses of the field.* Gilbert.

31. *Or, a double-headed eagle? debruised with a fesse az. within a bord. sa., bezantée.*

32. *Gu., a chev. betw. three suns or?*

33. *Gu., a saltire vair betw. twelve billets.* Champernowne.

34. *?*

35. *Gu., two wings conjoined in lure or?* Seymour.

36. *Or, on a bend gu., three mullets of the field (arg.?).* Bampfylde.

37. *?*

38. *Or (arg.?), a chev. betw. three mullets gu.* Broughton.

39. *— three fusils in fesse gu.*

40. *Or (arg.?), three lions ramp. within a bord. gu.* Kirkham.

41. *Arg.? three crescents within a bord. gu.*

42. *Az.? three pears or.* Calmady.

43. *Gu., a chev. engr. betw. three leopards' faces or.* Periam.

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44. *Or, a chev. betw. three double-headed eagles displd. s t. (vert.?).* Bluett.

45. *Or, upon a chev. gu. betw. three herons' heads couped sa. three trefoils of the field.*

46. *Or, a chev. gu.* Stafford.

(3.) Heraldry of the Cathedral.

The heraldry of the Cathedral comes next in order. I have not empted to give a complete collection of all the arms whic may be found on various monuments and windows, but the arms of the Bishops are given according to Oliver, who himself followed Izacke and Westcote, making a few additions and verbal alterations.

The arms of the See are *gu., a sword erect in pale arg., pommelled and hilted or, surmounted by two keys in saltire of the last.*

Dean. *Az., a stag's head cabossed and ensigned with a cross pâtée fitchée arg.*

Precentor. *Arg., on a saltire az., a fleur-de-lys or.*

Chancellor. *Gu., a saltire arg., betw. four crosslets or.*

Treasurer. *Gu., a saltire engr. betw. four leopards', heads or.*

Bishops.

Leofric. 1050-71-2. *Or, a cross fleurie sa., having in the fesse point a mitre ppr.* (Monument in Cath. erected in 1568.)

Osbern. 1072-1103. *Gu., a bend. arg., surmounted by a fesse or.*

Warelwast. 1107-1137. *Az., a saltire or.* (Izacke.) But acc. to Westcote, *Per pale gu. and or; in the 1st, two keys pale-wise of the second; the 2nd charged with a sword point in point of the field (sic).*

Chichester. 1138-1155. *Chequy or and gu., a chief vair.*

Warelwast. 1155-1160. As before.

Bartholomew. 1161-1184. *Party per pale gu. and sa., six dolphins naiant arg.* (Izacke.) *Per pale sa. and arg., six dolphins transmuted.* (Westcote.)

John. 1186-1191. *Arg., a cross sa.; a chief of the second.*

Marshall. 1194-1206. *Or, a lion ramp. gu. within a*

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bord. az., mitred of the first. (Izacke.) *Per pale, or and vert, a lion ramp., armed and langued, gu. within a bord. charged with mitres ppr.* (Westcote.)

SIMON DE APULIA. 1214-1223. *Az., three mitres or,* 2 *and* 1. (Izacke.) *Maculy or, and sa.* (Westcote.)

BRUERE. 1224-1244. *Gu., two bends wavy or.*

BLONDY. 1245-1257. *Lozengy or, and sa.* (Izacke.) *Az., three bishops' mitres ppr.* (Westcote.)

BRONESCOMBE. 1257-1280. *Or, upon a chev. betw. two keys erect in chief and a sword erect in base sa., three cinquefoils of the field of the second.* (Monument in Cath.)

QUIVILL. 1280-1291. *Az., a cross arg., betw. two roses in chief and two fleurs-de-lys, in base, or.*

BYTTON. 1292-1307. *Erm. a fesse gu.*

STAPLEDON. *Arg. two bends wavy sa.* (Monument in Cath.)

BERKLEYE. 1326-1327. *Gu., a chev. betw. ten crosses fitchée or.* (Westcote.) *Arg.* (Izacke.)

GRANDISSON. 1327-1369. *Paly of six, arg. and az., a bend gu., charged with a mitre betw. two eaglets displ. or.*

BRANTYNGHAM. 1370-1394. *Sa., a fesse crenellée betw. three Catherine wheels or.*

STAFFORD. 1395-1419. *Or, a chev. gu.;* his addition, *entoyred with bishops' mitres ppr.* (Monument in Cath.)

KETERICK. 1419. *Arg., on a fesse engr. sa., three trefoils or.*

CARY. *Arg., on a bend sa., three roses of the field.* Westcote says, "to him, for distinction, was added *a bord. entoyred with mitres ppr.*"

LACY. 1420-1455. *Az., three Shovellers' heads erased arg.* (On the wall in Cath.)

NEVYLL. 1456-1464. *Gu., a saltire arg.* To this Westcote adds, "*a file of three, gobonated arg. and az.:* his mother's coat, *arg., three lozenges in fesse gu.* Yet there is set for him, *gu., three lozenges in fesse arg., within a bord. or.*"

BOOTH. 1465-1478. *Arg., three boars' heads erased, erect sa., in chief a label of three points gu.*

COURTENAY. 1478-1487. *Or, three torteauxes in chief, a label of three points az., charged,* says Westcote, *with nine plates.*

FOX. 1487-1491. *Az., a pelican in her piety. or.*

KING. 1492-5. *Arg., on a chev. sa., three escallops of the field.*

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REDMAYN. 1496-1501. *Gu., three cushions arg.* (Izacke.) *Erm.* according to Westcote, *and tasselled or.*

ARUNDELL. 1502-1504. *Sa., six swallows, three, two, and one, arg.*

OLDHAM. 1504-1519. *Sa., a chev. or, betw. three owls ppr.; on a chief of the second three roses gu.* (Monument in Cath.)

VEYSEY, alias HARMAN. 1519-1551. *Arg., a cross sa. charged with a buck's head couped betw. four doves arg., and on a chief az., a cross fleurie,* according to Westcote; *a crosslet,* (Izacke) *betw. two roses or.*

COVERDALE. 1551-1554. *Quarterly, per fesse indented gu. and or, in chief a rose betw. two fleurs-de-lys; in base a fleur-de-lys betw. two roses, all counterchanged.*

VEYSEY. Restored. 1553-4. As before.

TURBERVILLE. 1555-1559. *Erm., a lion ramp. gu., crowned or, langued and armed az.* (Izacke.) *Arg., a lion ramp. gu., crowned or.* (Westcote.)

ALLEY or ALLEIN. 1560-1570. *Az., a pale engr. erm. betw. two lions ramp. arg., langued and armed gu.* (Izacke.) *Az., a pale betw. two lions ramp. erm. crowned or.* (Westcote.)

BRADBRIDGE. 1571-1578. *Az., a pheon arg.* (Monument in Cath.)

WOTTON. 1579-93-4. *Arg., a lion ramp. supporting a saltire engr. gu.*

BABINGTON. 1594-1597. *Arg., ten torteauxes, four, three, two, and one; and in chief a label of three points az.*

COTTON. 1598-1621. *Arg., a bend sa. betw. three ogresses.* (Monument in Cath.)

CARY. 1621-6. As before.

HALL. 1627-41. *Sa., three talbots' heads erased arg.* (Monument in Cath.)

BROWNRIGG. 1642-59. *Arg., a lion ramp. sa., gouttée or, langued and armed gu., betw. three crescents of the last.*

GAUDEN. 1660-2. *Az., a chev. betw. three leopards' faces or.*

WARD. 1662-7. *Az., a cross fleurie or.*

SPARROW. 1667-76. *Erm., three roses arg., seeded or.*

LAMPLUGH. 1676-88. *Or, a cross fleurie sa.* (Hatchment in St. Thomas's and St. Kerrian's Churches, F.N.)

TRELAWNEY. 1688-1707. *Arg., a chev. sa.*

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BLACKALL. 1707-16. *Arg., a greyhound courant sa. collared or; on a chief dancettée of the second three bezants.*

BLACKBURNE. 1716-24. *Arg., a fesse nebulée betw. three mullets pierced sa.*

WESTON. 1724-41. *Arg., a cross calvary gu., and on a chief az. three bezants.* (Monument in Cathedral.)

CLAGGETT. 1742-6. *Erm., on a fesse sa., three pheons or.*

LAVINGTON. 1746-62. *Arg., a saltire gu.; on a chief of the second three boars' heads couped or.* (Monument in Cath.)

KEPPEL. 1763-77. *Gu., three escallops arg.*

ROSS. 1778-92. *Gu., three water-bougets arg.*

BULLER. 1792-6. *Sa., on a cross arg., quarter pierced of the field, four eaglets displayed of the first.*

COURTENAY. 1797-1803. *Or, three torteauxes.*

FISHER. 1803-1807. *Sa., on a mound of turf ppr., two stags salient, respectant arg. collared and chained or.*

PELHAM. 1807-1820. *Az., three pelicans arg., vulning themselves in the breast gu.*

CAREY. 1820-30. *Arg., on a bend sa., three roses of the field, and on a chief gu., two crosses pâtée or.* (Monument in Cath.)

BETHELL. 1830. *Arg., on a chev. betw. three boars' heads couped sa. an estoile or.*

PHILLPOTTS. 1831-69. *Gu., a cross arg. betw. four swords erect of the last, pommels and hilts or.*

TEMPLE. 1869. *Quarterly,* 1 *and* 4 *or, an eagle displayed sa.,* 2 *and* 3, *two bars sa., each charged with three martlets or.*

(4.) THE HERALDRY OF THE GUILDHALL.

The late Dr. Oliver examined the shields of arms in the Guildhall and made a list of them, which was that of Hollingshed, with such alterations as represented the then existing state of things. I have compared Dr. Oliver's list with the actual shields, and in some few instances I find there is *not* that variation between Hollingshed and the present shields which Dr. Oliver notices, whilst one shield mentioned as still remaining no longer exists. I have corrected some of these small inaccuracies, made a few

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verbal alterations, and have added notes giving the names and dates of Mayors, Recorders, and benefactors, from which will be seen the reasons why the several coats of arms were inserted. Where the arms are incorrect, I have also given notes to call attention to the circumstance. The same thing seems to have taken place here as at the Coffee House,—viz., the substitution of gold for silver, where the latter had become tarnished. On this and on other accounts it would be necessary to revise the shields very carefully, if they were ever repainted. There are some few about which there is no certainty, and for the insertion of which the reason is not apparent, whilst some others are unaccountably absent. Besides the shields round the hall, a window full of armorial bearings of the later Mayors has recently been inserted, an account of which I have given below.

Arms in the Guildhall.

Over the Mayor's seat *England and France quartered*, under which is the *crown and double rose.*

On the right of the Mayor's seat were the arms of the city of Exeter *Per pale gu. and sa., a castle triple-towered with a portcullis or.* The space is now occupied by the arms of the Company of Brewers.

3. Dennis. *Erm. three battle-axes erect gu.* (Sir Thomas Dennis, Recorder, benefactor, 1513) v. Izacke, pp. 107, 116.

4. Moore. *Erm. on a bend sa. (now a chev. az.) three cinquefoils or.* (John Moor, Esq., R. 1454.)

5. Colshull. *Checquy, or and sa., on a chief arg., five goutes.* (John Colshill, Mayor, 1493.)

6. Hooker. *Quarterly of six.* 1. *Or, a bar vairée arg. and sa., betw. two lions pass. guard. of the last.* Vowell. 2. *Gu., upon a fesse engr. arg. betw. three cinquefoils or two fleur-de-lys az.* Hooker. 3. *Erm.* (now *arg.*), *on a chief az., three birdbolts arg.* Bolter. 4. *Sa., a chev. betw. three bunches of daisies arg.* Druell. 5. *Arg., a chev. betw. three billets gu.* Kelly. 6. *Gu., a chev. arg., betw. three garbs or.* Comyns? (John Hooker, Mayor, 1487-90. John Hooker, Chamberlain. 1554.)

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7. CAWOODLEY. *Az., a pair of wings in lure arg., debruised by bar gu.* (John Cawoodley, Mayor, 1495, Tho. C. 1467.)

8. DUKE. *Per fesse arg. and az., three chaplets counter-changed.* (William Duke, Mayor, 1456-60.)

9. BLUNDELL. *Paly wavy of six, erm. and gu.;—arg. and gu.?*)

10. SHILLINGFORD. *Arg., a bend gu., a label of five points az.* (John Shillingford, Mayor, 1419-28-9. 1444, 6-7, v. Iz. p. 79.)

11. HULL. *Sa., a chev. betw. three talbots' heads erased arg., langued gu.* (Henry Hull, Mayor, 1403, John Hull, Mayor, 1427,-30,-37,-45.)

12. FITZHENRY. *Arg., a cross engr. sa.* (This was formerly Hele.) (Roger Fitzhenry, Mayor, 1216,-20,-22, -26,-29,-35,-58.)

13. SPICER. *Per pale sa. and gu., three castles triple-towered in bend or, betw. two cotises and a bord. engr. erm.* (John Spicer, Mayor, 1353,-54,-57,-59,-60.) (Monuments in St. Martin's Ch.)

14. LEVERMORE. *Arg., a fesse cotised sa., betw. three tufts of leaves vert.* (now *pine-apples ppr.*) (Morris Levermore, Mayor, 1555.)

15. HELE. *Arg., a bend of five fusils gu.* (John Hele, Esq., Recorder, 1593.)

16. DREW. *Arg., a lion pass. gu.* (Edw. Drew, Esq., Recorder, 1592.)

17. TOTHILL. *Az., on a bend arg., cotised or, a lion sa.* (Geoff. Tothill, Recorder, 1563.)

18. CHARLES. *Per fesse wavy gu. and erm. in chief an eagle displ. or* (now destroyed). (John Charles, Esq., Recorder, 1558.)

19. STURE. *Or* (now *arg.*), *a star of eight points sa.* (Edm. Sture, Esq., Recorder, 1554.)

20. HARRIS. *Sa., three crescents within a bord. arg.* (John Harris, Esq., Recorder, 1544.)

21. WYNARD. *Arg., on a bend az., three mullets of the field* (now, *arg., a chev. az., betw. three mullets gu.*) (Wm. Wynard, Esq., Recorder, 1404, benefactor.)

22. HOLLAND. *Az., a lion salient guard. betw. five fleurs-de-lys arg.* (now *within a bord. arg.*) (Roger Holland, Esq., Recorder, 1498.)

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23. DOWRISH. *Arg., a bend cotised within a bord. sa.* (Tho. Dowrish, Esq., Recorder, 1468.)

24. HEXT. *Or, a castle triple-towered betw. three battle-axes sa.* (Tho. Hext, Esq., Recorder, 1482.)

25. HUNT. *Az., upon a bend betw. two water bougets or, three leopards' faces gu.* (Tho. Hunt, Mayor, 1517.)

26. HUDDISFIELD. *Arg., a bar betw. three boars passant, with a crescent for diff. sa.* (Wm. Huddisfield, Esq., Recorder, 1479.)

27. GANDY. *Gu., three saltires, arg.* (now *or*); formerly Somaster, *arg., a castle triple-towered betw. four fleurs-de-lys sa.* (Henry Gandy, Mayor, 1666).

28. CROSSING. *Or, upon a chev. az., three bezants betw. three crosses crosslet fitchée gu.* (formerly Weekes, *erm. three battle-axes sa.*) (Hugh Crossing, Mayor, 1620. Thos. C., 1624.)

29. WALKER. *Az., a griffin segreant armed and langued within a bord. engr. or.* (formerly Newcombe). (Tho. Walker, Mayor, 1614-67. Monument with arms in St. Mary Arches Church.)

30. Query GRAY? *Or, upon a bend az., three martlets arg.;* (now *quarterly: 1 and 4, sa. a chev. betw. three martlets or, five goutes; 2 and 3 arg., a chev. betw. three crosses crosslet gu.* (John Gray, Mayor, 1399).

31. BURGOIN. *Az., a talbot pass. or, langued and collared gu., chained or.* (William Burgoin, Esq., Recorder, 1496.)

32. TICKELL. *Erm., on a chief indented gu., three crowns or.* (W. Tickell, Chamberlain, 1601.)

33. KITSON. *Sa., three fishes hauriant arg., a chief or;* now, *gu., three fishes hauriant arg.*

34. BATTISHULL. *Az., a cross crosslet saltirewise betw. four owls or.* (Martin Battishull, Mayor, 1370.)

35. DUPORT. *Barry of six or, and sa.* (now *az.*), *a saltire within a bord. both engr. or.* (Alfred Duport, Mayor, 1269,-75,-76,-78,-80,-81,-83,-84, v. Izacke, p. 22.)

36. Query BRADSTONE? *Arg., a chev. betw. three boars' heads couped sa.*

37. NOBLE. *Or, two flaunches, upon a fesse sa., betw. two lions pass. az., incensed gu., three bezants;* now: *arg., two flaunches sa., on a fesse betw. two lions pass. incensed sa. three bezants.* (Robert Noble, Mayor, 1358, v. Iz. p. 51.)

38. Query CHALONS? *Or, two bars betw. an orle of*

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martlets gu.; now Bridport, *or, a bend az. betw. six double roses gu.* (Rob. Bridport, Mayor, 1349,-50,-1,-2.)

39. OXENHAM? *Erm., a bar betw. three crescents gu.*, now Bampfylde, *or, on a bend az., three mullets of the field.* (Tho. Bamfield, Esq., Recorder, 1654.)

40. Query HELION? *Or, on a bend sa., three martlets arg.* (now *arg. a fesse betw. three crescents gu.*)

41. Query GOULD? *Per pale arg. and sa., a lion salient gu., within a bord. counterchanged.* (James Gould, Mayor, 1648, v. Iz. p. 160. This shield is not in existence.)

To the left of the Mayor's seat.

1. SMITH. *Sa., a fesse cotised betw. three martlets or.* (Sir Geo. Smith, Mayor, 1607.)

2. PERIAM. *Gu., a chev. engr. betw. three leopards' faces or.* (Will. Peryam, Mayor, 1532.)

3. HURST. *Or, an estoile of eight points wavy gu.* Will. Hurst, Mayor, 1524,-35,-45,-51,-61; benefactor.

4. POLLARD. *Or, a chev. sa., betw. three mullets* (now *escallops*) *gu.* (Lewis Pollard, Esq., Recorder, 1548.)

5. TUCKER. *Barry wavy of twelve az. and arg., upon a chev. crenellée or, betw. three sea-horses sa.* (*now or*), *finned and maned of the third, five goutes de poix* (goutes now omitted). (Geo. Tucker, Mayor, 1638.)

6. PRESTWOOD. *Sa., a lion salient* (now *ramp.*) *betw. two flaunches or.* (Tho. Prestwood, Mayor, 1544,-50.)

7. PRIDEAUX. *Quartered with* Roach, 1 *and* 4, *or, a chev. sa. and a label gu.*; 2 *and* 3, *three roaches*, 2 *and* 1, *naiant, or.* (Edm. Prideaux, Esq., Recorder, 1648.)

8. BULLER. *Or, on a cross sa. pierced of the field four eagles disp. of the second.* (Rob. Buller, Mayor, 1528. John B., 1558. Hatchment in St. Thomas's Church, with crest, a Saracen's head couped ppr. and motto, "Aquila non capit muscas.")

9. ARMS OF THE JOINERS.

10. HILL, of Hill's Court. *Gu., a saltire vair.* (now *arg.*) *betw. four mullets pierced arg.* (now *or*). (Edw. Hill, steward, 1673.)

11. BALL. *Arg., a chev. gu. betw. three fire balls sa., fusèed gu.* (Peter Ball, Esq., Recorder, 1632.)

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12. NEWCOMBE. *Arg., a fesse crenellée, in chief three escallops sa.* (now *gu*). (Will. Newcombe, Mayor, 1612.)

13. THE TAILORS' COMPANY.

14. HUTCHINSON. *Per pale az. and gu., a lion ramp. arg., semée with twelve crosses crosslet or* (now, *sa. a lion ramp. or, betw. fifteen crosses crosslet or*).

15. WHITE. *Gu., on a canton erm. a lion salient* (now *ramp.*) *sa. within a bord. of the last charged with stars arg.* (now *or*). (Walter White May, 1646; but I think the true arms are on a hatchment in St. Kerrian's Church; v. p. 261.)

16. GERVIS. *Arg., six ostrich feathers in pile three, two and one sa.* (Walter Gervis, Mayor, 1217. Tho. G. 133. v. Iz. p. 13.)

17. BERRYMAN. *Arg., a chev. betw. three talbots sa.* (Wm. Berryman, steward, 1537.)

18. BONVILLE. *Sa., six mullets, or, three, two and one, pierced.* (William Lord Bonville, benefactor.)

19. GILBERT. *Or, on a chev. sa. three roses of the field.* (Monument in St. Paul's Church; John Gilbert, benef., 1539.)

20. CHAMPNEYS. *Or, a lion salient* (now *ramp.*) *within a bord. engr. gu.* (Walter Champneys, Mayor, 1502.)

21. AMERIDETH. *Gu., a lion ramp. reguard. or.*

22. ATWILL. *Arg., a chev. sa., a pile in point counterchanged.* (John Atwill, Mayor, 1476; v. Iz. p. 91.)

23. *Barry of ten, or and gu., with an annulet for diff. of the last.*

24. PETRE. *Gu. upon a bend or betw. two escallops ar. a Cornish chough ppr. betw. two cinquefoils az., upon a chief of the second a double rose betw. two demi fleurs-de-lys of the first.* (John Peter, Mayor, 1557.)

25. DUCKENFIELD. *Arg., a cross sarcellée sa., voided of the field.* (Ralph Duckenfield, benefactor, 1576.)

26. HAYDON. *Arg., three bars gemelles sa., on a chief. gu., a bar dancettée or.* (John Haydon, of Cadhay, benefactor, 1590.)

27. PLEA. *Per pale az., and gu., a lion pass.* (now *ramp.*) *arg., crowned or, with a label of three points az. for diff.* (Rob. Pleigh, receiver, 1335.)

28. ——— *Barry of eight sa., upon a chief gu. three leopards' faces or.*

29. Weavers and Fullers. 30. Glovers. 31. Bakers.

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32. Haberdashers. 33. Query Armourers? 34. Coopers. 35. Butchers.

Corrections.

4. Ought to be as at present. (Moore.)

6. In the third quartering the field ought to be "*ermine*," as originally. The last quartering ought to be: "*gu., a chev. erm. betw. three leopards' faces or.*" (Wilford.)

7. "*Az., two wings conjoined arg., over all on a fess gu. three bezants.*" (Cawoodley.)

14. Substitute "*tufts of grass*" for "*pine-apples.*" (Levermore.)

15. "*Gu., five fusils in bend erm.*" (Hele.)

16. The field should be "*erm.*" as originally. (Drew.)

19. The field should be "*or*," as orig. In the Visitation the arms are "*arg., a bend sa., and in chief a file of three points gu.*" (Sture.)

21. As originally. (Wynard.)

23. The bordure ought to be engrailed. (Dowrish.)

24. "*Az., on a bend betw. two water bougets or, three leopards' faces gu.*" (Hunt.)

25. The saltires should be "*arg.*" (Gandy.)

26. "*Or, on a chev. az., betw. three crosses crosslet fitchée gu., three bezants.*" (Crossing.)

29. "*Az. a griffin segreant per fesse or, and arg. within bord. engr. erm.*" (Walker.)

31. The talbot should be "*arg.*" (Burgoin).

37. As originally. (Noble.)

38. As originally. (Bridport.)

39. "*Or, on a bend az., three mullets arg.* (Bampfylde.)

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1. The martlets should be "*or.*" (Smith.)

3. The field should be "*arg.*" (Hurst.)

4. "*Arg., a chev. sa., betw. three escallops gu.*" (Pollard.)

5. The sea-horses to be "*or.*" (Tucker.)

6. The lion to be "*ramp.*" (Prestwood.)

7. 1 and 4 the field should be "*arg.*" (Prideaux.) 2 and 3 "*az., three roaches in pale arg.*" (Roach.)

8. The field should be "*arg.*" (Buller.)

9. "*Gu., a saltire vair betw. four mullets arg.*" (Hill.)

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12. "*Arg., a fesse embattled betw. two escallops in pale sa.*" (Newcombe.)

14. "*Lion ramp. arg.*" (Hutchinson.)

18 The mullets should be "*arg.*" (Bonville.)

19. The field should be "*arg.*" (Gilbert.)

20. The field should be "*arg.,*" and the bord. "*sa.*" (Champneys.)

Arms in the Window.

1. *Quarterly of six.* 1. *Arg., upon a bend betw. six mullets gu., charged with a cross potent or.* 2. *Arg., a tree vert within a bord. gu.* 3. *Or, upon a fesse betw. three falcons az., three bezants.* 4. *Az., a chev. betw. three arrows or.* 5. *Erm., on a bend or three acorns vert.* 6. *Erm., on a bend sa. three acorns or.* John Chilwell De la Garde.

2. *Arg., a chev. betw. three magpies.* William Kingdon.

3. *Arg., a fesse componée az., and arg., betw. three crescents gu.* Christopher Arden.

4. Quarterly. 1. *Or, a lion ramp. gu., debruised by a bend az. charged with three bezants.* 2. *Sa., a fesse betw. two daggers arg.* 3. *Arg., a chev. betw. three—? sa.* 4 *as* 1. William Buckingham.

5. Kingdon, *as above.*

6. *Or, on a fesse gu., betw. three falcons close az., as many bezants.* Hooper.

7. *Sa., a chev. erm. betw. three bulls' heads cabossed or.* Sanders.

8. *Quarterly.* 1 *and* 4 *arg., a wyvern with wings displayed and tail nowed gu.,* 2 *and* 3 *or, a chief indented erm.* Drake.

9. *Arg., a fesse az., and in chief two eagles displayed gu.* (according to Lysons, *in base an annulet gu., through which a slip of olive and another of palm in saltire*). Kennaway.

10. *Gu. a chev. betw. three escallops arg.* Woolmer.

11. Hooper, as before.

12. *Az., a bend betw. two dolphins or.* Franklin.

13. *Az., a fesse erminois betw. three unicorns pass. arg., a canton or.* Wilkinson.

14. *Per pale az., and gu., upon a fesse, betw. two chevrons arg., three horseshoes sa.* Brutton.

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15. *Per pale az. and sa., a chev. embattled betw. two roses in chief and a cross potent or, in base.* Cornish.

16. *Arg., a chev. az., betw. three dolphins naiant sa.* Kendall.

17. *Or., three lions pass. in pale sa.* Carew.

18. *Quarterly.* 1 *and* 4 *arg., a chev. betw. three moor-cocks sa.,* 2 *and* 3 *erm., three battle-axes gu.* W. Denis-Moore.

19. *Arg., on a pile gu., a chev. between three crosses crosslet arg.* Daw.

20. *Az., three leopards' heads couped or.* Barnes.

21. *Sa., a chev. erm. betw. three fers-de-moline or, and on a chief arg., a lion pass. gu.* Turner.

22. *Arg., upon a chev. az., betw. two chaplets in chief and a stork in base or, charged with an escallop of the field betw. two martlets or* (*sic.*) Shapter.

23. *Quarterly.* 1 *and* 4 *sa., billettée arg., a cross fleurie of the last.* 2 *and* 3 *or, on a chief az., three martlets of the field.* Norris.

(24.) *Per fesse nebulée az. and arg., three antelopes' heads counterchanged.* Snow.

In the foregoing list of Arms in the Guildhall I have added some references to Izacke's Antiquities of Exeter, a book which gives many curious particulars and biographical details. I will just take one or two instances. We get at p. 107 an account of Sir Thomas Dennis, Recorder. We are told that he lived in the distinct reigns of seven Kings and Queens, viz.: Edward IV., Richard III., Henry VII., Henry VIII., Edward VI., Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth; that he was domestic servant to Henry VII., one of the Privy Council to Henry VIII., Chancellor to Queen Anne of Cleves, Custos Rotulorum of Devon, and lastly seven times Sheriff of the said county, and once two years together, contrary to the statute of 23 Henry VI. 8, whereby he forfeited two hundred pounds to the King and the informer, a moiety to each, wherewith he acquainted the King, who ordered his attorney-general to file an information against him for the same, and had judgment thereon, which the King pardoned and the informer released by acknowledging satisfaction on record.

Of Robert Noble, Mayor in 1346, we are told that he had a beautiful daughter named Helen, who was beleaguered by lovers, insomuch that she might justly with the poet

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complain, "In me turba ruunt luxuriosa proci." But she, bidding defiance to them all, resolving with herself to die a virgin, by leading a single life, one of the number despairing of any success in his suit, bestowed on her this encomium:

"As noble Helen was the cause
Of ten years' war in Troy:
So Helen Noble is the cause
Of this my great annoy."

John Atwill, Mayor in 1483, "was Mayor of this city five several times, and did bear the office of magistracy in the reigns of four successive kings, namely, Edward IV., Edward V., Richard III. and Henry VII. Three of them came to this city and were very honourably entertained. As saith a native hereof,

Tempore quinque suo regnantes ordine vidit,
Horum eirenarcha ad quatuor ille fuit."

I now pass on to give a list of the names which are omitted, some of which seem highly deserving of memorial, either on account of the eminence of their family in the county, or of their own exertions and distinction.

Mayors.—John Kelly. 1477.
Rich. Orenge. 1454. v. Iz. p. 82.
Roger Worth. 1482.
Rob. Russell. 1485.
Hen. Hamlyn. 1538. v. Iz. p. 119.
Geo. Waltham. 1613.
John Prowse. 1619.
Thos. Flay. 1630.
John Hakewill. 1643. v. Iz. p. 153.
Sir Hugh Crocker. 1643. v. Iz. p. 22.
John Acland. 1627-66.
Nich. Izacke. 1665.
Sir Benj. Oliver. 1670.
Tho. Copleston. 1719.

Recorders.—Sir Edw. Seymour.
Nich. Ducke. v. Iz. p. 146.
John Weeks.
Nicholas Radford.
Tho. Gibbon.

Benefactor.—Sir John Maynard.

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Izacke gives us the following interesting account of Richard Orenge :—" This mayor was a gentleman of noble parentage, descended from the family of the Orenges, who dwelt in the countries of Anjow and Mayn, and came over with Sir John Falstaff, governor of Anjou and Mayn, recovered the Castle of St. Owen, descended from Sir Guillam Orenge, then captain thereof in the 5th year of this king's reign. This Richard gave the same arms that the said Sir Guillam did, viz., 'Argent, 3 smiths' barnacles impaled gules,' who afterwards became sick, being infected with the disease of the leprosy, who notwithstanding his great birth and nobility, his wealth and ability, yet most humbly submitted himself to the good pleasure of Almighty God, and was contented to dwell among the Lazar people in St. Mary Magdalene Hospital without the south gate of the said city, where he finished his days, and lies buried in the chancel of the chappel belonging to that house."

Henry Hamlyn, Mayor in 1538, "was the first devisor that the weekly markets for wool, yarn and kersies were here erected, for the compassing whereof he waded through difficulties, not only with his dissenting brethren at first, but also with the inhabitants of the town of Crediton, who for a while did much impugn the same."

Sir Hugh Crocker, Mayor in 1627, was knighted by King Charles, after his defeat of the Earl of Essex, whilst he was lodging at Bedford House. Sir Hugh was one of the old family, whose arms were "*Argent, a chev. engr. gu. betw. three crows proper.*" One of his ancestors, Izacke says, was "sworn servant to King Edward IV. in the office of his cupbearer, who, in remuneratione servitii, gave him a cup d'or for his crest unto his said coat armoury, which to this day is still enjoyed by that family, whereof they do not a little triumph."

Nicholas Duck, Recorder, was a distinguished lawyer himself, and the brother of another even more distinguished, Dr. Arthur Duck. When the Recorder Duck was "chosen reader of Lincoln's Inn, two hogsheads of claret wine were presented him from this city, as a testimony of their respects towards him."

These are a few selected instances of eminent men whose arms do not appear in the Guildhall. I would venture to suggest that the series of shields should be carefully restored,

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and that in place of some few which are doubtful others from the above list should be substituted. Room might be made for some more by removing the arms of Companies; but if these were retained, it might be possible to find space for a second row of shields, not only adding some of the more ancient, but carrying on the series to a later date. I may also suggest, though with some hesitation, that the *order* of the shields might be changed so as to conform to the chronology. But in case of any such restoration I cannot be wrong in saying that a record should be drawn up of any changes made, and of the reasons for the retention or the insertion of all the shields.

I look upon the heraldry of the Guildhall as the central point of the heraldry of Exeter, and I trust that the preservation and completion of these ornamental relics of the past will not be thought unworthy of the attention of our authorities. Such records of civic distinction tend to throw a lustre over the offices which our worthiest members are called on to fill; they add a dignity and a grace to life, and if it should be said that they minister to vanity, the vanity is at least harmless as regards the individuals, and is certainly conducive to the common good of all. Men may well be proud of bearing rule in this ancient and venerable city. Its relative importance may have declined since the days when, according to Mr. Freeman, it probably aspired to be an independent, Imperial city; when it was "the centre of all patriotic action;" when it was placed in the same class with London, York, and Winchester; and *none other;* but it has never ceased to be the capital of the West; never failed to maintain its character for loyalty and fidelity; has never been found wanting when any great or generous undertaking was on foot; has never been shown to lack the shrewd heads and the bold spirits which distinguished the fathers of the mighty city in days of yore, and placed it in its proud position as one of the main bulwarks of the throne, one of the most important and patriotic commonwealths of this realm of England.

(5.) General Heraldry of Exeter.

In this following miscellaneous collection I have gone on the same principle as throughout the rest of this memoir, viz. to get together as many coats of arms as I could of families

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distinctly connected with Exeter, rather than to compile an armorial guide to the city by giving an account of every sepulchral monument. There remains, therefore, a good deal to be explored in the Cathedral, in the Deanery, and elsewhere perhaps. On the other hand, the arms of the great nobles of the county in the Cathedral windows are easily to be found in ordinary books of reference, and are not necessarily connected with Exeter. Many of the monuments also have been placed in the churches and in the Cathedral to the memory of persons who never resided in Exeter, and who could not in any sense be reckoned among Exeter families.

ACLAND.—*Chequy arg., and sa., a fesse gu.* Hatchment in St. Thomas's. John Acland, Mayor, 1627.

ANDREWS.—*A reaping-hook betw. two saltires.* Oliver. Monument in St. Mary Arches Church supposed to be referred to, a lady reclining, with two shields of arms, one perhaps as above; the other giving the arms of the Hamburg merchants: *barry neb. arg., and az., on a chief quarterly* 1 *and* 4 *two roses gu.* 2 *and* 3 *a lion pass. guard. or.* Tho. Andrews, Mayor, 1504–1510.

BAKER.—*Arg., on a saltire engr. sa. five escallops of the field; and on a chief of the second a lion pass. guard. of the first.* Geo. Baker, Archdeacon of Totnes. Monument in Cath.

BARING (Mount Radford).—*Az., a fesse or., in chief a bear's head proper, muzzled and ringed of the second.*

BARON.—*Gu., a chev. comp. sa. and or.* (*az. fretty or.* Burke) *betw. three garbs of the last.* Thos. Baron, Mayor, 1706. Monument in St. John's ch.

BARRETT.—*Chequy arg. and sa.* Monument in Cath.

BARTHOLOMEW.—*Arg., a chev. engr. betw. three lions ramp. sa.* Monument and window in chapel of St. John's Hospital. Robt. B., Master of the Grammar School.

BIDGOOD.—*Arg., on a chief engr. az., a tortoise or.* John B., M.D., benef. (v. Iz. p. 189). Monument in Cath.

BODLEY.—*Arg., five martlets saltirewise sa.; on a chief az. three ducal crowns or.* (Westcote.)

BOLITHO.—*A chev. betw. three fleurs-de-lys.* Tho. B., 1753, Monument in St. Stephen's ch.

BOOTH.—*Arg., three boars' heads couped sa.* Hatchm. in St. Thomas's ch.

BRADFORD.—*Sa., a cross engr. arg.* Edw. B. 1679. Monument in St. Lawrence's ch.

BRAGGE.—*Arg., a chev. vert betw. three oxen pass. sa.* Monument in Heavitree ch.

BROKING.—*Arg., a fesse wavy betw. six crosses crosslet gu.* Nich. B., Mayor, 1655. Monument in St. Mary Arches ch.

BRUTON.—*Per pale gu. and az., a fesse betw. two chev. arg.* Will. B., of Heavitree, buried in the Cathedral. Monument in St. Paul's ch.

BUCKENAM.—*Arg., a lion ramp. within a bord. engr. gu. and a mullet of the last.* Will. B., benef., Mayor, 1541. (Izacke).

BUTLER.—*Az., three covered cups or, and a chief of the last; on a canton*

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arg., a rose of the second. Monument in St. Martin's ch. John B. 1662, *vide* Iz. p. 169.

CAREW.—*Or. three lioncels pass. in pale sa.* Hatchment in St. Thomas's ch. Proprietors of Bowhill.

CEELY.—*Az., a chev. betw. three mullets or.* (*arg?*) John C., canon of Exeter, and son of Oliver C. of Plymouth. Monument in St. Mary Arches ch.

CHEEKE.—*Erm., on a chief sa. three lozenges arg.* Phineas C. 1573. Monument in St. Sidwell's ch.

COLBY.—*Az., two chevronells betw. two escallops in chief, and as many palmers' staves, saltirewise, in base, or.* F. T. Colby, of Heavitree, B.D.

COLLETON.—*Or, three stags' heads couped ppr.* Peter Colleton, High Sheriff of Exeter, 1618. (V. Visitation of 1620, p. 66.)

COLLINS.—*Sa., on a chev., between three doves arg., five goutes de sang.* Dr. C., Master of the Grammar School. Monument in St. John's Hosp. Chapel).

COOKE.—*Sa., three bends arg.* Hatchment in St. Thomas's ch. Christ. Cooke, Mayor, 1692.

COPLESTONE.—*Arg., a chev. gu. betw. three leopards' faces arg.* Crest, *a demi-lion* (*or tiger*) *gu. tufted and maned or.* Hatchment in St. Thomas's ch. Tho. C., Mayor, 1719.

CRABBE.—*Az., a chev. arg., betw. two fleurs-de-lys in chief and a crab in base or.* W. R. Crabbe, Esq., F.S.A.

CROFTON.—*Per pale indented or and az., a lion pass. guard. counter-changed.* G. Lowther Crofton, of Heavitree, Esq.

DAVY.—*Party per pale arg., and gu., a cross engr. counter-changed.* John D., thrice Mayor, and benef. d. 1600. (Izacke.)

DODDRIDGE.—*Arg., two pales wavy az., betw. nine crosses crosslet gu. three, three* and *three.* Monument in the Lady Chapel of the Cathedral, v. Izacke, p. 151, 2.

DUCK.—*Or, on a fesse wavy sa., three lozenges of the field.* Nich. D., Recorder, 1620. (Visitation, 1620, p. 98.)

DUNTZE.—*Arg., holy lamb pass. or.* Crest, *a griffin segreant or.* Hatchment in St. Thomas's ch. Acc. to Lysons, "*sa., a h. l. p. arg.*" *and crest* "*a mullet betw. two eagles' wings.*"

DURANT.—*Sa., a crosslet or;* Motto, "Beati qui durant." Window in St. Petrock's ch.

DYNHAM.—*Gu., four fusils in fesse erm., within a bord. of the last.* (Visitation, 1620, p. 100.)

EDGES.—*Sa., three swans' heads erased ppr.* Rob. E., from Ireland. Monument in St. Stephen's ch.

ELLACOT.—*Lozengy or and az. within a bord. gu.* Henry E., of Exeter. (Visitation, 1620, p. 106.)

ELWILL.—*Erm., on a chev. engr., betw. three double-headed eagles displ. gu. ea. gorged with a ducal coronet or, as many annulets of the last.* Sir John Elwill, of Exeter, Bart. 1709.

ENNIS.—Crest, *a boar pass.* Peter Ennis. Monument in St. Sidwell churchyard.

FITZRALPH.—*Barruly arg., and az., three buckles gu.* 2 *and* 1. Wm. F. benef., 1164.

FLAY.—*Erm. on a pale az., three doves arg.* impaling *sa. a chev. erm. betw. three castles or.* Tho. F., Mayor, 1630, and benef. d. 1634. Monument in Cath. (Visitation of 1620, p. 343.)

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FLOYER.—*Sa., a chev. betw. three arrows arg.* Ancient seat at Floyershayes. (Visitation, 1620, p. 343.)

FORD.—*Per fesse arg., and sa. within a bord. engr. in chief a greyhound courant, in base an owl, all counterchanged.* (V. Visn. 1620, p. 107), afterwards of Nutwell. Tho. F., Mayor, 1656.

FORTESCUE.—*Az., a bend engr. arg., cotised or.* Barth. F., benef., about 1514. (Izacke.)

FRY.—*Vert, a fleur-de-lys or, betw. three horses courant arg., bridled of the second.* Rob. F., of Exeter, mentioned by Westcote.

GEERE.—*Gu., two bars or, on ea., three mascles arg., and on a canton of the second a leopard's face of the last.* John Geere, of Heavitree. (Visitation, 1620.)

GIBBS.—*Arg., three woodbills in pale sa.* Sir Vicary G., 1750.

GIDLEY.—*Or, a castle sa. within a bord. of the last bezantée.* Barth. C. G., Mayor, 1871. (Granted 1671.)

GODWIN.—*Or, two lions pass. az.* Matt. G. Mus. Bac. Monument in Cathedral.

GORGES.—*Per chev. engr. three bezants.* Tho. G., of Heavitree, Esq. Monument in Heavitree ch. (Different from all known arms of 'Gorges.')

GOULD.—*Per saltire az. and or. a lion ramp. counterchanged.* Hatchment in St. Thomas's ch. Proprietors of Hayes.

GRANT.—*Arg. three lions ramp. az., a chief of the second.* John Grant, Archdeacon of Barnstaple and Canon of Exeter. Monument in Cath.

GRAVES-SAWLE (of Barley House).—*Az., three falcons' heads erased, 2 and 1 within a bord. or; Crest an eagle displ. or, holding in the dexter claw a staff erect ppr., thereon hoisted a pendant, forked and flowing to the sinister, gu. with an inscription "per sinum Codanum."* Carvings on the doors and window, with arms of this and allied families, in St. Thomas's ch.

GRENDON.—*Arg., two chev. gu. and a label of three points vert.* Simon, G., thrice Mayor, 1395, 1398 and 1405, and benef. 1406. (Izacke.)

GROVE.—*Erm. on a chev., engr. gu. three escallops arg.* Crest, *a talbot pass. sa.* Hugh Grove of Enford, Wilts, Esq., beheaded at Exeter, 1655. Monument in St. Sidwell's ch.

HAKEWILL.—*Or. a bend betw. six trefoils slipped purp.* John H., of Exeter, 1620. (Visitation, p. 136.)

HANCOCK (of Mount Radford).—*Gu., on a chief arg., three cocks of the field.* (Westcote.)

HARVY.—*Quarterly.* 1 *and* 4 *on a bend three trefoils slipped.* 2. *a lion ramp. within an orle of eight billets.* 3. *billetée three lions ramp.* (Anth. H. Monument in Cath.) (Visitation, 1620, p. 140.)

HAWTREY.—*Arg. betw. two bendlets, three lions pass. guard. sa., crowned or,* C. Hawtrey. Monument in Cathedral.

HEATH.—*Arg., a cross engr. betw. twelve billets gu. impaling: erm., a lion ramp. gu., crowned or, armed and langued az.* Alice Heath, benef., 1554. (Izacke.)

HENSLEY.—*Arg., a lion ramp. az., armed and langued gu.* David Hensley, clerk, benef. 1566. (Izacke.)

HERN.—*Gu. a heron or.* Will. H., clerk, benef., 1502. (Izacke.)

HOOPER.—*Gyronny of eight, or, and erm., a castle, triple-towered sa.* Phil. H., 1715. Monument in St. Martin's ch.

HULL (of Larkbear).—*Sa., a chev. betw. three talbots' heads, erased, arg.* Henry Hull, Mayor, 1605. (Westcote.)

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HUNT.—*Az., on a bend betw. two water bougets, or, three leopards' faces gu.* Tho. Hunt, Mayor, 1517, 1523, 1537. (Visitation, 1620, p. 155.)

ISAACK (of Polstor).—*Per pale az., and purp., a cross fleurie or.* Nich. Izacke, Mayor, 1665. (Visitation, 1620, p. 159.)

IVIE.—*Quarterly. 1 and 4 gu., a lion ramp. or, 2 and 3 or, a fesse engr. betw. three pellets.* Monument in St. Kerrian's ch.

JEFFERY.—*Arg., six billets sa., and on a chief of the second a lion pass. or.* Monument to Nathan S. Jeffery, Esq., in St. Lawrence's ch. Rich. Jeffery, Mayor, 1471.

KING.—*Sa., two flaunches erm., a lion ramp. betw. three ducal coronets or.* Lord Chancellor King, of Exeter.

LANGDON.—*Arg., a chev. betw. three bears' heads erased sa.* Monument in St. Paul's ch.

LANGETON.—*A chev. within a bord. mitred.* Wm. L., canon. Monument in Cathedral.

LANT.—*Per pale arg., and gu., a cross engr. counter-changed.* John L., Mayor, 1611, and benef., 1614. (Izacke, Visitation, 1620, p. 164)

LEMPRIERE.—*Gu., three eagles displ. arg.* Dr. L., Master of the Grammar School. Window in the chapel of St. John's Hospital.

LEWDAY.—*Per saltire gu. and sa., a griffin segreant or.* Sir Rich. L., Bart., 1642.

LONG.—*Sa., a lion ramp. betw. eight crosses crosslet arg., and langued gu.* Sons of Walter Long, benefrs., 1239. (Izacke.)

LYNN.—*Gu., a demi-lion ramp. arg., within a bord. sa. bezantée.* John Lynn, Mayor, 1628. (Visitation, 1620, p. 176.)

MANNERING.—*Arg., two bars gu. within a bord. engr. sa.* Oliver and Geo. benefrs. (Izacke.)

MARSHALL.—*Or, a mill-rind sa., and on a chief gules three antelopes' heads erased of the field.* Monument in St. Sidwell's ch. John M., Mayor, 1615; James M., Mayor, 1658.

MARTIN.—*Arg., two bars gu.* Will. M., Recorder; Mayor, 1590; Nich. M., Mayor, 1574, 1585, 1631; Tho. M., Mayor, 1581, 1618. (Westcote.)

MAYNE.—*Or, on a fesse sa., three escallops of the field.* Crest, *a wolf's head erased.* Monument in St. Petrock's ch.

MILLS.—*Erm., a mill-rind sa.* Window in chapel of St. John's Hosp.

MORICE.—*Gu., a lion ramp. reguard. or.* Sir W. M., Sec. of State to King Charles II.

NAPPER.—*Arg., a saltire engr. betw. four cinquefoils gu.* (Visitation, 1620, p. 197.)

NORTHMORE (of Cleve).—*Gu., a lion ramp. or, langued and armed az. crowned with an Eastern crown arg.* Crest, *a lion's head erased gu., crowned as above, charged on the neck with a rose arg., bearded and seeded ppr.* Motto, "Nec data nec dejecta." Hatchments, monuments, and window in St. Thomas's church, with arms of allied families, St. Aubyn, Walby, &c.

OLIVER.—*Erm., on a chief sa., three lions ramp. arg.* Sir Benj. O., Mayor, 1670. Monument in St. John's ch.

ORENGE.—*Arg., three smiths' barnacles in pale gu.* (v. Izacke, p. 82).

PARKER.—*Sa., a hart's face within two flaunches arg.* (Will. P., of Exeter, Westcote.) (Visitation, 1620, p. 203.)

PENNECK.—*Arg., on a chev. gu. betw. three wrens' heads erased ppr., as*

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many escallops or. Crest, *a dexter arm embowed, the hand holding a wren ppr.* Motto, "Spem pretio non emo." Proprietors of Bowhill. Brass in St. Sidwell's ch.

POTTER.—*Sa., a fesse erm., betw. three cinquefoils, or.* Ald. Geo. P. Monument in St. Stephen's ch. (Visn. of 1620, p. 218.)

PROWSE.—*Erm., three lions ramp. arg.* Richard P., Mayor, 1608, 1619. (Visn. of 1620, p. 223.)

PYNE.—*Gu., a chev. erm., betw. three pine apples or.* Monument in Heavitree ch. (Visn. 1620, p. 231.)

RADCLIFFE.—*Arg., a bend engr. sa., upon a canton of the first a horse's head of the second.* Monument in St. Thomas's ch. Jasper R., Esq.

RAILLARD.—*Gu., a pale arg., in chief a demi-griffin or.* R. R., a Swiss merchant of Exeter. Monument in Cath.

ROGERS.—*Arg., a chev. betw. three bucks trippant sa.* Monument in St. Petrock's ch.

RUDGWAY.—*Sa., two wings conjoined in lure arg.* Stephen R., benef. (Izacke.)

SHAPCOTE.—*Sa., a chev. betw. three dovecotes arg.* (Visn. 1620, p. 257. Izacke's list of Sheriffs.)

SHEERE.—*Per bend sin. indented arg., and erm., two fleurs-de-lys.* Monument in St. Petrock's ch., 1782. John S., Mayor, 1616.

SHORT.—*Gu., a griffin segreant or, and a chief erm.* John S., of Exeter. (Visn. 1620, p. 259.)

SKYNNER.—*Sa., a chev. or, betw. three griffins' heads erased arg.* Crest, *a griffin's head arg., holding in his mouth a sinister gauntlet gu.* Tho. S., Archdeacon of Totnes and Precentor Monument in Cath.

SMITH.—*Sa., a fesse barruled betw. three martlets or.* Sir Geo. S., Mayor, 1607. (Visn. 1620, p. 264. Burke's Gen. Arms.)

SPEKE.—1. *Barry of eight az., and arg., over all a double-headed eagle displ. gu.* 2. *arg. two bars az., over all an eagle displ. gu.* Sir Tho. Speke, Knt. Monument in Speke chapel, Cath.

STAPLEHILL.—*Arg., a chev. sa.* Walter S., Mayor, 1556. (Visn. 1620.)

STEVENS.—*Gu., on a bend or, three garlands vert.* John S., M.D., Canon, benef. (Izacke.)

STEVENS.—*Per chev. arg. and gu., in chief two falcons rising ppr. belled or.* Tho. Moore-Stevens, Recorder, 1820.

SYMONDS.—*Per fesse sa. and arg., a pale counter-changed, three trefoils slipped of the second.* Wm. S., of Exeter, 1620. (Visn. p. 280.)

TOMKINS.—*Az., a chev. betw. three cock pheasants or.* Monument in St. Paul's ch.

TROSSE (of Exwick).—*Gu., three cutlasses in pale arg., handles or.* (Visn. of 1620, p. 288. Arms in St. George's Clyst. ch.)

TUCKER.—*Barry wavy of ten, arg., and az., on a chev. embattled or, betw. three sea-horses naissant of the last, five goutées de poix.* Rob. T., ald. of Exeter. (Visn. 1620, p. 352.)

TUCKFIELD.—*Arg., three lozenges in fesse sa., for distinction a canton gu.* (Izacke's List of Sheriffs.)

VAUGHAN.—*Quarterly.* 1 *and* 4 *gu., three boars' heads erased in pale;* 2. *or, a lion ramp. sa.;* 3 *gu., three serpents intertwined or.* Monument in St. Lawrence's ch.

VIVIAN.—*Or, upon a chev. az., betw. three lions' heads erased ppr. as many*

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annulets of the field. Rich. V., of Exeter, merchant. Monument in S. John's ch.

WAKEMAN.—*Vert, a saltire wavy erm.* Tho. W., sheriff, 1620. (v. Visn. of 1620, p. 296.)

WALKER.—*Az., a griffin segreant arg., within a bord. engr. erm.* Tho. W., Mayor, 1614, 1628; Rob. W., Mayor, 1639. Monument in St. Mary Arches ch.

WALTHAM.—*Sa., a chev. engr. betw. three suns arg.* Geoffrey Waltham, Mayor, 1613 (v. Visn. of 1620, p.298).

WHITE.—*Arg., on a bend cotised sa., three mullets pierced or.* Hatchment in St. Kerrian's ch. Hilary W., Mayor, 1260; Walter W., Mayor, 1646.

WIGHT.—*Gu., a chev. erm. betw. three bears (?) heads couped arg.* Monument in St. Mary Arches ch. John Wight, rector.

WILLIAMS.—*Arg., a greyhound courant sa., betw. three Cornish choughs ppr.* Monument in St. Thomas's ch.

WILLOUGHBY.—*Sa., a cross engr. or.* Edw. W., dean of Exeter, 1620. (Visn. p. 306.)

WORTH.—*Erm., a double-headed eagle sa.* Monument in St. Petrock's ch., 1675 (*depressed with a bar gu.*, acc. to Westcote). Roger W., Mayor, 1482.

WOTTON.—*Arg. a saltire engr. betw. four mullets sa.* Monument in St. Thomas's ch. to Will. Wotton, 1689. Will. W., Mayor, 1321; Robert W., 1322; Rich. W., 1323.

YARD.—*Arg., a chev. gu., betw. three water-bougets sa.* Gilbert Y., Mayor, 1695. (Visn. 1620, p. 319.)

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EARTHWORKS IN BRECKNOCKSHIRE.

By G. T. CLARK.

THERE are two earthworks in the north-eastern quarter of this county, about ten miles west of Builth, which, from their peculiarity, deserve notice. They are unlike the usual hill camps of the district, being less lofty in position, much smaller in area, and of a regular outline.

One is placed upon the southern and higher end of a ridge, perhaps 250 or 300 ft. above the valleys at its foot, of which that to the north-west is occupied by the Cammarch, and that to the south by the Cnyffiad, two streams which meet below the point of the hill in the meads of Dolaeron, where also they receive the Annell, and their combined waters fall, a little lower down, into the Yrfon, an important tributary of the Wye. This earthwork is, on the Ordnance Map, designated FFOREST, but the name by which it is locally known is CAER-AERON. It is composed of a central tump, a fosse nearly surrounding it, and a bank upon the outer margin or counterscarp of the fosse. The tump is about 42 ft. north and south by 36 ft. east and west, rather oval therefore than circular, though this is probably from mere irregularity of construction. In height above the surface it is about 12 ft., and it is hollow. The hollow is rather rectangular than round, and about 5 ft. deep. On the north-east side the bank is rather lower, as though for an entrance.

The outer slope of the tump rests on the inner edge or scarp of a ditch cut in the rock, about 4 ft. deep, and 7 ft. wide. No tool-marks are visible, the rock weathering to a rough surface, but the fosse has wall sides, and was evidently hewn with tools. This fosse surrounds about one-fifth of the tump, ceasing on the west side, where it is less necessary, the ground falling steeply towards the Cammarch. Outside, and on the edge of the fosse, is the bank already mentioned

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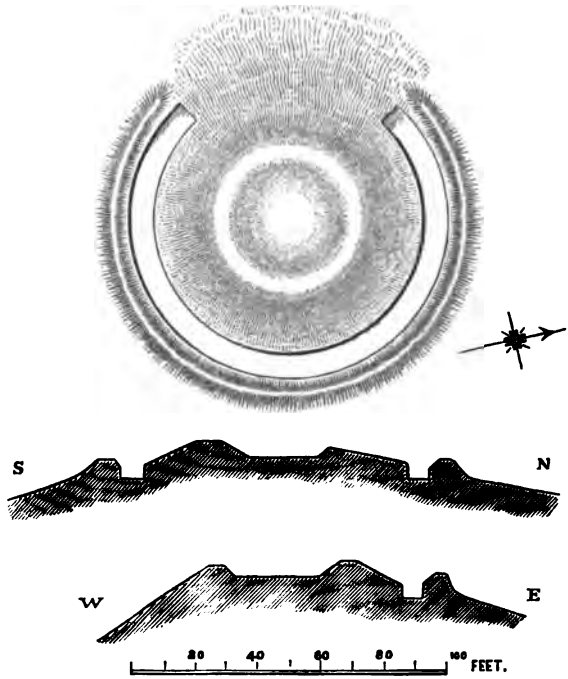
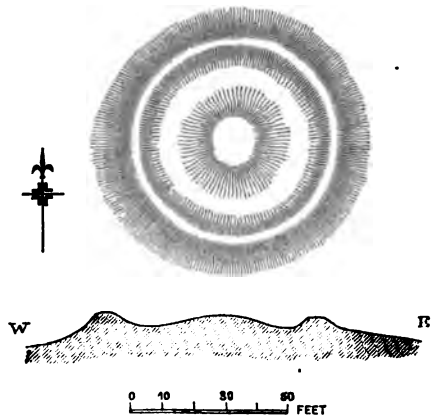


Caer-aeron, near Builth.



Circle near Builth.

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about 4 ft. high, which also ceases where there is no ditch. Had the bank completed the circle, its length would have been as near as may be 300 ft., and of this the part where the ditch is wanting is 60 ft. Thus the whole work, from the centres of the circumscribing bank, measures in diameter 100 ft., and to the foot of its slope a trifle more. What has this earthwork been intended for? Clearly, for defence, as shown by the ditch and bank; but these alone, though perhaps a foot or two higher and deeper than now, would have been of little use. To have been of use, they must have carried a palisade. For a wall they are too slender. Then for what purpose could this dwelling, thus defended, have been employed? It could not contain above five or six, or, at the very outside, eight or ten, persons, and a single family would scarcely have established themselves up here. Probably, therefore, its tenants were placed to keep a look-out, and the view all round is certainly extensive. The rock-cut fosse, and the sharpness of the angles of the earthen hollow within the tump, look as though it were not of high antiquity; and, taking all the circumstances into consideration, it seems to have been a look-out post in advance of the stronghold of Builth, and may in that case be attributed to the invaders from England of the eighth or ninth century, shortly before or after the boundary dyke was thrown up by Offa.

The other earthwork, also of a peculiar character, is about two miles due west of the above. It is not marked in the Ordnance Map, but it is placed above "Cwm Cowydd" on a height of the narrow steep ridge which lies between the valleys of the Cnyffiad and the Annell, and but a few yards south of the old ridge-way which ran from Abergwessin to Builth, and was formerly the main way for drovers from the north of Caermarthen and Cardigan to England. This work is a circle 65 ft. diameter, and fairly true, contained within a bank about 3 ft. on the east and 5 ft. on the west or weather side. There is no ditch, exterior or interior, no mound, and not even a depression. On the contrary, the soil rises slightly, say 2 ft., towards the centre. There is no depression for an entrance.

This is evidently not a military work. It seems, however, to have been a dwelling, and a large one, composed probably of spars resting against the bank and meeting in the centre,

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the weather bank being the highest, to keep out the snow. Probably those who occupied it represented some local lord who took toll upon the adjacent way. Had its occupiers been mere clerks of St. Nicholas, acting on their own illegitimate authority, they would scarcely have pitched their wigwam in so exposed a position, visible for miles around. The ridge on which the work is placed may be 500 ft. above the valleys. It stands upon a considerable knoll, but does not cover the whole of the top, the ground to its immediate south being, perhaps, a trifle higher. It is a curious earthwork, and peculiar.

Besides these works may be mentioned another, at no great distance to the south-east, and the name of which, though correctly given on the Ordnance Map, is calculated to mislead. It is there called CAERAU, and a spot close by it is called "Castell Lan." It is a large conical mound, about 18 to 20 ft. high, and about 150 ft. in circumference at the base, to all appearance sepulchral; nor are there any traces about it of banks or ditches other than those occupied, or formerly occupied, by fences, and apparently constructed for that purpose alone.

The position, though rather on high ground than on a hill, is visible for some distance round, and is a not improbable site to have been selected for a burial-place for the dead in some local struggle.

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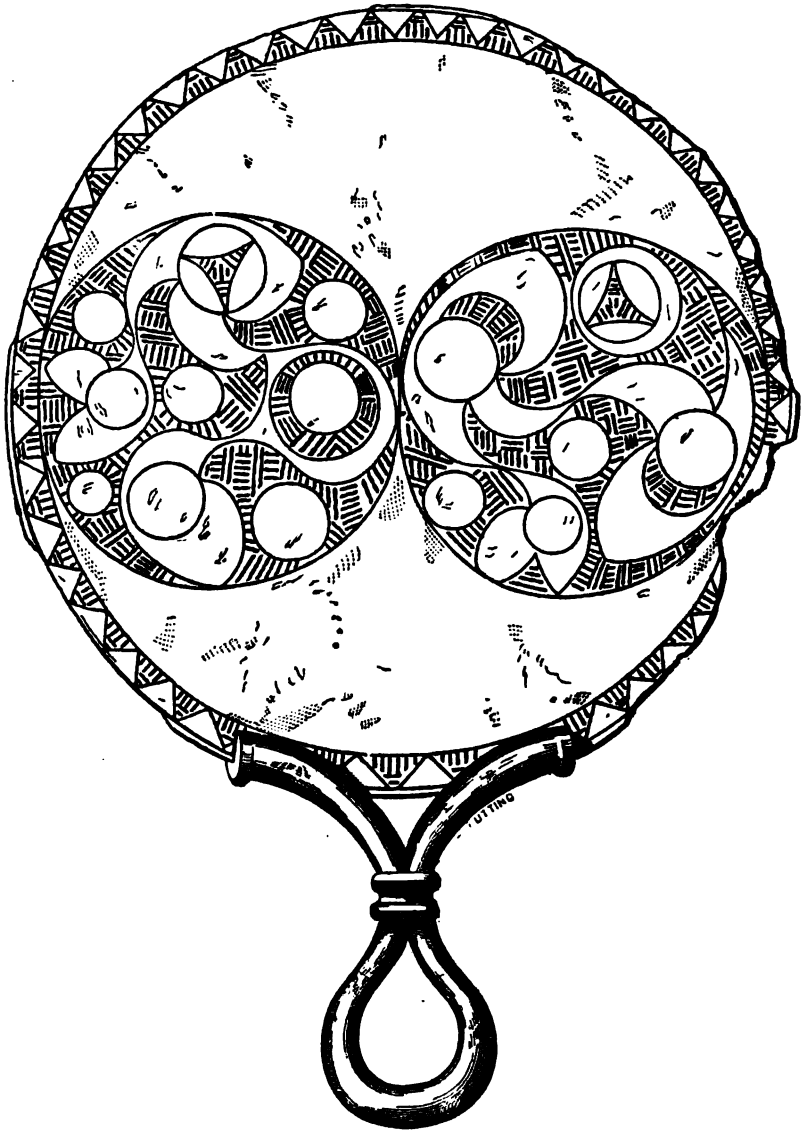

Bronze Mirror, found *circa* 1833 at Trelan, St. Keverne, Cornwall, in a stone grave, with beads, armlets, and other personal ornaments.

Scale, Two-thirds of Original.

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ROMANO-BRITISH, OR LATE CELTIC, REMAINS AT TRELAN BAHOW, ST. KEVERNE, CORNWALL.[1]

By J. JOPE ROGERS, ESQ.

By the kindness of Mr. Edwards, of Helston, I am enabled to record a small but interesting discovery made on the estate of Trelan Bahow, in the parish of St. Keverne, in this county, about forty years ago, but unpublished until now.

So long ago as the year 1833 Mr. Samuel James, the then freeholder of the estate of Trelan, had occasion to cut a new road, in extension of one already existing, through a large field called the Bahow.[2] In the course of the work he came upon several graves, situated in a sheltered place on a northern slope of the land, near the southern margin of Goonhilly Down. Mr. James died in America in 1865, but Mr. Edwards, who was employed by him professionally in selling the estate subsequently to the discovery of the graves, relates that he was informed by Mr. James that they were two or three feet below the surface of the ground, and lay in a group together. Each grave was formed of six stones set on edge, two at each side, and one at each end, besides the covering stones, and they lay in a direction nearly east and west. In one of them was found a very perfect mirror of bronze, together with several beads of vitreous substance, and some rings of brass strongly gilded, some in a perfect state, others fragmentary, with other bronze articles, such as parts of fibulæ, &c., all apparently personal ornaments, and probably indicating the interment of a female. There were also several implements of hard ironstone. Several of these relics were dispersed at the time for want of knowledge of their value, and they cannot now be traced, nor can I learn that any record of them was published even in the newspapers of the time. Those which survived were given to Mr. Edwards, who generously placed

[1] This memoir has been obligingly contributed by the writer, by whom it was prepared for the Royal Institution of Cornwall.—[Ed. A. J.]

[2] Bahow, according to Dr. Borlase Pryce, and Rev. Robert Williams, is a plural noun, signifying door—or gate—hinges. Trelan, in Cornish, is furzy place.

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them at my disposal; and I have since, with his sanction, added them to the national collection of antiquities in the British Museum.

The mirror is an object of great rarity. It is circular in form, six inches in diameter, with a well-formed handle, which projects 2½ inches from its edge. Mr. Edwards informs me that when it was found one side was quite brightly polished. The whole mirror is now richly covered with *ærugo*, but a portion of the polished surface is still discernible. Both front and back are perfectly flat, and although the plate is very thin it has no appearance, as some such objects have, of having been furnished with a strengthening rim. Around the margin of the back an ornament is delicately punched. It consists of the repetition of a small triangular figure, a quarter of an inch in height, whose united bases form one circle, and whose apices touch another circle close to the outer edge. The effect is that of frilled vandyke ornament around the entire circle of the mirror. The central space within this frilling is partially occupied by two circles placed side by side, as the mirror is held in the hand, leaving the spandrils above and below quite plain. These two circles are irregularly filled with discs and curves of various diameters, the spaces between them being occasionally hatched with the impression of a punch, somewhat similar to that used in the marginal frilling. Some of these punch marks precisely resemble those represented as occurring on the back of a bronze mirror found in 1863 at Stamford Hill, near Plymouth, and figured in Archæologia, vol. xl. 502, plate, fig. 1. The handle is cast in the form of a loop, whose expanded ends are grooved for the insertion of the edge of the mirror. The workmanship is excellent, and its condition nearly perfect (*See* the accompanying woodcut).

A comparison of this Trelan mirror with others found elsewhere may be interesting. Five other similar discoveries are recorded, four in England, and one in Scotland; and although none of the examples resemble this in every respect, it can scarcely be doubted that the Trelan mirror belongs to the same period of art to which the rest are assigned by the best authorities.

1. The earliest in point of date is that which was found in the year 1763 by the Rev. Bryan Faussett at Gilton, a Saxon cemetery near Sandwich, in Kent. It is figured in

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Plate xiii. of Mr. Roach Smith's "Inventorium Sepulchrale,"[3] and described as having been found in a coffined grave about 3½ feet deep, together with remains of unburnt bones, glass beads, and remains of articles of personal use and ornament, both of brass and iron, from which it was concluded that the grave was that of a female. The mirror is thus described by Mr. Faussett, the finder: "It is of mixed metal, flat and circular; it is very highly polished on one side; it is near five inches diameter, and somewhat convex on the polished side. It is much injured by rust, but not so much but that one may plainly see one's face in it." He then describes the handle, which was found near it, but detached by a recent blow, and was the same length as the diameter of the mirror. The handle of the Gilton mirror is straight, and was either ornamentally turned in a lathe, or cast from a turned mould, and was grooved at its upper end for the reception of the edge of the mirror plate. It appears to have had no surface ornament and no rim. This and the following specimen are now in the museum, munificently presented by Mr. Joseph Mayer to the town of Liverpool.

2. This specimen was purchased in Paris by Mr. J. C. Robinson, as a Celtic or Gallo-Roman mirror: the place of discovery unknown, but Mr. Albert Way and Mr. Franks agree in considering it Celtic from the ornamentation of its back. It is 6½ inches in diameter, and has an ornamental handle (*See* Archæological Journal, vol. xxvi. p. 72, *note* 4.).

3. This specimen is in the museum of the Archæological Society of Bedford, and was found in the excavations for the Warden tunnel of the Midland railway, about six miles from Bedford. Mr. James Wyatt of that place informs me that when found it was broken into two parts, is 7¾ inches in diameter, has a looped handle, 3¼ inches long; one side was polished, the other "presents," as Mr. Albert Way says in his elaborate paper on "Bronze Relics of the Late Celtic Period" (Archæological Journal, xxvi. p. 71), "one of the most typical examples of the trumpet-shaped decorations hitherto obtained. It is wholly produced by delicate zigzag work, executed with much delicacy and precision. . . . The disk . . . is slightly kidney-shaped. The handle may have been enriched with enamel." The site of its deposit is near

[3] Privately printed, 4to, 1856. London.

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places where various Roman relics have been found. Mr. Franks adds, in the note to Mr. Spence Bate's memoir, referred to below, that it resembles in several respects the most perfect of the three mirrors next to be noticed, viz. :

4. A bronze mirror, and the handles of two other mirrors, found in the spring of 1863, in a cemetery at Stamford Hill, near Plymouth, and fully described and figured by Mr. C. Spence Bate, F.R.S., in vol. xl. of the "Archæologia," pp. 500-510. The graves, which are considered as Romano-British, were dug about four feet deep in the soil and slaty rock, and contained, besides the fragments of mirrors, some bronze fibulæ, armlets, and other ornaments, with glass and pottery, chiefly fragmentary, remains of unburnt human bones, and some iron implements, too much decomposed to be capable of identification. A solitary Roman coin appears to have been subsequently found near the site of the cemetery, but not sufficiently near the graves to justify any conclusion as to their date. The coin is a defaced second brass of Vespasian, A.D. 69-79 (*Ibid*, p. 510). Mr. Franks adds in his note that in 1832 a considerable number of British coins were also found on Mount Batten, near the cemetery, but the mirrors were probably unconnected with them (*See* Numismatic Journal, vol. i.).

I extract from Mr. Spence Bate's description of the more perfect of the Plymouth mirrors enough to illustrate its strong resemblance to that of Trelan and others : "It was found lying flat at the bottom of the eastern extremity of a grave. It was nearly circular in form, rather wide than deep (pl. xxx. fig. 1). The front or polished surface was placed downwards. The back was ornamented with engraved scroll-work, as may be seen in the plate. In order to bring out more strongly the design, some portions of the engraving were filled in with numerous short striations, somewhat like basket-work. The mirror was surrounded by a narrow border or rim, formed of a separate piece and folded over the margin."

This mirror had no handle remaining, but a second mirror, apparently similar, had a handle attached to it (fig. 3), very closely resembling the handle of that from Trelan, whilst the striated filling up of some of the interstices of the curves of ornament on the back are so like those of the Trelan specimen that they might have been punched

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by the same tool. The Plymouth looped handle is four inches long. Another handle was also found of a more finished character, being ornamentally turned, as the Gilton specimen is, but terminating in a strong oval ring.

5. The only remaining specimen to be noticed is that which is preserved in the Museum of Scottish Antiquities. It was discovered with other bronze relics in a moss in the parish of Balmaclellan, Kirkcudbrightshire, and is figured by Dr. Wilson in his Prehistoric Annals, (vol. ii., ed. 1863, p. 228), and is thus described by Mr. Franks in his note on Mr. Spence Bate's memoir, already cited :

"A mirror of slightly elliptical form (greatest width 8¼ inches), with plain back, a marginal rim, and a broad handle. The portion of this handle joining the mirror is ornamented with scrolls in relief. The lower end is decorated with pierced work."—(Proceedings of the Soc. Ant., Scotland, vol. iv. p. 294, and "Sculptured Stones of Scotland," vol. ii. p. 10.) Mr. Franks adds : "I should be therefore disposed to attribute the mirrors from Plymouth, and the others which I have described, to a late Celtic origin. The only other mirrors with ornamented backs are Etruscan. In their elliptical form the specimens under consideration are not altogether unlike Egyptian mirrors."

With respect to the probable date of this and similar relics, Mr. Albert Way agrees with Mr. Franks in the belief expressed by the latter in the "Horæ Ferales," that they "are probably not more ancient than the introduction of coinage into Britain, from 200 to 100 B. C., and not much later than the close of the first century after Christ, when the Roman dominion in this country was firmly established. This date would account for the occasional discovery of such remains with, or in close proximity to, Roman antiquities, and also for that influence that their designs seem to have exercised over certain phases of Roman colonial art, in which, however, their wild and studied irregularity of design are brought into subjection, though at the same time the patterns lose much of their charm and originality."

A few words will suffice to mention the only other relics found with the Trelan mirror.

1. Glass beads. Two only of these remain, each about seven-eighths of an inch in diameter, the perforation three-eighths of an inch. One is of the deep blue paste similar to

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that of which the celebrated Portland vase is made; the other is striated, black and grey.

2. Rings of brass. Two of these remain entire, and are of $1\frac{7}{16}$ and $2\frac{14}{16}$ inches external diameter respectively. The latter is made of metal of the uniform thickness of $\frac{1}{4}$ inch on the plane of its diameter; the other rather stouter, and of unequal thickness. Fragments of similar rings were also discovered.

3. Various bronze articles of personal use or ornament, of which nothing remains but two portions of fibulæ.

4. Stone implements. These have unfortunately been lost, but Mr. Edwards remembers that several were found, and he had more than one of them in his possession for some years. His recollection of them is that they were of the form of the wedge and hammer; the former of these may have been mutilated stone axes, such as frequently occur in West Cornwall.

It may be asked what bearing have these Trelan relics upon the argument lately raised by Mr. W. C. Borlase, in his "Nænia Cornubiæ," in favour of the Roman date of many of our early Cornish interments. It seems impossible to conceive that specimens so skilfully and artistically wrought and finished as these from Trelan could have been produced at a period anterior in date to that of the usual stone and bronze implements, or of the rude pottery found at Morvah Hill. The most recent date, however, which the best authorities assign to these late Celtic relics corresponds with the establishment of the Roman occupation of England; whilst, therefore, there is abundant evidence of Roman and even Saxon interments within tumuli and other burial places of acknowledged earlier British date, affording frequent opportunity for the mingling of Roman and Saxon coins and other relics with those of undoubted earlier periods, it seems to be quite contrary to all archæological experience that the art manufacture of a nation should suddenly, and within the limits of historical records, be found to become so deteriorated as the change from the quality and beauty of the Trelan relics to the rude simplicity of the most perfect palstave or funeral urn. Yet nothing less than this seems to be involved in the argument referred to.

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Original Documents.

LETTERS ILLUSTRATING THE REIGN OF QUEEN JANE.

Contributed by J. MORE MOLYNEUX, Esq., F.S.A.

THE documents now submitted to the consideration of the Institute by the obliging permission of their owner are portions of a considerable and very valuable collection preserved at Loseley Park, near Guildford, Surrey, which has long been known to the literary and historical student.

Following the description of Mr. Kempe, who published the work entitled "The Loseley Manuscripts" in the year 1836, the visitor to Loseley approaches, through a grove of forest trees, the extensive front of the venerable mansion of stone of which the Muniment Room is an appendage. "He enters the lofty hall round which the portraits of its former owners are arranged, depicted 'in their habits as they lived;' the sunbeams stream through the light shafts of the lofty embayed window, illumining the household coats of the family emblazoned in the gorgeous tinctures of heraldry on the glass." The more matter-of-fact description of the mansion in the well-known work, "The Domestic Architecture of the Middle Ages,"[1] says, "Loseley House was built by Sir William More in 1562—8. It is a good Elizabethan mansion, with some additions of the time of James I., and very well preserved by the Molyneux family." In that latter sentence all who have seen it will certainly agree, and nothing could perhaps be more picturesque or in better taste than the combination of modern comforts and elegancies with the graver and sterner articles of ancient family use and adornment now collected in the hall of Loseley.

The simple early history of the place is briefly, and I believe correctly told by Mr. Kempe. It is situated about two miles from Guildford, on the left bank of the Wey. Taking its name from a Saxon proprietor, the description of Loseley in the Domesday Book agrees well with its modern condition. In the reign of Henry VIII. it was purchased by Christopher More, Esq., whose grandfather was Thomas More of Norton, in the county of Derby, with whom the pedigree of More of Loseley in the books of the Heralds' College begins. Christopher More was knighted in the 24th year of Henry VIII., and his son William, who succeeded him in 1549, and represented Guildford several times in Parliament, was knighted in 1576 by the Earl of Leicester, in the Earl of Lincoln's garden at Pirford, in Surrey, the Queen being present at the ceremony. As we have already heard, the mansion of Loseley was rebuilt by William More, and by him the collection of MSS. was formed. He must have been a man of excellent parts, active, energetic, and well-informed; but the careful intelligence with which he preserved every paper and docu-

[1] Vol. iii. p. 311.

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ment containing any information, great or small, will perhaps be as good a claim as any he could have to the kindly remembrances of antiquaries. There is a Loseley chapel in the church of St. Nicholas, at Guildford, in which Sir Christopher More, Sir William More, and others of the family are buried. The interest excited in the neighbourhood of Guildford by the visit paid by the Archæological Institute in the year 1872 to its quaint church and the ruins of its castle[2] was the occasion of the present owner of Loseley's further contribution to the gratification of the members of the Institute. Subsequent to the Guildford excursion I was kindly invited to examine the Loseley MSS.

Knowing the collection there only by Mr. Kempe's excellent work, and by scattered references to the MSS. in the history of the county, in Ellis's "Letters" and other works, I was surprised to find that there was still a very considerable quantity of early MSS. unarranged and undescribed. The work that has been done upon the collection, good as far as it has gone, has not been sufficiently systematic. What was required in the first instance was a general chronological arrangement, and then a descriptive calendar—a work which will, let us hope, before long be undertaken. As it is, under the directions of the late historian of Surrey, William Bray, Esq., of Shere, many of the most important MSS. were bound in ten folio volumes; but this was done with a regard rather to subject matter than to chronological arrangement; and as a large section of the collection was not then, perhaps, sufficiently examined or carefully estimated, the credit of having well preserved such interesting memorials, and of making them readily accessible, is perhaps all that can be given to the labours of Mr. Bray. It was doubtless owing to the facilities thus afforded for their examination that we are indebted for the very excellent work of Mr. Kempe—a work which was produced when the history of the records of the nation was being closely looked into, with a result which showed very advantageously to the credit of the owners of private collections which had been preserved like that at Loseley.

Proceeding at once to examine the portion of the collection which had been put aside, or not worked by previous inquirers, and avoiding the bound volumes and all documents (except one) which appeared to have passed through other hands, I selected the following specimens,[3] which appeared to be specially worthy of being submitted to the notice of the Institute. The exception to which I allude is one which was exhibited with others in a small frame in one of the rooms at Loseley, on account of its autograph signatures, and its insulting allusions to Queen Mary. This was the work of Mr. Reginald Bray, a grandson of the historian of the county. But having previously found a letter, dated a few days earlier, relating to the then existing state of affairs, and the historical bearing of the second letter being obviously overlooked by Mr. Bray, I drew the attention of the owner to these very important and interesting letters, with the result now before us.

The documents now brought to notice are of great interest and of some historical value, and may be taken together. They are dated respectively the 8th and 16th of July, 1553, and as far as I am aware one of them only has been casually noticed.

[2] See report of this Special Excursion, Arch. Journ. xxix. p. 366.

[3] See p. 288 for list of documents exhibited by Mr. Molyneux.

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In the month of April, 1553, when King Edward VI. seemed to be mortally sick at Greenwich, the Earl of Northumberland (then chief minister of the State) bowed outwardly to the general feeling which looked upon the Princess Mary as the successor to the throne. She was then at Hunsdon, where he supplied her with regular bulletins of the King's health, and restored to her the arms and quarterings which she had borne as heir presumptive before the divorce of her mother.

In the month of May, the King getting worse, and Northumberland evidently plotting against the Princess Mary, the Emperor's ambassador reported that he heard Northampton and Suffolk were going down into Hertfordshire to form a cordon silently round Hunsdon, and to take possession of Mary's person when the signal should be given them in London. The plot thickened, and its supposed details were duly reported to the Emperor. In the beginning of June, the King was persuaded to write with his own hand what he called "his devise for the succession," which was afterwards so altered as to make the Lady Jane Grey his heir. The scheme met with much opposition, but the dying King insisted upon it, and the letters patent altering the succession were completed, and the King's sisters rendered incapable of reigning. The instrument pledging support to the scheme was afterwards signed by all whom Northumberland could influence, the Lord Mayor and citizens of London not signing till the 8th of July. On the 6th July the King died at Greenwich, and the Princess Mary had been already counselled to flee from Hunsdon to Framlingham Castle, where she would find friends; advice which she speedily followed.

On the 8th July—the very day on which the Mayor and Aldermen of London signed their adhesion to the change of succession—the first of the two following letters was addressed to the chief persons in the county of Surrey, of whom Mr. More was one.

The sequel is well known—the Lady Jane's arrival in state at the Tower, her proclamation as Queen, the short struggle between the contending parties, and the final triumph of Queen Mary.

The second letter now printed is a new and interesting contribution to the history of this eventful time. It emanated from the Council on Sunday, July 16, the day on which Bishop Ridley preached against the Princess Mary at Paul's Cross. Three days afterwards Queen Mary was proclaimed in London, and on the 25th of the same month the Duke of Northumberland was brought a prisoner to the Tower of London by the Earl of Arundel, one of the signatories of both the letters now printed. But the Earl of Arundel did not sign the "Devise for the Succession to the Crown," nor did Sir Robert Bowes, whose name appears to the second letter, though their names are appended to the Letters Patent.[4]

In the interval between the dates of these two leters a circular letter was addressed to the Lieutenants of Counties, announcing the accession of the Lady Jane Grey, a copy of which is also among the Loseley MSS.[5]

[4] See Appendix i. to "The Chronicle of Queen Jane and Two Years of Queen Mary," &c., edited for the Camden Society by J. G. Nichols, F.S.A., (whose recent decease the Institute has deeply to deplore) for "The Will of King Edward the Sixth, and his Devise for the succession the ot Crown."

[5] Ibid., Appendix ii

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[Letter from the Privy Council, July 8, 1553.]

"After our right harty commendacions, Thies shalbe to signify unto you that the Lady Mary being at Honsdon is sodenly departed with her trayne and famyly toward the sea coast of Norfolk, uppon what occasion we knowe not, but as yt ys thought eyther to flye the realme or to abide there sume foreyne power, intending by suche ungodly meanes and wayes to disturbe the commune quyet of this realme and to resist syche ordinances and decrees as the Kinges Majesty hathe sett forth and establisshed for the succession of thimperiall crowne of this realme after his deceasse if God shall call him owt of this lief without issue of his owne body. Wherefore to avoide the danger that may ensewe to the state and to preserve the realme from the tyranny of foreyne nacyons which by the said Lady Maries ungodly pretenses maye be brought into this realme to the utter ruyne and distruction of the same, We have thought goode to require and charge you, not onely to putt your selves in a readynes after youre best power and maner for the defence of our naturall cuntree against all syche attemptates, but likewise exhort you to be ready uppon an howers warning with youre said power to repayer unto us, and to stand fast with such ordinances as be prescribed unto us by his Majestie signed with his owne hand and sealed with the great seale of England, the which we shall cause to be imparted unto you with as convenyent spede as we maye. And in the mean tyme we require and praye you to take syche goode ordres for the maintenaunce of the continuall watches in every place within that shyre as no styrre nor uprore be attempted but that the dooers therof be by your industries and pollicyes stayed and the styrrers apprehended, and advertisements sent unto us by you from tyme to tyme as occasion shall serve. And thus we byd you right hartely well to fare. From Grenewich the viijth of July 1553.

"Your loving frendes

"T. Cant'. T. Ely, Canc'. Winchester Northūb'rland
"J. Bedford W. Northt'.
"Arundell. F. Huntyngdon Penbroke
"Rychard Cotton
"T. Darcy G. Cobham."

Endorsed "To our loving frendes the Deputies of the Kinges Majestie's Lieutenauntes in the County of Surrey, and to the Shirif, the Chief Justices and others the worshipfulls of the same County. With all dilligence.
At Mr. Cardens or Mr. Saunders."

[Letter from the Privy Council, July 16, 1553.]

"After our most hartie commendacions, Albeit it hath been heretofore openly publisshed in all partes of this Realme by open proclamacions, letters, and many other wayes, upon what groundes of nature, justice and common ordre, our most gratious Souvereigne Lady Quene Jane is presently investid, and in just possession of thimperiall Crowne of this Realme of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, with all aucthoritees, rightes

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and preeminences thereunto belonging. Yet forasmuche as the Lady Mary, bastard doughter of the noble Prince King Henry theight, seeking dayly more and more by all wayes and meanes she can to stirre and move sundry of the nobles, gentlemen and others the Queenes Majesties subjectes to rebellion, ceassith not to spread and sett furthe most traytorously sundry untrue reportes of our Sovereigne Lady Quene Jane and falsely also of some of us of her Majesties Privey Counsell. We have thought good by thies our letters, to open and declare unto you in few wordes the very trueth and originall ground of this matter. Which is that our late Master and Sovereigne Lord King Edward the Sixt considering that if the Crowne Imperiall of this Realme shuld have descended to his bastard sister the Lady Mary, it shuld have beene prejudicialle to all those that be of the whole bloud descended of thimperiall Crowne of this Realme; And been occasion of thutter disheresone of all personages descended of the said blood royalle, and a mean to the bringing in of straungers. Whereof was like to have folloed the bondage of this Realme to the old servitude of the Antechriste of Rome, the subversion of the true preaching of Goddes worde, and of thauncient lawes, usages and liberties of this Realme, did first in his lief tyme, will, declare and limitte the said Imperiall Crowne to remayne in suche sorte and ordre as we and our posterities by the grace of God mighte be well assured to live many yeres under Princes naturally borne in this Realme, and lefully begotten, and descending of the blood royal of the same. Unto which his pleasure being by him self in his royall person openly declared unto us long before his deathe, not only we and every of us being of his Majesties Privie Counselle did consent and subscribe, but the most parte of all the nobilitie of this Realme, Judges, the Mayor and Aldermen of London, and many other grave personages of good reputacyon did also subscribe and agree. According to which limitation and agreement of the States aforesaid, our said Sovereigne Lady is presently in actuall and reall possession of the said Imperiall Crowne, not by any specialle procurement of particuler men, but by the fulle consent and agreement of the hole State as is aforesaid. Wherunto as we did at the beginning with good deliberacion assent and agree upon many just and good growndes; So doo we still holly remayne and God willing minde alwayes to remayne of that same concord, and to maunteyne and defend to the deathe our said Sovereigne Lady Quene Janes just title during our lives. Sory we be that thies unnaturall seditions and tumultes stirred by the said bastard doughter to the great daunger of this Realme shuld in this sorte disquiett you or any others the Quenes Majesties subjectes, for the stay wherof, if it might have liked her to have been contented with the honorable state she was by the noble Prince King Henry the Eight left in, and by our late Sovereigne Lord and Maister King Edward the Sixt confirmed and increased, nothing hath byn on our behalf omitted. But considering that through the counselle of a nombre of obstinate Papistes she forsakeeth as by her seditious proclamacions may appere the just title of supremacie annexed to thimperialle Crowne of this Realme, and consequently to bring in again the miserable servitute of the Busshop of Rome, to the great offence of Almighty God and utter subversion of the hole state of this Realme, the Quenes Majestie hath appointed our very good Lord the Duke of Northumberland and with him the Lord Marques Northampton, the Erle

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of Huntingdon, the Lord Admiralle, and other noble men to goo forward for the stay of the said seditions and tumultes. Wherof, as we have at good length made you privey by thies our letters, so we doubt nothing, but considering your dueties to Almighty God, your naturalle Sovereigne Lady Quene J . . . you will conforme your self to the common . . . peax and concorde of the nobilitie and state of . . . Travailing by all wayes and meanes, that al . . . rebellions and tumultes upon any pretence of . . . doughtters unlaufull claymo or otherwise . . . and the authors or procurers of any suche a . . . and punisshed. Wherby you shall not only escha . . . punishment of the lawes ordeyned for such as shall attempt any thing against their Sovereigne Lord or Lady being in possession of the Imperiall Crowne: but also be well assured to finde our said Sovereigne Lady Quene Jane your good and gratious Lady, and us most willing to further any your reasonable suites when occasion shall serve. And so fare you most hartely well. From the Toure of London the xvjth of July 1553.

"Your assured loving freendes

"T. Cant'. T. Ely Canc'. Winchester J. Bedford H. Suffolk
"Arundell F. Shrewesbury Penbroke
"T. Darcy G. Cobham R. Ryche
"Robert Bowis."

(Endorsed) "To our very loving ffrendes the Shirref, Justices of peax and other gentilmen of the countie of Surrey and to every of them."

JOSEPH BURTT.

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Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

May 2, 1873.

OCTAVIUS MORGAN, ESQ., F.S.A., M. P., and V. P., in the Chair.

THE Chairman adverted with feelings of great regret to the loss sustained by the Institute in the decease of one of the Vice-Presidents, Sir William Tite, M.P. On very many occasions Sir William had rendered excellent service to the cause of archæology, and had always been most willing to assist the Institute. His important contributions to the display of early printed books made in the rooms of the Institute in the course of last year greatly conduced to the success of the exhibition. And in the recent death of M. de Caumont, the archæological world had suffered a great loss. He was the founder of the *Société Française d'Archéologie*, and had devoted the great part of a long life to the study of antiquities, upon which he had written many essays. The *Bulletin Monumental* was founded by him, and antiquaries had received much instruction from the contents of its pages. He feared the place of M. de Caumont as an investigator in the studies pursued by the members of the Institute would not be easily supplied.

Referring to the objects exhibited by him, the Chairman drew attention to two rings bearing the T.A.U. emblem, the subject and bearing of which he discussed at some length, the results of which will, it is hoped, appear in the Journal. Mr. Fortnum joined in the discussion, and instanced several examples of the use of the emblem, which might perhaps have belonged to a guild of which St. Anthony was the patron.

Mr. J. G. WALLER read "Remarks on some bronze objects found at Haynes Hill, Kent," exhibited by Mr. Mackeson, of Hythe, and by Mr. Tournay :—

"The bronze objects which I have the pleasure of laying before you, were discovered during excavations making for the branch line of the South Eastern Railway to Hythe and Sandgate, and have been preserved by Mr. Mackeson, Mayor of Hythe, and Mr. W. T. Tournay, of Brookhall, in the immediate vicinity. To these gentlemen we are indebted for their exhibition. I do not profess to be very profoundly acquainted with this class of antiquities, and should have hesitated to have entered into the subject but from the fact that many able antiquaries have already investigated them with great ability, and have drawn them from the obscurity in which much of their history has been involved.

"The locality in which these objects were found is remarkable, whether

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considered in relation to the picturesque beauty of the surrounding country, or to the many points of archæological interest within sight, some of which are entirely unknown, and, at present, unrecorded. In this vicinity the two sciences of geology and archæology fall into most intimate relations. Hythe, an ancient Cinque Port town, whose very name indicates a haven, has no longer any harbour whatever. A dreary waste of shingle, miles in extent, shuts up the ancient estuary at the entrance of Romney Marsh, through which Roman galleys must have ridden up to the Portus Lemanis, whose name is remembered in the modern village of Lympne. The ruins of this ancient fortress, erected for the protection of the estuary, may still be seen on the hillside; the same operations of nature which have caused its decay are yet progressing, overturning its massive walls, bearing them slowly down the incline, and burying them under the soil. As we stand above the present town of Hythe we look upon the long, flat district of Romney Marsh, almost as cheerless in its general aspect as a desert, with its towns like oases in the waste; only the term 'desert' would be most inapplicable to its rich and fertile soil. The churches in this district are spacious and magnificent, and some contain monuments of a highly interesting character. A Roman road, called Stone Street, goes direct to Canterbury, and is about the best instance of the kind in the county. Whilst speaking of this neighbourhood one must also remember that it is one of the spots to which some writers would refer the landing of Cæsar, and it must be confessed that it singularly bears out in some very important local particulars the narrative in the Commentaries.

"One must necessarily make allusion to the military works erected for the defence of this coast, as, doubtless, in all time it was one selected for the facilities it offered to invaders from the opposite shore, or from attacks by piratical hordes. Indeed, our fortifications made at the beginning of this century, in the long line of forts and martello towers, now as obsolete as the ancient existing works, attest the importance it has always had in the eyes of military engineers.

"Now, if there be any especial interest in the discovery I lay before you, it would seem to me to lie in the fact that they were found in a camp. Not that I would assert, as a matter of course, that they all possess a military character, but that they prove this work to be at least as early as the objects themselves, and one anterior to the occupation of this island by the Romans. The camp occupies the summit of a hill entirely composed of sand, and from this circumstance the general term 'Sandling' is given to the vicinity, but the hill itself has gone under the name of Haines Wood; nor was its character at all known until the partial clearance of its summit during the operations for the railway. The first suggestion of its being the site of an ancient fortification was made by an officer connected with the Ordnance Survey, who called upon Mr. Mackeson last year, and pointed out to him his impressions on the subject. Being at Hythe at the time, I and my friend walked together to the place, and both were convinced of the truth of the suggestion, the artificial character of the valla being unmistakable. And it was on the side of one of these valla, a portion of which is now cut away by the railway, that the objects now under consideration were found.

"As we stood upon the summit, the importance of its position was at once manifest. Lympne church, on the south-west, indicates the situation

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of the Portus Lemanis. Turning to the south-east, on a clear day the coast of France is distinctly visible. Opposite, on the range of hills behind Folkestone, stands out prominently the hills crowned with earth-works, known as Cæsar Camp, but which is a work of much anterior date. Then, more to the north, forming an angle between the eminence on which we are standing, on the crest of a range of chalk hills, is a large area, in which the soil is everywhere upturned and disturbed, evidently for habitations of some kind or other. To this there is a remarkable ascent on the south side, partly natural, partly artificial, which by a winding course leads to the summit. It has been paved with large stones, itself a work having the appearance of great antiquity, and Mr. Mackeson has suggested that this area is doubtless the site of a British village or town, an opinion which has been confirmed by other antiquaries, and which seems to be extremely plausible. It is to be regretted that so interesting a feature in this part of the country should be entirely unknown, and consequently has not met with the attention it deserves. If I have made my description understood, it will be seen that the two camps stand in advance of this spot, as it were on either flank, and it cannot be doubted but that they were connected with the defences of the coast at a very remote period. It might be as well to state that the camp remains nearly intact, a tunnel being made for the railway through the hill, and it is only a portion of the vallum on either side that has suffered from the cutting, and to so small an extent that the plan is well preserved. It has the irregular character which is so frequently to be observed in earth-works ascribed to the Britons, partially following the shape of the hill on which it is formed; but the wood, which grows thickly upon it, is an obstacle to its complete comprehension, and it would require a well-drawn plan before its exact nature could be understood.

"As regards the objects themselves, they are paralleled by many like discoveries in different parts of the country, and establish conclusively that they were manufactured on the spot. What I mean by this is that the process of manufacture was going on there. None of them are completely perfect, but are intentionally broken into fragments for the process of recasting, and exhibit the appearance that may be witnessed any day in a caster's shop in Clerkenwell or elsewhere, in which old metal or spoilt castings are lying about broken, ready again for the crucible. As if to prove that this was the case, a number of rough ingots of metal, apparently of copper, were found with them, which fact has also been generally recorded as accompanying such discoveries.

"They consist of celts, swords or daggers, gouges, and a few articles which cannot easily be appropriated. Of the swords there are five different types of execution, all two-edged, but in section, showing different proportions in the central spine or ridge. Portions of the handles of two swords are among the series, and also part of a dagger, or perhaps a lance head. There are three examples of the heads of darts or other missile, and three portions of lance heads, differing in form from one another—eight of them in all. Of celts there are twenty-one, mostly incomplete, but showing no great variety of type. There are two portions of gouges, and three articles which appear to have belonged to some utensils. One flint implement, partly broken, was found by Mr. Tournay himself, about four feet beneath the surface. The fact is interesting, but not unusual. Those who have studied these primæval remains have

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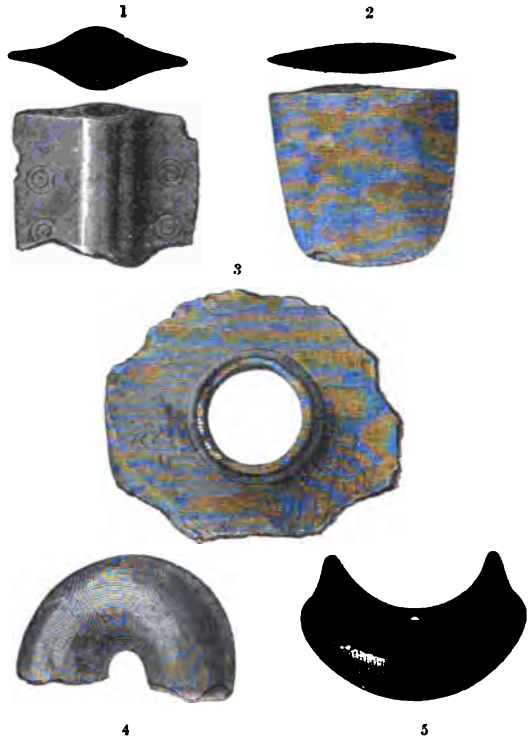
divided them into the stone period, the bronze and the iron, as so many successive advances in civilization, evinced in the knowledge of the working of metals. But as it is obvious that in all changes there must have been a state of transition, so we may meet with the weapons or implements of an earlier time associated with those of a later or more advanced condition. The objects in Mr. Mackeson's possession, about eight in number, consist of fragments of celts and a very perfect gouge, besides pieces of copper, as have been described.



Selections from fragments of bronze objects found at Haines Hill, Kent.

"The examples here engraved are among the most uncommon of those found. Fig. 1. Part of a lance head, ornamented with concentric ring. Fig. 2. Perhaps part of a sword, the obtuse termination being brought to a fine edge. Fig. 3. Upper portion of an utensil. Fig. 4. Part of sword handle (?). Fig. 5. Chape of a sword scabbard: this is one of the rarest of the objects.

"The implement of flint may or may not belong to a different period to that of the bronze objects, but in either case it is a voucher for the early antiquity of the earth-work on which it was discovered, and I think we may assume that the latter must have formed part of a system of coast defence or a camp of observation, most likely in connection with that near Folkestone, called 'Cæsar's Camp,' with which, being in sight, there

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would be easy communication by signals. The estuary of the Rother, which existed in these early times, afforded facilities for the landing of an enemy, as is proved by its being fortified by the Romans, and our own series of works at the beginning of this century may help us to comprehend the necessity which existed for its protection long previous to the landing of Cæsar.

"Many such discoveries as this now brought to notice have been made at different times; all or most of them under similar conditions. The late Mr. Wickham Flowers records one a few years ago at Beddington Park. It consisted of thirteen pieces of bronze—parts of spear heads, some celts, gouges, several ingots of metal, and part of a mould; and he says, from the battered and broken condition of most of the pieces, it is clear that they, as well as the ingots, were intended for the melting-pot. This is a general and very obvious conclusion, but it sometimes happens, as a matter of course, that perfect specimens are found along with fractured ones. Mr. Roach Smith records such a one as having been found at Attleborough, Norfolk, and figures several of these examples in vol. i. of the Journal of the Brit. Arch. Association. He has also preserved a record of a discovery at Sittingbourne, Kent, January 16th, 1828, in vol. i. of his "Collectanea Antiqua," p. 101. The objects were of a similar description, but in this instance were found in two urns, and the ingots of pure copper amounted to about thirty pounds in weight. Mr. Smith figures these celts and a gouge, and they are identical in character with those found at Haines Wood. There was 'a dagger, twelve and a half inches in length, broken into three pieces, and six bronze rings, graduating from one and a half to two and a quarter in diameter.'

"At a meeting of this Institute, on January 7, 1853, Mr. Fowler exhibited several celts found at West Halton, near Winterton, Lincolnshire, specimens of which are engraved in the Journal, and the same conclusions are arrived at as have been here advanced, for it is observed, 'Such fragments, broken up seemingly to be ready for the melting-pot have been found in other instances with celts in a more or less finished and perfect condition;' and he mentions a find at Romford, Essex, in which the same facts were noted. I do not observe any variety of type from those above noted in the discoveries here alluded to. Recently I have heard of another disinterment of similar objects from Allhallows, in the hundred of Hoo, Kent, which I understand have passed into the hands of Mr. H. Wickham, of Strood. At Martlesham, in Suffolk, there was also a similar discovery, remarkable for the large massive ingot of copper associated with them. These objects are now in the possession of F. C. Brooke, Esq., of Ufford, in that county."

After some discussion, and thanks having been voted to Mr. Waller for his communication,—

The Hon. Secretary read a memoir "On three Copper Cakes found at Bryndu, Anglesea," by Mr. F. Evans, of Amlwch. (This has been printed at p. 63 of the present volume). The Hon. W. O. Stanley, M.P., contributed some observations upon the facts detailed, and the suggestions mooted by Mr. Evans, and in the discussion which ensued Sir J. Maclean and others took part. The Chairman also made some remarks upon the great heat required for smelting copper, and contributed some interesting facts relating to the early transport of heavy articles across country, which had come under his observation during the early years of

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his life, and the knowledge of which was fast disappearing under the operation of the present improved methods of transport.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. H. G. MACKESON and Mr. W. T. TOURNAY.—Numerous portions of bronze objects found at Haines Hill, near Hythe, Kent.

By the CHAIRMAN.—A signet ring, of massive gold, weighing three sovereigns and a half, having on the bezel a Lombardic R within a Gothic border, and on each of the shoulders is incised a T, the bottom of the cavity being coarsely hatched for the purpose of holding enamel, which was, not improbably, of a blue colour. It was found about three years ago in a small garden in the town of Abergavenny, near a portion of some old wall covered with ivy. The house to which the garden belongs is in a small back street leading out of Monk Street, and not very far from the priory and its churchyard;—A bronze ring, very much worn, having engraved on the bezel what seems to be a chalice standing on a book, as though it were to represent the chalice standing on the Bible. On each of the shoulders is engraved a T, notwithstanding its being somewhat worn; there are indications of its having been gilt. Date, the first half of the fifteenth century. It was, most probably, a signet ring;—An episcopal ring of the thirteenth century, gold, set with a good sapphire. It was found among the jewellery of a French lady, who died many years ago;—A quaint fancy ring, having a mouse in white enamel running round it; age uncertain; but not very old;—A prophylactic charm against the evil eye, of rock crystal, in form of a closed hand, the thumb being inserted between the fingers; eighteenth century;—A bronze mould or matrix of an Agnus Dei; thirteenth century; use unknown, but very probably for marking small cakes of wax called "agnus dei," which were sold or distributed by the priests, as pardons were by the pardoners. It was found at Newport, in Monmouthshire, about forty years ago. It is figured at vol. xxix., p. 362, in illustration of a somewhat similar medallion of copper found in the river Avon, at Bristol, and exhibited at the meeting held in July, 1872.

By Mr. C. D. E. FORTNUM, F.S.A.—A ring, on the circular bezel of which is represented a white rose, emblem of the rightful royal line, enamelled and in high relief, having six large and six smaller petals, and two green leaves on a blue ground; it is gadrooned beneath, and connected with the hoop by open-work shoulders, each ornamented with a leaflet. The hoop bears the inscription QVÆRIT . PATRIA . CÆSAREM, in gold on blue enamel. "The country desires its king," a hidden way of expressing the party wish for the return of the Stuarts. It is a Jacobite relic, probably made about 1740-45 for an adherent of the fallen dynasty, and in all likelihood a member of the Monro family. It was given by James Monro to his brother Charles, the grandfather of the present owner, by whose kind permission it is shown, and to whom it was presented on the 18th of April, 1873, by his aunt, Miss Elizabeth Jane Monro, a lady eighty-seven years of age;—A polished celt of cherty flint, 7¾ inches long by 3 wide, which had been found on trenching a garden at Chalvey Grove, near Etonwick, Bucks.

By Sir JOHN MACLEAN, F.S.A.—Five time-pieces and watches (belong-

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ing to Mr. Page) having peculiarities of construction. No. 1, a watch of German manufacture, of about the year 1700; No. 2, somewhat similar to No. 1, of about the year 1690; No. 3, an English-made watch of about the year 1700; No. 4, a large standing clock with pendulum (suggested to have been since added) and inscribed "1653. Thomas Bateman, on Tower Hill, fecit"; No. 5, a Swiss clock, with place for light—eighteenth century. An incense burner of copper, répoussée work, seventeenth century (?) said to be from a Russian collection;—Three Bellarmine pottle pots (seventeenth century?) and two others of later date, found near the churchyard of St. Gregory, Sudbury, Suffolk.

By the Rev. A. C. Smith.—A metal plaque, with handle at back, probably a pax of very rude workmanship, of the sixteenth century (?). Upon a small plate, apparently of latten, about four inches by three, a somewhat smaller plate of cast work is rivetted in four places. In a recess, formed by twisted columns of a renaissance character, with an ogee-headed canopy, the Virgin and Child enveloped in rays. At the back is fastened a small plate at right angles, to be used as a handle, and against which it would stand upright. It had been found, lying on the surface of the earth, in the garden of the Rev. Brian King, vicar of Avebury, Wilts.

Octavius Morgan, Esq., F.S.A., M.P., and V.P., in the chair.

June 6, 1873.

The Chairman, in illustration of four early watches exhibited by him, read remarks "On Balance Springs and Regulation of Watches."

"The early watches had no special machinery for regulating the oscillation of the balance, which at first consisted of two arms, weighted at the ends, affixed to an upright verge, and which was made to vibrate to and fro by means of pallets or flat plates, which played in the teeth of a wheel. This wheel, from its form bearing some resemblance to a pointed crown, was called the crown wheel, and the contrivance, from the pallets escaping from the pressure of the teeth of the crown wheel was called the 'verge and crown wheel escapement.' This was the first and only escapement known and used for watches and mechanical clocks from the earliest known period.

"In watches the only mode of controlling the action and speed of going, was by increasing and diminishing the force of the main-spring. This was managed by a very ingenious contrivance in the first watches, but which was disused on the invention and application of the fusee and cord, which was much more effectual in equalising the power of the main-spring. Of the inventors of either of this early escapement, or of the fusee, both wonderfully ingenious contrivances, nothing is known.

"In watches small wheels were soon introduced in lieu of the original cross-armed balance. These balance wheels were very small, and their action hurried and irregular. There was, however, occasionally applied a small sliding piece of brass, on which were fixed upright two small pieces of fine bristle, which could be moved so as to control the extent of the oscillations, and thus regulate their frequency. But the usual mode of governing the velocity of the movement was by increasing or diminishing the power of the main-spring by the contrivance of an end,

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less screw and pinion attached to the arbor, by which the spring could be coiled up closer, or let down looser.

"In 1658 Dr. Hooke, a most ingenious and skilful mathematician and mechanic, seems first to have conceived the idea of applying a very fine steel spring, not much larger than a hair, and thence called the hair-spring, to regulate the oscillation of the balance wheel, but his invention was subsequently disputed by Huygens, a skilful Dutchman of the same turn of mind. His first idea is said to have been a straight spring, attached by a slide to the back of the cock (the name of that part of a watch in which the upper pivot of the verge moves, and which covers the balance wheel) and passing through a loop on the periphery of the balance wheel. By this the arc, and consequently the frequency of the oscillations were governed, and could be regulated by the length of the spring, which could be adjusted by means of the slide. I have in my collection an instance of this in a watch and a table clock. This does not seem to have answered satisfactorily, and Dr. Hooke then (in 1660) conceived the idea of a spiral spring, one end being attached to the verge of the balance wheel, and the other made fast to the plate, outside the revolving action of the wheel, the spring being made to pass through a slide, by means of which the extent of its action could be extended or contracted, and thus regulate the motion of the wheel. This slide was moved by a straight horizontal screw, on which it traversed, a scale being engraved on the plate, so as to mark the movement of the slide, which thus became an index. Two of the watches now exhibited present this form of spring and regulator.

"This *straight* movement, however, did not agree with the *curvature* of the spiral spring, and distorted it from its proper position, and for this was substituted a regulator with a circular action, which seems to have been introduced in or about 1675, and was probably the invention of Thomas Tompion, a famous watchmaker of that time, and this invention and arrangement continue in use to the present time. Tompion has always been said to have been *the first* who made watches with the spiral or pendulum spring, because he made a watch with this inscription: 'Hooke invenit, 1658; Tompion fecit, 1675.' But that was not the fact, as the watches now exhibited will show.

"The earliest watch now exhibited is one made by Edward East, who was clock and watchmaker to Charles I. It is a very good and perfect example. It is a clock or striking watch, showing on the dial the day of the month; the case is of silver pierced and engraved with flower work in use at that time, and it has neither pendulum, spring, nor regulator to the balance wheel, which has been weighted to make its motion more regular. The case is of tortoise-shell, *piqué* with silver and perforated, to suffer the sound to escape. Temp. Charles I.

"The second specimen is only a fragment of a watch, which was lately given to me by a country watchmaker as a piece of rubbish, on account of the name 'Edward East,' which it bears. I, however, soon saw its historical importance. Here there is seen the regulator with the long, straight screw, which I have endeavoured to describe, and this shows that Edward East, who at the commencement of his career made his watches without spring or regulator, employed the spiral spring and straight regulator before the end of his life, and therefore adopted that spring before the date of Tompion's famous watch. Edward East was

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one of the first members of the Clockmakers' Company, incorporated by Charles I. in 1631, and he died in 1665. This watch was, therefore, made between 1660 and 1665.

"The next watch is a very large and powerful watch, made by James Markwich, a famous London maker, admitted into the Clockmakers' Company of London in 1666, and who died between 1690 and '95. The inscription says it was made 'pro F. B., M.D.'; it was, therefore, most probably the watch of some physician of that day. Being very large, it demonstrates the early regulator with the straight screw very well, and, moreover, shows that inconvenience was felt from the defection of the curved spring in the straight line, for an alteration has been made in the arrangement of the spring and regulator, so as to obviate that inconvenience as much as possible. It must have been made after 1676, for in that year Daniel Quare, a rival of Tompion, invented the minute wheel, and so was enabled to put two hands to watches.

"The next watch is a very fine enamelled watch by the renowned Thomas Tompion, and here we see a watch with the third phase of the spiral spring and regulator with the circular movement and small dial just as we have it at the present day. With this hair spring and perfected regulator, it became possible to increase the size of the balance wheel, and the action became steadier and more regular. The action of this watch is not quite steady, and shows it to have been an early example, and this is borne out by the painting and character of the enamel case, which is the work of Camille André, a hitherto unknown artist in enamel, but of no mean ability. The dial plate is also worthy of notice. The date of the watch I take to be about 1680, at the latest.

"From these examples it will appear that, in 1658, Dr. Hooke first conceived the idea of a spring to govern the action of balance wheels in watches. That his first idea was a straight spring, but that not answering, in 1660 he had a plan of applying a spring of a spiral form, which was adopted by Edward East at the end of his career, as also by James Markwich, and probably by others, with a straight regulator, in 1675, and that in this year Tompion invented the circular movement of the regulator, and thus offered Dr. Hooke's invention in so perfect a manner that it has continued in use to the present day."

Mr. Burtt (*Hon. Sec.*) read "Notes on some original documents selected from the MSS. at Loseley Hall, Surrey" (printed at p. 267, as regards the two most important of the documents exhibited on the occasion by Mr. More Molyneux).

Mr. J. Gough Nichols bore testimony to the great value of the collection preserved at Loseley, and especially to the curious and interesting documents now brought forward relating to the reign of Queen Jane. He had given a reference in his Camden Society's Book relating to that reign, to every known document of the reign, and would gladly have included those now brought to light had they been known at the time.

Mr. J. H. Parker, C.B., gave a discourse "On the architecture of the eleventh century," which was illustrated by many drawings and sketches. (Printed at p. 117).

The Hon. Secretary announced that a special excursion would be made to Berkhamsted in the early part of July, when Mr. G. T. Clark and Mr. J. H. Parker, C.B., would give discourses upon the castle and church, as at Guildford last year.

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Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the CHAIRMAN.—Four English watches of the seventeenth century, illustrating improvements in manufacture.

By Mr. J. JOPE ROGERS, through Mr. A. W. Franks, F.S.A.—A bronze mirror, found with two glass beads and other objects at Trelan, St. Keverne, Cornwall. (An account of this remarkable discovery, prepared for the Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall, is given at p. 267).

By Mr. J. MORE MOLYNEUX, F.S.A.—A selection of MSS. from the Muniment room at Loseley Park, Guildford.

1. Roll headed :—" Of the Lorde of Mysrule his charges and expenses.

" A brefe Abstracte declaringe the charges of thapparrell and furnyture of George Ferrys apoynted Lorde of Mysrule in the Courte duringe the tyme of Crystemas, and his retynewe, with the garnishinge and dressynge of certen properties and utensiles then occupied to that purpose, prepared and delyverid owte of the Kinges his Majesties Revelles by Sir Thomas Cawerden knyghte Maister of the same, upon certen warrauntes from his Highnes moste honorable Counsell to him directid in that behalf, done betwene the xxiiijth of December anno quinto Regis Edwardi sexti and the vjth of Januarye nexte ensuinge, conteyninge the state of the parcelles and somes of money dewe for the same as foloweth."

2. Roll headed :—" Anno regni Regis Edwardi sexti, quinto.

" An Estymate of the charges of divers and sondry accomplishes done and fynyshed in and about the Kinge his Majesties Revelles and tentes in this aforesaid yeare of his most prosperous reigne upon knoleage of his Highnes pleasure and by warrauntes from his Majesties most honorable counsaill directed in that behalfe, as by the perticular bokes of the same doe appeare."

3. Letter from the Lords of the Council to the Justices of Surrey, 8 July, 1553 (printed at p. 270).

4. From the same to the same, 16 July, 1553 (printed at p. 270).

5. Letter of Sir Francis Walsingham.—"To the ryght worshipfull and his verry frende Mr. Moore at London," from Parkeberrye, the 23rd October, 1565. It encloses a letter to a lady with whom he wishes for a reconciliation, and evidently refers to a tender passage in the great Statesman's life. He writes, "My request is that this inclosed letter (which I sende you unsealed to the ende you may peruse the same) yf you so thinke fytt, may be clad in your lyverye and beare your cognizaunce (I meane that yt may passe in compaynye of your letters for whos sake I knowe yt shall be welcoome) as a straynger may be. I seeke not by the same in any respecte to remove by perswacyon the gentlewooman from her resolutyon of sole lyfe. I only seeke to exscuse my selfe and my frende by rendringe an accompte of the cause of my proceadinges. I suppose therfor she wyll not take yt in evill parte in that you be an instrument of reconcylyatyon where offence before unwittingly hathe ben ministred, or to cause your frende (which name or credyt with you I am bowlde to chalendge) to be well thowght of as your frende." The matter is left entirely to Mr. Moore's discretion as to the letter enclosed and the suggested mode of sending it.

6. Letter from "Ursula Walsyngham" to Mrs. Moore (24th May, 1567). The writer was probably the lady referred to in No. 5. It relates to canvas and towelling procured at "Roan" [Rouen].

7. Letter from Sir Walsyngham to "Mr. Moore at Loseley," dated 7th July,

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1569, in favour of his wife's cousin, who "confessethe his faulte, and promyseth amendment (towchinge the mysusinge of the mynister in speache)." He therefore hopes he may not be called upon to appear at the next Assises, and though the writer "loves not to stoppe the course of justice," hopes the offender may be excused on account of his youth, and its being his first fault.

8. Another letter from Sir F. Walsingham to Sir W. Moore, from the Court at Newhalle (Essex), 18th September, 1571. He cannot bring the matter mentioned in his late letters to the notice of the Council, as they are now too much occupied with pleasure "in this tyme of progresse."

9. "Memorandum that I George Austen of Guldeford in the Counti of Surrey by the appoyntement of Thomas Taylor esquire the Quenes Majestyes Surveyor Generall within the Countie of Surrey have caused certen sandye stone to the nomber of twentie and two loades to be taken out of tholde wales of the Castle of Guldeford aforesaid which said xxii. loades of sandy stones ar valued and praysed by Henry Hunt and Philipp Barefote at xii*d.* every loade in the place aforesaide which in the whole amountethe to the some of xxij*s.* And the same xxij. loades of stone ar solde and delyvered to Mr. William More of Loseley in the saide Countie esquire by the appoyntement aforesaide, the xxth daie of this instant moneth of Maye who is to answer to the Quenes Majesties use the saide some of xxij*s.* for the saide stone." In witness whereof, &c., 30th May, 17 Eliz. (1575).

Signed by George Austen,
"The mark of Henry Hunt,
"PHYLLYP BAREFOOT."

Item I the saide George Austen "have taken a certen smale bell out of ——— in the said Countie of Surrey,"—(blanks being left for the weight and cost of same)—"which bell is delyvered and sold to the saide William More, by the appoyntement aforesaide—June, 17 Eliz."

10. Letter from Sir F. Walsingham, "from the Court," to Sir W. Moore at Loseley, 28th Decr. 1579. It thanks him for his news relative to the firing of the beacons, and says he had heard they had been fired in error "throughe a fyre made about Portesmouth Downe by hunters that had earthed a badger and thought to have smouthered him."

11. Letter from the Lords of the Council to Sir William More, 28th September, 1595. He is directed to assist in inquiring into the causes of the present high prices of corn and other victuals, and to put in force the statutes and orders made for the maintenance of markets, and against "forestallers, regrators, and ingrossers."

12. Letter on behalf of the Council, dated 27th October, 1596, to the Justices in Surrey, respecting the high prices of corn, directing them to take measures to counteract them; to suppress the unnecessary number of ale houses and tippling houses; to certify their number and by whom and how licensed; to take care that there be therein only such drink as is of mean and convenient size and strength for the use of travellers and inferior people, and not for drunkenness; to take up vagrant people called "souldiers" and "Egyptians and other roges," and deal with them as vagabonds. Certificates of their proceedings to be sent in from time to time.

13. Letter from the Lords of the Council at Whitehall, 12th Decr. 1596, to the Justices of Surrey, drawing attention to the great consump-

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tion of malt in "brewing beare of greater strength in this tyme of scarcity then was used in other times when mawlt was good cheape." The Lord Mayor of London having certified that he had thought fit to order there should be but two sorts of beer brewed, viz., at 5*s.* and 8*s.* the barrel, the like order is to be given to the brewers in their county, and care to be taken to suppress the excessive number of ale-houses there.

14. Another letter from the Lords of the Council (copy), relating to the same subject. 12th Decr. 1596.

15. Letter from Lord Buckhurst to Sir George Moore and two other Justices of Surrey, 14th August, 1601. Encloses petition of Morris Sacvill, Parson of Okeley, complaining that his good name and reputation are called in question by evil persons. For more than forty years the writer has known him as living with good estimation, preaching and teaching in his vocation with good commendation to himself and godly exhortation to others—so that it is a very strange and unlooked for accident that ever in this sort he should be scandalized and slandered. They are to inquire into the matter and certify thereon.

16. Letter signed by "Ellesmere" and three other Lords of the Council, to Sir G. More, Lieutenant of the Tower, dated at York, 2nd Novr. 1615, directing him to receive the person of the Earl of Somerset as a prisoner, and that his servants, "Francis Copinger" and "Andrew Fargeson," be also received with him, to be shut up with him, and attend upon him there.

By Major-General Lefroy, R.A., Governor of Bermuda.—A rubbing of a brass dish, and photograph of a work in wax on panel, described in the following communication :—

"I inclose a photograph of a work of art which has just been thrown on our shores by the wreck of an unfortunate ship called the 'Charlotte.' It was bought at a sale of wreck by an officer for 1*s.* 6*d.* It is a panel of some dark wood, apparently pine, coated about 0·15 inch thick with wax, on which is worked a figure of St. Andrew, with flowers and ornaments. The name written underneath is modern. The nimbus is worked in gold thread, as are the lacings of the sandals. I do not think there is any more gold about it. The panel is about 18 inches wide. Some of the colours, particularly a crimson rose in the left lower corner, are very little faded. I could not see, in my hasty examination, how the silk is attached to the wax, but I imagine that the ends go through. I should much like to hear its probable date, for I ventured to tell the purchaser that it might be as old as the tenth century; but Mr. Croker, one of the chaplains here, tells me that embroidery on wax came down to a late period.

"The same officer purchased at much the same rate, two large brass dishes, 17 inches in diameter, one representing the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin, and the other the Temptation, in an early style of art. Each has round it an inscription, which I read

'RAI EWISHRBI'

This is repeated four times. The Temptation has, further, a second exterior inscription

'REKOR DE ITI SEAL'

repeated five times.

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"The exceedingly early period of these fine dishes seems to me shown by the rudeness of the art as well as the symbolism. Behind Eve is the door of a castle with a turret, and a lock on it. At her feet a thistle springs up. Adam has at his feet what appears to be a dove, but it may be only a plant. The background is full of flowers, many of which have much resemblance to fleurs-de-lys.

"With regard to the unfortunate 'Charlotte,' she was from Leghorn for Boston, laden with statuary marble and statuary, and apparently with the treasures of some ill-fated collector. She became a total wreck on the 7th March, 1873, within full view of Government House, and I fancy that what was saved from her cargo bears but a small proportion to what is rolling among the reefs. She is said to have been ninety days at sea, and her crew were nearly starved. I can only attribute the sale of these few things for an old song to pure ignorance. I did not know of it until too late.

"Among the objects saved is a MS. on vellum of the fourteenth century (as I imagine). The rules of the Benedictine order, in Italian;—a mediæval iron chest with complicated lock (late), and some other things, unsold. The chest contained two small Etruscan vases broken to pieces; I fancy by careless handling.

"And so 'the ooze and bottom of the deep' is still fed 'with sunken wrecks and sunless treasures.' When we get calm weather I hope to visit the spot, which is about eight miles off."

By Miss Farington.—Four drawings of stained glass, now at Worden, Lancaster, said to have been taken from Lathom House, when despoiled by the Parliament, consisting chiefly of heraldic bearings of the family of Stanley, but presenting some singular combinations, which are probably additions:—A key, with good floriated handle, found in a farm house in the parish of Layland, dated over the door 1635.

By Mr. J. E. Nightingale.—Photograph of an arch lately discovered in the nave of Britford church, near Salisbury. The church is one of the examples of so-called "Saxon" work, mentioned by Rickman. The arch seems to have a Romanesque character, and is richly ornamented with foliated and interlaced scroll work, picked out with colour, and in excellent preservation.

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Notices of Archæological Publications.

A CENTURY OF BIBLES OF THE AUTHORISED VERSION FROM 1611 TO 1711, &c. Compiled by the Rev. W. J. LOFTIE, B.A., F.S.A. 8vo. London: Pickering, 1872.

THIS volume is a very valuable contribution to bibliographical literature. Occupying ground much of which has never been traversed until now—no list of the editions of King James's version of the Holy Scriptures having before been published—it contains a "Century" of Bibles and Testaments of that translation, comprising upwards of five hundred examples; to many of these are appended descriptive and illustrative notes, and the catalogue is supplemented by an Appendix consisting of lists of Bibles of the same version in the libraries of the British Museum, Lambeth Palace, the Bodleian Library, Oxford, the Royal Library, Stuttgart (compiled by the Rev. Sir William H. Cope, Bart., in 1859); and of like Bibles and Testaments in the Cathedral Library, Canterbury, "Lee Wilson's Catalogue," and the very important collection of Mr. Francis Fry, who "most obligingly gave up" to Mr. Loftie "the materials he had gathered" when at one time contemplating the production of an account of his biblical treasures. Very great pains have been taken by Mr. Loftie to make his work as complete as possible. He has conscientiously endeavoured to inspect all the books named in it, and in cases where it was impossible to do so, references are given to the authorities on which they are inserted. No catalogue of the kind has mentioned so many Testaments, amongst which are the first Cambridge Testament (of 1628) and the first Oxford Testament (of 1679), a small 4to, the only known copy of which is in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. Under the date 1631 (No. 84 of the "Century"), there is the first full account of a book often vaguely alluded to, which is usually called by the name of the "Wicked Bible," on account of a misprint in Exodus xx. 14, "Thou shalt commit adultery," *for* "Thou shalt not." A thousand copies were printed, but being found full of typographical errors, the king's printers, Messrs. Barker and the assigns of Bill, were summoned before the Star Chamber, and fined 300*l.* (subsequently compounded for by the presentation of a set of Greek types to one of the Universities), and the entire edition was ordered to be destroyed. Copies of this rare Bible are in the British Museum (c. 24, a), in the Bodleian, and in two private libraries. At p. 205 we learn that the Bible of 1709 (C. Bill, &c.) appears to have been the last folio edition printed by the representatives of Christopher Barker or Barkar, who had obtained the patent as Royal Printer in 1577; that Thomas Baskett purchased the remaining thirty years of Newcomb

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and Bill's patent in 1709; that in 1769 Charles Eyre bought Baskett's patent; and that at the present time, 1873, Messrs. Eyre & Spottiswoode continue a succession which has been unbroken since 1565.

More information on this subject is afforded in Mr. Loftie's "Introductory" chapter, which gives a detailed account of our "Authorised Version," and of its more important revisions, and is rich in facts of interest alike to the general reader and to the student and bibliographer. A portion of it, for example, is devoted to an inquiry respecting the term "authorised," and the claim of King James's—*i.e.*, the above-named version—to that appellation. In the strict sense of that word, it appears that the only version to which it correctly applies was the Great Bible referred to specially in a Proclamation of Henry VIII., dated in 1538. The line "*Appointed to be read in Churches*," will not be found in the New Testament title in the *editio princeps* of the Bible (folio, 1611) of King James's translation; "nor," according to Mr. Loftie, "does this important feature occur anywhere in the first octavo, the first Testament, the first quarto Testament, the second quarto Bible, the first Roman letter folio, or a great many other editions, being, in fact, for the first year or so confined to the engraved titles of two Bibles." It seems, further, that King James's version was never separately sanctioned by Council, Convocation, or Parliament; but, just as the authority of the Bishops' (or Elizabethan) Bible depended mainly on its being regarded as merely a revision of the Great Bible, that of King James in like manner may be held to depend on its assumption of the place previously occupied by the Bishops'. "That, in truth," says Mr. Loftie, "this was the intention of those in power is proved by the fact that no edition of the Bishops' Bible was afterwards issued; and, further, that the very type, head-pieces, and even woodcuts of the Elizabethan version were employed in the new edition. Thus the figure of Neptune, which in the largest of the Bishops' was made frequently available, now headed the Gospel of St. Matthew; and similar economy of material may be traced in other places, as in the initials of the Psalms, where we still see the crest and arms of Walsingham and of Cecil. The same arrangements are traceable in the smaller editions." There is little or no contemporary evidence as to the reception accorded to the new (Royal) Bible, or as to the history of its early editions. When at the revision of the Book of Common Prayer in 1662, the Epistles, Gospels, and the opening sentences in the Morning and Evening Services were taken from it, and when the revised Prayer Book was annexed to the Act of Uniformity, a certain sanction was given to it, "which," observes Mr. Loftie, "placed it on an equal footing with the Great Bible, from which the Psalms and certain other parts of the service are still taken."

In addition to the foregoing particulars, we gather the following information from Mr. Loftie's "Introductory" pages. The Universities had early claimed the right of printing Bibles and Testaments on their own account, and Bibles were sent forth from the Cambridge press in 1629, and bear the names of Thomas and John Buck, printers to the University. The first Oxford Bible was not issued until 1678, although the patent for printing at the press of that University dates from 1632. "A large number," remarks Mr. Loftie, "of the productions of the Oxford press followed in the ensuing years. They all bear the imprint 'at the Theater,' and were usually commissioned by London booksellers. Among these appear most often the names of Ann Leake, a widow, carrying on business

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in Fetter Lane, Fleet Street, and *Thomas Guy*, of Lombard Street, who afterwards became the munificent founder of the hospital which bears his name." The Biblical collection in the possession of the Venerable Benjamin Harrison, Archdeacon of Maidstone, and at present deposited in the Cathedral Library, Canterbury, contains a unique series of the Oxford Bibles published by Guy.

In 1638 the corrupt state of the text in the Cambridge Bibles "as to the use of italics, the spelling, and the punctuation," having become very notorious, one Dr. Ward, with other divines, superintended the publication of a folio edition, in which they made many emendations, but unfortunately added a reading, in Acts vi. 3, which was afterwards triumphantly cited by the "Independent" sectaries against their Prelatical opponents. "It consisted in the alteration of a single letter, by which the apostles are made to commit the ordination of deacons to the congregation: 'Look ye out among you seven men of honest report . . . whom *ye* may appoint over this business.' The pronoun should have been 'we.'" During nearly the whole of the seventeenth century, English Bibles were surreptitiously printed in Holland and imported into this country; these were disgracefully remarkable for their serious omissions and mistakes. To one of these spurious editions, pretending to be the production of an Edinburgh firm in 1694, belongs the bad eminence of having surpassed all competitors in careless and erroneous typography, a mistake occurring in every column, and almost in every verse. "Thus," says Mr. Loftie, "in Mark vii. 35, we read of the deaf mute, 'and straightway his *eyes* were opened . . . and he spake plain.'" Nor, as we have seen, were these pirated copies alone, notable for incorrectness. Allusion has been made to the sins of the Cambridge Bibles in this respect, and to the mutilation of the seventh commandment in Barker's edition of 1631. In a black-letter quarto of 1619–20, the Translators are called the "Trancelators," and 2 Corinthians is termed 2 *Coain*thians! In the second folio, issued in 1611, in Matt. xxvi. 36, we find, "Then cometh *Judas* with them to a place called Gethsemane;" and in a 12mo. Bible of the date 1638, the heathen are spoken of as vexing the Israelites with their "wives" (for "wiles") in Numbers xxv. 18.

During the disastrous time of the Great Rebellion, the careless corruption of the printed text of the Bible attained its greatest dimensions. Manifold examples of it were "discovered by William Kilburne, gent.," in a tract published in 1659, which Mr. Loftie has reprinted entire from the small 4to. or 8vo. copy in the British Museum. The incorrectness of Bible printing did not cease with the period of the Commonwealth; it has continued even until the present day, a fact of which Mr. Loftie adduces several curious illustrations. "An octavo," he relates, "printed at Cambridge in 1831 reads Psalm cxix. 93, 'I will never forgive thy precepts,' and 1 John, iv. 7, 'love another,' *for* 'love one another.' An Oxford octavo of 1792 names St. Philip instead of St. Peter in Luke xxii. 34. Baskett's fine folio of 1717 is known as the *vinegar Bible*, from the misprint in the heading of the parable of the vineyard in the same chapter: and an octavo of 1711 omits the 'not' in the last clause of Isaiah lvii. 12. Dr. Lee gives many examples in his *Memorial*. Thus in an Edinburgh quarto of 1791, he found, 'make me *not* to go in the way of thy commandments,' Psalm cxix. 35: in a New Testament, 1816, 'let all *tongues* be done decently;' in two quartos, 1811 and 1814, 'the blast of the terrible ones

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is as a *stone* against the wall:' whilst, he says 'it might disturb the gravity even of well-disposed persons to hear,' at 1 Kings, xxii. 38, 'the dogs *liked* his blood' in another Scottish Bible of 1791." In reference to our "Authorised Version," as we now have it, Mr. Loftie summarily remarks, "Although it remains substantially the same as when it left the hands of the translators, yet Puritans and Calvinists, Churchmen and Methodists, Hebraists and Græcists have all left their marks upon it. It would be too much to say that the gulf which separates the last edition of Bagster from the first of Barker equals that by which the Authorised Version differs from the tentative efforts of Tyndale and Coverdale, but it is no exaggeration to assert that our modern Bible is altered throughout from its original, for the better in some places, for the worse in some; and that, while the general correctness of the printing is greater as a rule in our day, the spelling and punctuation might yet with advantage follow the earlier model. These things appear at first sight of trifling moment, yet it is with such trifles that revisers have to deal: and it is by a number of such small matters that the authority of the whole is most often tested."

Before we close Mr. Loftie's book, we cannot but commend the special excellence of its paper and typography, and its telling woodcuts, which recall the vigorous embellishments of our early printers. Only 120 small paper and 30 large paper copies of this work have been issued, and we understand they have already been absorbed by public and private libraries. We trust that this success will encourage Mr. Loftie to realise his "hope that a future volume may be devoted to the editions" of the Bible "published since 1711."

J. F. R.

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Archæological Intelligence.

FURTHER information supplies some corrections in reading the epitaph on the brass plate commemorating Bishop Halsey and Gavin Douglas, lately restored to the Chapel Royal, Savoy (see p. 203). For "Sancti Stephani," read "Sancti Petri;" for "Anglicanæ," read "Anglicor," contracted from "Anglicorum;" and for "Dolklas," read "Dowglas." Some further remarks will be given on a future occasion in reference to this epitaph.

It is gratifying to hear that the works at Beaulieu are making satisfactory progress. A curious heart coffin of stone has been found, in one of the receptacles of which was a small glazed earthenware jar, entirely broken. Those who attended the Annual Meeting at Southampton in 1872, and accompanied the party who were so kindly received by Lord Henry Scott at Beaulieu, will take especial interest in this discovery, which will doubtless be only one of many interesting items of intelligence to be brought before the Institute.

The general Index, kindly taken in hand by members of the Institute, has now been extended from twenty to twenty-five volumes. Subscribers will see particulars relating to this addition among the announcements on the cover of this No. of the Journal. Communications should be addressed to the Rev. W. Dyke, Bagendon Rectory, Cirencester.

The works in progress at Exeter Cathedral, so recently the subject of observation at the Annual Meeting of the Institute, have lately brought to light a chamber in the south-west corner of the Priest-Vicar's Court on the south side of the choir, the existence of which was hitherto unknown. It is nearly square, being 7 ft. by 6 ft. 6 in., and nearly 15 ft. in height, with a vaulted roof of early character. It was reached through an arched passage and by making a descent of about 9 ft. Among other suggestions as to its early use, that of its having been a dungeon has been made.

The Dean and Chapter of Lincoln have lately decided upon improving the condition of the muniments of that diocese. A preliminary examination has brought to light many interesting documents, some of which, it is hoped, may appear in the Journal of the Institute.

In excavating at Box Hall, Milton, near Sittingbourne, a Roman coffin, containing a few bones, a twisted wire gold ring, and some wooden square-headed nails, has been found. The site of the discovery appears to have been a Roman cemetery, and six or eight coffins—some being elaborately ornamented—have been found there. It is hoped that some fuller account of this discovery may be laid before the Institute.

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The Archaeological Journal.

DECEMBER.

THE PLACE OF EXETER IN THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.[1]

By EDWARD A. FREEMAN, D.C.L.

THE thought sometimes comes into the mind of the English traveller in other lands that the cities of his own land must seem but of small account in the eyes of a traveller from the lands which he visits. I speak of course as an antiquary; I speak not of modern prosperity and modern splendour; I speak of the historical associations of past times and of the visible monuments which past times have left behind them. Our best ecclesiastical and our best military buildings, the minsters of Durham and Ely, the castles of Rochester and Caernarvon, are indeed unsurpassed by buildings of the same class in any other land. But buildings of this kind are few and far between; the English town, great or small, does not, as a rule, make the same impression, as an artistic and antiquarian object, as a town of the same class in Italy, Germany, Burgundy, France, or Aquitaine. The ordinary English market-town has commonly little to show beyond its parish church. Its history, if it has any history, is simply that it has been, so to speak, the accidental site of some of the events of general English history, that it has been the scene of some battle or the birth-place of some great man. In many parts of the continent such a town would have its walls, its gates, its long lines of ancient houses; it would have too a history of its own, a history perhaps hardly known beyond its own borders, but still a history—some tale of its lords or of its burghers, of lords ruling over a miniature dominion, of burghers defending a miniature commonwealth, but still lords and burghers

[1] Read in the Historical Section of the Exeter Meeting, July 30th, 1873.

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who have a history, no less than kingdoms and commonwealths on a greater scale. In towns of a higher class, the peers of our shire-towns and cathedral cities, the palace of the prince, the council-house of the commonwealth, perhaps a long range of the dwellings of old patrician houses, speak of the greatness of a city which once held its rank among European capitals, as the dwelling-place of a prince or as a free city of the Empire. I speak not of world-famous cities which have been the seats of Empires and mighty kingdoms or of commonwealths which could bear themselves as the peers of Empires and kingdoms. I speak not of Venice or Florence, of Trier or of Ravenna. I speak of cities of a class one degree lower. I speak of the last home of Carolingian kingship on the rock of Laon; I speak of the walls of successive ages, spreading each round another, like the circles of Ecbatana—the works of Gaul and Roman and Frank, of Counts and Bishops and citizens—gathering around the minster and the castles of Le Mans. I speak of the Bern of Theodoric by the Adige and of the Bern of Berchthold by the Aar. I speak of the council-houses of Lübeck and Ghent, of Padova and Piacenza, of the episcopal palace at Liège and the ducal palace at Dijon, of the castled steep which looks down on the church of Saint Elizabeth at Marburg, of the hill with its many-towered church, its walls, its gateways, its rugged streets, which rises above the island home of Frederick at Gelnhausen. We have few such spots as these, spots so rich at once in history and in art. And yet we need not grieve that we are in this matter poorer than other nations. Whatever is taken away from the greatness of particular cities and districts is added to the general greatness of the whole kingdom. Why is the history of Nürnberg greater than the history of Exeter? Simply because the history of England is greater than the history of Germany. Why have not our cities such mighty senate-houses, such gorgeous palaces, as the seats of republican freedom or of princely rule among the Italian and the Teutonic cities? It is because England was one while Italy and Germany and Gaul were still divided. Our cities lack the stately buildings, they lack the historic memories. But they lack them because England became an united nation too soon to allow of her nobles and prelates growing into sovereign princes, too soon to allow of the local freedom of

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her cities and boroughs growing into the absolute independence of sovereign commonwealths.

And if the cities of England are less rich in historic memories, less thickly set with historic buildings, than the cities of the continent, they must no less yield to them in mere antiquity. We have no cities like Massalia and Gades, which can trace up an unbroken being and an unbroken prosperity to the days of Greek and even of Phœnician colonization. It is only here and there that we can find a site which can even pretend to have lived on, like the ancient towns of Italy and Gaul and Spain, as a dwelling-place of man from the earliest recorded times, the home in turn of the Briton, the Roman, and the Englishman. Arretium, Tolosa, Remi, a crowd of others in the south-western lands, are cities which have lived on, with their own names or the names of their tribes. They are cities reared by the Etruscan, the Iberian, and the Celt to become possessions of Roman, Gothic, and Frankish masters. In our land Dr. Guest has shown that London itself has but feeble claims to an unbroken being from the days of the Briton. Even of the cities raised in Britain by the Roman, though many are still inhabited, though some have been constantly inhabited, yet many others, like Bath and Chester, rose up again after a season of desolation, while other sites, Anderida, Calleva, Uriconium, remain desolate to this day. All this is the natural result of the history of the country. Britain was the last of her great provinces to be won by Rome; she was the first of her great provinces to fall away. The tie which binds the history of the Roman to the history of the conquered provincial on the one hand and of the Teutonic conqueror on the other is weaker here than in other lands. Nowhere else did the Roman find so little of native groundwork on which to build; nowhere else was his own work so utterly swept away. The grass which once grew over the temples and houses of Deva and Aquæ Solis, the grass which still grows over the temples and houses of Calleva and Anderida, is the best witness to the difference between the English Conquest of Britain and the Gothic, Burgundian, and Frankish conquests of other lands.

Yet the very fact that the cities of England must yield in antiquity, in artistic wealth, in historical associations, to the cities of other European lands, does not fail to give them a

special interest of their own. The domestic history of an English town, which was always content to be a municipality, which never aspired to become an independent commonwealth, seems tame beside the long and stirring annals of the free cities of Italy and Germany. Yet, for that very reason, it has a special value of its own. Because the city has not striven after an independent being, it has done its work as a part of a greater whole. Because it has not aspired to be a sovereign commonwealth, it has played its part in building up a nation. And the comparison between the lowly English municipality and the proud Italian or German commonwealth has also an interest of another kind. The difference between the two is simply the difference implied in the absence of political independence in the one case and its presence in the other. The difference is purely external. The internal constitution, the internal history, sometimes the internal revolutions, often present the most striking analogies. In both we may often see the change from democracy to oligarchy and from oligarchy to democracy. In both we may see men who in old Greece would have taken their place as demagogues, perhaps as tyrants. Here, as in other lands, the city has often had to strive for its rights against the neighbouring nobles. Exeter has something to tell of Earls and Countesses of Devon: Bristol has something to tell of its own half citizens, half tyrants, the Lords of Berkeley. We may see germs of a Federal system among the Five Danish Boroughs of Mercia, among the Cinque Ports of Kent aud Sussex, and in the Hansa of the Burghs of Scotland. We may see germs too of the dominion of the city, ruling, like Sparta or Bern, over surrounding subject districts, so long as the county of Middlesex neither chooses her Sheriffs herself nor receives them from the central government, but has to accept such Sheriffs as may be given her by the great neighbouring city. To that city which her inhabitants stand thus far in the relation which a Spartan knew as that of περίοικοι and a Berner as that of *Unterthanen.*

In the free cities of the continent in short we see what English cities might here grow into, if the royal power in England had been no stronger than that of the Emperors, and if England had therefore split up into separate states, like Germany, Italy, and Gaul. A city or borough, with its

organized municipal constitution, could, if the central power were either gradually or suddenly removed, at once act as an independent commonwealth. It is plain that a county could not do so with anything like the same ease. It has been the constant tendency to unity in England, the tendency to subordinate every local power to the common King and the common Parliament, which has made the difference between a municipality like Exeter and a commonwealth like Florence. And here, in this city of Exeter, reflexions of this kind have a special fitness. No city of England has a history which comes so near to the history of the great continental cities. No city in England can boast of a longer unbroken existence; none is so direct a link between the earliest and the latest days of the history of our island. None has in all ages more steadily kept the character of a local capital, the undisputed head and centre of a great district. And none has come so near to being something more than a local capital. None has had so fair a chance as Exeter once had of becoming an independent commonwealth, the head of a Confederation of smaller boroughs, perhaps the mistress of dependent towns and subject districts, ruling over her περίοικοι or *Unterthanen* as Florence ruled over Pisa, as Bern ruled over Lausanne.

I think then that it is not with mere words of course that I may congratulate the members of this Institute on finding themselves at last within the walls—here it is no figure of speech to say within the walls—of the great city of Western England. For years we have been, like Swegen or William himself, knocking at the gates. At least we have stood outside, and we would have knocked at the gates, if any gates had been left for us to knock at. What has so long kept us out I know not; that is a question too deep for human powers to solve. One thing at least we know, that we have not, like Swegen or William, had to stand outside because the citizens of Exeter were not willing to receive us within. We have, wherefore no man knoweth, dealt with the Damnonian Isca as the last among the great cities of England, but it has assuredly not been because it is the least. We have seen York and Lincoln and Chester; and, if Exeter must yield to York and Lincoln and Chester in wealth of actually surviving monuments, it assuredly does not yield to any of them in the historic interest of its long annals. It has in

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truth a peculiar interest of its own, in which it stands alone among the cities of England. Exeter is among cities what Glastonbury is among churches. It is one of the few ties which directly bind the Englishman to the Roman and the Briton. It is the great trophy of that stage of English Conquest, when our forefathers, weaned from the fierce creed of Woden and Thunder, deemed it enough to conquer and no longer sought to destroy.

The first glimpse of the city shows the traveller that it is one of a class which is common on the continent, but rare in England, and which among West-Saxon cities is absolutely unique. From Winchester onwards — we may say from Dorchester, for the forsaken sites must not be forgotten in the reckoning—the seats of the West-Saxon bishoprics, as a rule, lie low. Take the most familiar test; besides Exeter, Sherborne is the only one to which the traveller on the railway at all looks up, and to Sherborne he looks up far less than he looks up to Exeter. From Sherborne indeed the Lotharingian Hermann took a high flight to the waterless hill of the elder Salisbury; but Richard Poore redressed the balance by bringing church and city down into the plain of Merefield. Dorchester looks up at the camp on Sinodun; Winchester looks up at the place of martyrdom on St. Giles's hill. Wells crouches at the foot of Mendip; Glastonbury, on her sacred island, crouches at the foot of the Archangel's Tor. Bath has in modern times climbed to a height like that of Lincoln or Durham, but the site of her minster shows how the true Bath, the Aquæ Solis that Ceawlin conquered, the Old Borough where Eadgar wore his crown, was built, as the Jew says in Richard of the Devizes, "ad portas inferi." But Exeter at the first glance tells us another tale. The city indeed looks up at heights loftier than itself, but the city itself sits on a height rising far above railway or river. Exeter, Isca, Caer Wisc, is in short a city of the same class as Bourges and Chartres, as communal Le Mans and kingly Laon, as Lausanne and Geneva by their lake, as Chur and Sitten in their Alpine valleys. We have here, what we find so commonly in Gaul, so rarely in Britain, the Celtic hill-fort, which has grown into the Roman city, which has lived on through the Teutonic conquest, and which still, after all changes, keeps a place as the undoubted head of its own district. In

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Wessex such a history is unique; in all southern England London is the only parallel, and that but an imperfect one. The name carries on the same lesson which is taught us by the site. Caer Wisc has never lost its name. It has been Latinized into Isca, it has been Teutonized into Exanceaster, and cut short into modern Exeter, but the city by the Exe has, through all conquests, through all changes of language, proclaimed itself by its name as the city by the Exe. In this respect, the continuity of its being has been more perfect than that of most of the cities of northern Gaul. At Rheims, Paris, Bourges, a crowd of others, the name of the tribe has supplanted the true name of the city; but Isca, like the cities of the south, like Burdigala and Massalia, has never exchanged its own name for the name of the Damnonian people. The name and the site of Exeter at once distinguish it from most of the ordinary classes of English towns. They distinguish it from Teutonic Marks which have grown into modern towns, and which, like Reading and Basingstoke, still keep the clan names of the Rædingas and Basingas: they distinguish it no less from Roman towns like Bath and Chester, which rose again after a season of desolation—from towns like Wells and Peterborough, which grew up under the shadow of some great minster—from fortresses or havens, like Taunton or Kingston-on-Hull, which sprang into life at the personal bidding of some far-sighted King—from towns like Durham and New Salisbury, where church and city arose together as some wise Bishops sought, on the peninsular hill or on the open meadow, a home more safe either from foreign invaders or from unkindly neighbours. Exeter is none of these; like Lincoln it stands on a site which Briton, Roman, and Englishman have alike made their own; like Lincoln it is a city set on a hill, it has a temple built on high; on the whole, Lincoln is its nearest parallel among the cities of England; in some points the histories of the two present a striking likeness; in others they present differences not less instructive than their likenesses.

Exeter then, as a hill-fort city, has, more than almost any other city of England, a close analogy with the ancient cities of Gaul. But there is another point in which the history of Exeter altogether differs from theirs. The Gaulish city has almost always been the seat of a bishopric from the days of

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the first establishment of Christianity. The Cathedral Church and the Episcopal Palace stand, and always have stood, side by side, on the highest point of the hill on which the city stands. The city is indeed older than the Bishopric, because it is older than Christianity itself. But the Bishopric is something which was firmly established during the days of Roman dominion, something which, as far as the Teutonic conquerors were concerned, might be looked on as an inherent and immemorial part of the city. There had been a time when Bourges and Chartres and Paris had not been seats of bishoprics; but it was only as seats of bishoprics that their Frankish conquerors knew them. The Roman Bishopric, like so many other things that were Roman, lived on through the Teutonic conquest, and, except in the case of very modern unions and suppressions, it has lived on till our own day. In England, on the other hand, besides the union of some bishoprics and the division of others, there has been a wandering to and fro of the immediate seats of episcopal rule to which there has been no parallel in Gaul. In Gaul, not above two or three bishoprics have been moved—as distinguished from being united or divided—from their original seats; in England it is rather the rule than the exception that a bishopric should have changed its place once or twice since its foundation. The causes of these differences go very deep into the history of the two countries; I have spoken of them elsewhere, and I shall not enlarge upon them now. It is enough to say that the character of the English Conquest, as a heathen conquest, hindered any place within the proper England from being the unbroken seat of any Roman and Christian institution. Add too that in Britain, neither Celts nor Teutons, unused as both of them were to the fully-developed city life of the south, ever strictly followed the rule which was universal in Italy, Spain, and Gaul, of placing the seat of the Bishop in the chief town of his diocese. Hence, while on the Continent, the city and its bishopric are both, from a Teutonic point of view, immemorial,—that is to say, both existed before and lived through the Teutonic conquest—in not a few English cities the bishopric is a comparatively modern institution. The Bishop has not been there from the beginning; he has been placed there by the Confessor or by the Conqueror, by Henry the First or by Henry the Eighth,

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or by virtue of an Act of Parliament which many of us are old enough to remember. So it is conspicuously at Exeter. The hill-fort has grown into the city; the city has lived through all later conquests; but the Bishopric is something which, in the long history of such a city, may almost seem a creation of yesterday. Bishops of Exeter have played an important part both in local and in general history; but the city of Exeter had begun to play an important part in the history of Britain ages before Bishops of Exeter were heard of. The episcopal church now indeed stands out only less conspicuously than Bourges or Geneva, as the roof and crown of the whole city; but for ages its predominance in the landscape must have been disputed by the castle on the Red Mount, and Isca had lived and flourished for a thousand years before its height was crowned with a stone of either minster or castle. Let us compare Exeter for one moment with two continental cities in which the points both of likeness and of unlikeness seem to reach their highest degree. As Exeter stands upon its hill, but is still surrounded by loftier hills that look down upon it, so the loftier heights of Chur and Sitten are looked down upon by the snowy peaks of the Pennine and Raetian Alps. Vast as is the difference of scale, there is a real likeness of position as compared with the isolated hill of Chartres, rising in the midst of its vast corn-land. Like the Damnonian Isca, Sedunum and Curia Rætorum are cities which have lived on from Roman to modern times. But in them, not only the city but the bishopric also, has lived on through all changes. And, following the common law of the bishoprics within the Empire, the Bishops of those cities grew to a height of temporal power to which no prelate, not the Palatine of Durham himself, ever reached in England, and which the Bishops of Exeter were among those who were furthest from reaching. At Chur the church and the palace of the Bishop, with its surrounding quarter, grew into a fortified Akropolis, where the Bishop still reigned as prince, even when the lower city had become independent of his rule. At Sitten, church and castle stand perched on the twin peaks of Valeria and Tourbillon. But the castle was the fortress, not of King or Duke, but of the prelate himself. In some English Bishoprics too the Bishop was, if not prince, at least temporal lord. At Wells, for

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instance, the city simply arose outside the close, and its municipal franchises were the grant of its episcopal lords. At Exeter, where the Bishop came as something new into a city which had stood for ages, it was as much as he could do if he could maintain the exemption of his own immediate precinct, at all events when the civic sword was wielded by a Mayor of the ready wit and the stubborn vigour of John Shillingford.

It is not however my business to dwell at any detail on either the ecclesiastical or municipal history of the city. I had hoped that those two aspects of its history might have been dealt with in full at this Meeting by the two men who are the fittest in all England severally to deal with them. Such however is not to be our good luck, and it is not for me to try to supply their places. My business is with the city in its more general aspect. I have pointed out two of the characteristic features of its history, how it is rather continental than English in its position as a hill-fort city living out from Roman and British times, while it is specially English in the modern date of the foundation of its bishopric. The first question which now suggests itself is one which I cannot answer. When did the city first become a West-Saxon possession? When did the British Caer-Wisc, the Roman Isca, pass into the British Exanceaster? Of that event I can find no date, no trustworthy mention. The first distinct and undoubted mention of the city that I can find is in the days of Ælfred, where, as every reader of the Chronicles knows, it figures as an English fortress, and a fortress of great importance, more than once taken and re-taken by the great King and his Danish enemies. I am as little able to fix the date of the English conquest of Isca as I am to fix the date of its original foundation by the Briton. John Shillingford tells us that Exeter was a walled city before the Incarnation of Christ, and, though it is not likely to have been a walled city in any sense that would satisfy either modern or Roman engineers, it is likely enough to have been already a fortified post before Cæsar landed in Britain. Nor can I presume to determine whether Isca ever bore the name of Penholtkeyre, a name suggestive of that neighbouring height of Penhow, of which I shall have again to speak. Nor can I say what was the exact nature of Vespasian's dealings with the city at the time when they are connected

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in some mysterious way with the selling of thirty Jews—some say only their heads—for a penny. In a later age, another civic worthy, the famous John Hooker, tells us that Vespasian, when Duke under the Emperor Claudius, besieged the city by order of his master, but was driven away, like some later besiegers, by the valour of the citizens, and betook himself to Jerusalem as an easier conquest. These questions are beyond me; but the identity of the British Caer-Wisc, the Roman Isca, the English Exanceaster, is witnessed by a crowd of authorities. Still I know of no evidence to fix the point at which Isca became Exanceaster, any more than to fix the point when Isca came into being. As the story of Saint. Boniface runs, we are told that he was born at Crediton, and brought up at Exeter. For his birth at Crediton I know of no ancient authority whatever. His education at Exeter rests on the reading of a passage in his biographer Willibald, where a name, which we should certainly understand to be Exeter if there were no reason to the contrary, is written in so many ways in different manuscripts as to make the case somewhat less strong when there are probabilities the other way to be set against it. I cannot myself bring the West-Saxon conquerors even to the borders of Somerset at any time earlier than the days of Ine, when the powerful King Gerent reigned over Damnonia, and when Taunton was a border fortress of the Englishman against the Briton. The point is one which I argued more fully last year before the local Archæological Society of my own county, whether this doubtful reading of Willibald is enough to outbalance the general consent of our evidence as to the progress of English conquest westward—whether it is by itself enough to make us believe that, somewhile before the end of the seventh century, Isca was already an English town, where an English-born youth could receive his education in an English monastery. I should myself be inclined to hold that the balance of probability lies the other way, and that Isca and the rest of Damnonia must have been conquered at some time between the days of Ine and the days of Ecgberht. It is certain that under Æthelwulf Devonshire was English, and that the men of Devonshire, as West-Saxon subjects, fought valiantly and successfully against the Danish invader. This is the first distinct mention I can find of the district as an English possession, while

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the first distinct mention of the city, as I have already said, comes later in the same century, in the wars of Ælfred. But though it was English by allegiance, it was not till two generations later that the city became wholly English in blood and speech. In Æthelstan's day the city was still partly Welsh, partly English. We can, if we please, according to many analogies elsewhere, conceive the two rival nations dwelling side by side within the same enclosure, but separated again by enclosures of their own, Britons and Englishmen each forming a city within a city. To this state of things the Lord of all Britain, the conqueror of Scot and Northman, the lawgiver of England, deemed it time to put a stop, and to place the supremacy of the conquering nation in the chief city of the western peninsula beyond all doubt. Hitherto we may be sure that the English burghers had formed a ruling class, a civic patriciate. Now, strengthened doubtless by fresh English colonists, they were to become the sole possessors of the city. Exeter was a post which needed to be strongly fortified, and for its fortifications to be put in no hands but such as were thoroughly trustworthy. The British inhabitants were driven out, and, to the confusion of those who tell us that Englishmen could not put stones and mortar together till a hundred and forty years later, the city was encircled by a wall of square stones, and strengthened by towers, marking a fourth stage in the history of English fortification. Ida first defended Bamborough with a hedge or palisade; a later Northumbrian ruler strengthened it with a wall or dyke of earth. Eadward the Elder surrounded Towcester with a wall of stone; Æthelstan surrounded Exeter with a wall of squared stones. This is not theory, but history. If anyone asks me where the wall of Æthelstan is now, I can only say that a later visitor to Exeter took care that there should not be much of it left for us to see. Yet there are some small fragments, huge stones put together in clear imitation of the Roman nature of building, which may well enough be remains of the great wall of Æthelstan. But suppose that not a stone is left, suppose that Swegen left no trace of what Æthelstan reared, still, as I understand evidence, the fact that a thing is recorded to have been destroyed is one of the best proofs that it once existed.

Now the distinguishing point in this stage of the history

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of Exeter is this, that it, alone of the great cities of Britain, did not fall into the hands of the English invaders till after the horrors of conquest had been softened by the influence of Christianity. Whatever was the exact date of the conquest of Devonshire, it was certainly after Birinus had preached the faith to that most heathen nation of the Gewissas, after Cynegils and Cwichelm had plunged beneath the waters of baptism, and had built the minster of Dorchester and the old minster of Winchester. When Caer-Wisc became an English possession, there was no fear that any West-Saxon prince should deal with it as Æthelfrith had dealt by Deva, as Ceawlin had dealt by Uriconium and Aquæ Solis, as Ælle and Cissa had dealt by Anderida. The Norman came to Exeter as he came to Pevensey, but he did not find the walls of Isca, like the walls of Anderida, standing without a dwelling-place of man within them. They did not stand, like the walls of Deva, again to become a city and a fortress after a desolation of three hundred years. When Isca was taken, the West-Saxons, as I before said, had ceased to be destroyers and deemed it enough to be conquerors. Thus it was that Exeter stands alone, as the one great English city which has lived an unbroken life from præ-English and even from præ-Roman days. Whatever was the exact date at which the city first became an English possession, it was with the driving out of the Welsh inhabitants under Æthelstan that it first became a purely English city. As such it fills, during the whole of the tenth and eleventh centuries, a prominent place among the cities of England, and a place altogether without a rival among the cities of its own part of England. The complete naturalization of the British city by the expulsion of its British citizens was accompanied by a meeting of the Witan of the whole realm within the newly-raised walls, and at that meeting one of the collections of laws which bear the name of Æthelstan was put forth. Later in the century we find the fortress by the Exe the chief bulwark of western England during the renewed Danish invasions of the reign of Æthelred. It is a spirit-stirring tale to read in our national Chronicles how the second millennium of the Christian æra is ushered in by the record which tells us how the heathen host sailed up the Exe and strove to break down the wall which guarded the city—how the wall of Æthelstan, defended by the valiant

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burghers, bore up against every onslaught—"how fastly the invaders were fighting, and how fastly and hardly the citizens withstood them." It was no fault of those valiant citizens that, as ever in that wretched reign, the valiant resistance of one town or district only led to the further desolation of another. Exeter was saved, but the Unready King had no help, no reward, for the men who saved it; the local force of Devonshire and Somerset had to strive how they could against the full might of the invader; and the overthrow of Penhow and the wasting of the land around followed at once upon the successful defence of the city. The very next year Exeter became part of the morning-gift of the Norman Lady, and for the first time—a foretaste of what was to come before the century was out—a man of foreign blood, Hugh, the French churl, as our Chroniclers call him, was set by his foreign mistress to command in an English city. With no traitor, with no stranger, within their walls, the men of Exeter had beaten off all the attacks of the barbarians; but now we read how, through the cowardice or treason of its foreign chief, Swegen was able to break down and spoil the city, and how the wall of Æthelstan was battered down from the east gate to the west. I do not pretend to rule whether this means the utter destruction of the wall or only the destruction of two sides of it; but it is certain that sixty years later, when Exeter had to strive, not against Norman traitors within, but against Norman enemies without, the city was again strongly fortified according to the best military art of the times. It may be noticed that, in the description of Swegen's taking of Exeter, though we read of plundering and of breaking down the walls, we do not, as we commonly do when a town is taken, hear of burning. As a rule, houses in those days were of wood; and it is sometimes amazing how, when a town has been burned, we find it spring up again a year or two later, sometimes only to be burned again. Whether, in a city which was so early fortified with towers and walls of squared stones, other buildings, too, may not have been built of stone earlier than was usual in other places, I leave to local inquirers to settle.

After the capture by Swegen, we hear nothing more of the city itself during the rest of the Danish wars. Doubtless it submitted, along with the rest of western England, when

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Æthelmær the Ealdorman of the Defnsætas, and all the Thegns of the west, acknowledged Swegen as King at Bath. In the war of Cnut and Eadmund the men of Devonshire fought on the side of England at Sherstone, but we hear nothing specially of the city. Our only knowledge of Exeter between the Danish and the Roman invasions consists of the fact of the foundation of the Bishopric, and of the further fact that the city which had been part of the morning-gift of Emma became also part of the morning-gift of her successor Eadgyth. The two facts are connected. The special relation of the Lady to the city accounts for the peculiar ceremony which, though the charter in which it is recorded is marked by Mr. Kemble as doubtful, can hardly be mere matter of invention. In that charter we are told that Leofric, the first Bishop of the new see, was led to his episcopal throne by the King and the Lady, the King on his right side and the Lady on his left, each of them taking him, if the words of the document are to be followed literally, not so much hand-in-hand as arm-in-arm. Here, as everywhere else in these times, in every expression and in every ceremony, the strong *Regale*, the undoubted ecclesiastical supremacy of the King and his Witan, or, to speak more truly, the identity of the nation and the national Church, comes out plainly. The Bishop is not only placed in his Bishopric by the King, but the Lady, as the immediate superior of the city, has her part in the ceremony. Exeter now became a city in the ecclesiastical as well as in the civil sense. And the change is one which is worthy of notice on many grounds. The foundation of the Bishopric of Exeter was accompanied by several circumstances which mark it as an event belonging to an age of transition. It was among the last instances of one set of tendencies, among the earliest instances of another. The reign of Eadward the Confessor is the last time in English history, unless we are to except the reign of Edward the Sixth, when two English bishoprics were joined together, without a new one being founded to keep up the number. Such an union had happened more than once in earlier times; it happened twice under Edward, when the Bishoprics of Devonshire and Cornwall, already held in plurality by Lyfing, were formally united under Leofric, and when the Bishoprics of Dorset and Wiltshire were united under Hermann. But this translation is also the first

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instance of a movement which, like so many other movements, began under the Normannizing Eadward and went on under his Norman successors, a movement for bringing into England the continental rule that the Bishopric should be placed in the greatest city of the diocese. The translation of the see of Saint Cuthberht to Durham was not a case in point; Ealdhun sought a place of safety, and chose one so wisely that a city presently grew up around his church. But the translation of the West-Welsh Bishopric from Crediton and Saint Germans or Bodmin to Exeter was the beginning of a system which was further carried on when the great Mid-English Bishopric was moved from Dorchester to Lincoln, and when the East-Anglian Bishopric was moved from Elmham, first to Thetford and then to Norwich. Again, the first Bishop himself represents in his own person more than one of the tendencies of the age. He represents the dominion of the Englishman over the Briton; he represents the close connexion of the Englishman of that generation with his Teutonic kinsmen beyond the sea. Leofric, a native of his own diocese, is described as a Briton, that is, I conceive, a native of Cornwall. But, like the great mass of the landowners of Cornwall in his day, he bears a purely English name. Either he was the descendant of English settlers in the British land, or else he was the descendant of Britons who had so far gone over to English ways as to take to English proper names, just as the English, a generation or two later, took to Norman proper names. In either way, he represents the process through which the list which Domesday gives us of the landowners of his diocese in the days of King Eadward reads only one degree less English than the list of the landowners of Kent and Sussex. But Leofric, whether English or British by blood, was neither English nor British by education. His bringing up was Lotharingian, and he was the first prelate of his age to bring the Lotharingian discipline into England. He thus represents the high position which was held at the time, as seminaries of ecclesiastical learning and discipline, by the secular churches of Germany, by those especially of that corner of the Teutonic Kingdom which might be looked on as the border-land of Germany, Gaul, and Britain, and which drew scholars from all those countries alike. Leofric represents further that close connexion, especially in ecclesiastical matters, between

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England and the Teutonic mainland which began under Æthelstan and Eadgar, which went on under Cnut, and which reached its height when Godwine and Harold found it an useful counterpoise to the Norman and French tendencies of King Eadward. Leofric again, in the constitution which he brought into his church, the stricter discipline of Chrodegang, marks the beginning of a tendency which was afterwards carried on by Gisa at Wells, and for a moment by Thomas at York, but which presently gave way to the system which Remigius brought from Rouen to Lincoln, and which, in theory at least, still remains the constitution of the Old-Foundation churches of England. Leofric survived the Norman invasion; he survived the great siege of Exeter, in which his name is not mentioned. Insular by birth, but continental in feeling, he was succeeded by almost the only one among the Norman settlers in England who became an Englishman at heart. Osbern, a son of the famous Gilbert of Brionne, a brother of the fierce Earl of Hereford, came to England, like so many of his countrymen, to seek his fortune at the court of King Eadward. Of him alone among the foreign prelates of that day we read that in his manner of life he followed the customs of England, and had no love for the pomp of Normandy. Of his English tastes we have still a negative witness among us. Through his episcopate, down to the fourth year of Henry the First, the church in which Englishmen had been content to worship still stood. The oldest parts of the present church of Exeter date only from the time of his successor.

The great ecclesiastical change of the eleventh century has carried us on, in point of date, beyond the great time which stands out above all others in the history of Exeter, the time when we may say that for eighteen days Exeter was England. The tale of the great siege I have told elsewhere in as full detail as existing records gave me the means of telling it, and I will not tell it in the same detail again. But the story of the resistance of the western lands and their capital to the full power of the Conqueror is one which ought never to pass away from the memories of Englishmen. The city, with its walls and towers again made ready for defence—the mother and the sons of Harold within its walls—the march of the Conqueror to the Eastern gate—the faint-heartedness of the leaders—the strong heart of the

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commons, who endured to see their hostage blinded before their eyes—the resistance as stubborn against William as it had been against Swegen—the breach of the walls by arts which to the simpler generalship of Swegen were unknown—the escape of Gytha and her companions by the water-gate—the bloodless entry of the Conqueror—the foundation of the castle to curb the stout-hearted city—the raising of its tribute to lessen the wealth which had enabled it to resist—all form a tale than which, even in that stirring time, none, save the tale of the great battle itself, speaks more home to the hearts of all who love to bear in mind how long and hard a work it was to make England yield to her foreign master. Our hearts beat with those of the defenders of Exeter; we mourn as the mother of the last English King flees from the last English city which maintained the cause of the house of Godwine. But we see none the less that it was for the good of England that Exeter should fall. A question was there decided, greater than the question whether England should be ruled by Harold, Eadgar, or William—the question whether England should be one. When Exeter stood forth for one moment to claim the rank of a free Imperial city, the chief of a confederation of the lesser towns of the West—when she, or at least her rulers, professed themselves willing to receive William as an external lord, to pay him the tribute which had been paid to the old Kings, but refused to admit him within her walls as her immediate sovereign—we see that the tendency was at work in England by which the kingdoms of the Empire were split up into loose collections of independent cities and principalities. We see that the path was opening by which Exeter might have come to be another Lübeck, the head of a Damnonian Hansa, or another Bern, the mistress of the subject lands of the western peninsula. Such a dream sounds wild in our ears, and we may be sure that no such ideas were present in any such definite shape to the minds of the defenders of Exeter. But any such conscious designs were probably just as little present to the minds of those who, in any German or Italian city, took the first steps in the course by which, from a municipality or less than a municipality, the city grew into a sovereign commonwealth. Historically that separate defence of the western lands which ended in a separate defence of Exeter is simply a case of the way in

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which, after Harold was gone, England was conquered bit by bit. York never dreamed of helping Exeter, and Exeter, if it had the wish, had not the power to help York. But it is none the less true that, when we see a confederation of western towns, with the great city of the district at their head, suddenly starting into life, to check the progress of the Conqueror, we see that a spirit had been kindled, which, had it not been checked at once, might have grown into something of which those who manned the walls of Exeter assuredly never thought. We cannot mourn that such a tendency was stopped, even by the arm of a foreign conqueror. We cannot mourn that the greatness of Exeter was not purchased at the cost of the greatness of England. But it is worth while to stop and think how near England once was to running the same course as other lands, how easily the Earls of Chester and Shrewsbury might have grown into sovereign princes, Margraves of their border principalities—how easily the Palatine Bishops of Durham might have grown into spiritual princes, like their brethren of Speier and Bamberg—how easily Exeter and Lincoln might have taken their places as the heads of confederations of free cities in the *Wealh-cyn* and among the Five Danish boroughs. From such a fate as this, from the sacrifice of the general welfare of the whole to the greater brilliance of particular members of the whole, we have been saved by a variety of causes, and not the least of them, by the personal character of a series of great Kings, working in the cause of national unity, from West-Saxon Ecgberht to Norman William. The tendency of the patriotic movements in William's reign was a tendency to division. The tendency of William's own rule was a tendency to union. The aims of the Exeter patricians could not have been long reconciled with the aims of the sons of Harold, nor could the aims of either have been reconciled for a moment with the aims of the partizans of the Ætheling Eadgar, of the sons of Ælfgar, or of the Danish Swegen. We sympathize with the defenders of Exeter, of York and Ely and Durham, but we feel that, from the moment when England lost the one man among her own sons who was fit to guide her, her best fate in the long run was to pass as an undivided kingdom into the hands of his victorious rival.

With the submission of Exeter to William we might fairly

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end our tale of the place of Exeter in English history. It was now ruled for ever that the city by the Exe was to be an English city. It was to be no separate commonwealth, but a member of the undivided English kingdom, yet still a city that was to remain the undisputed head of its own district. Its history from this time, as far as I am concerned with it, is less the history of Exeter than the history of those events in English history which took place at Exeter. It still has its municipal, its ecclesiastical, its commercial history; it still had to strive for its rights against Earls and Countesses and Bishops; it still, in later days, could bear its share in the great seafaring enterprises of commerce and discovery. But from the entry of William, Exeter has no longer a separate political being of its own. It is no longer an object to be striven for by men of contending nations. It is no longer something which might conceivably be cut off from the English realm, either by the success of a foreign conqueror or by the independence of its own citizens. In the other sense of the words, as pointing out those events of English history of which Exeter was the scene, the place of Exeter in English history is one which yields to that of no city in the land save London itself. It was with a true instinct that the two men who open the two great æras in local history, English Æthelstan and Norman William, both gave such special heed to the military defences of the city. No city in England has stood more sieges. It stood one, perhaps two, more before William's own reign was ended, indeed before William had brought the conquest of the whole land to an end by the taking of Chester. The men of Exeter had withstood William as long as he came before them as a foreign invader; when his power was once fully established, when the castle on the Red Mount, reared by the stranger on the earthworks of earlier days, held down the city in fetters, they seem to have had no mood to join in hopeless insurrection against him. When, a year and a half after the great siege, the castle was again besieged by the West-Saxon insurgents, the citizens seem to have joined the Norman garrison in resisting their attacks. According to one account, they had already done the like to the sons of Harold and their Irish auxiliaries. The wars of Stephen's reign did not pass without a siege of Exeter, in which King and citizens joined to besiege the rebellious Lord of Rouge-

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mont, and at last to starve him out within the towers which legend was already beginning to speak of as the work of the Cæsars. I pass on to later times; the Tudor æra saw two sieges of the city, one at the hands of a pretender to the Crown, another at the hands of the religious insurgents of the further West. Twice again in the wars of the next century do we find Exeter passing from one side to the other by dint of siege, and at last we see her receiving an invader at whose coming no siege was needed. The entry of William the Deliverer through the Western Gate forms the balance, the contrast, and yet in some sort the counterpart, to the entry of William the Conqueror through the Eastern Gate. The city had resisted to the utmost, when a foreign invader, under the guise of an English King, came to demand her obedience. But no eighteen days' siege, no blinded hostage, no undermined ramparts, were needed when a kinsman and a deliverer came under the guise of a foreign invader. In the army of William of Normandy Englishmen were pressed to complete the Conquest of England; in the army of William of Orange strangers came to awake her sons to begin the work of her deliverance. In the person of the earlier William the Crown of England passed away for the first time to a King wholly alien in speech and feeling; in the later William it in truth came back to one who was, even in mere descent, and yet more fully in his native land and native speech, nearer than all that came between them to the old stock of Hengest and Cerdic. The one was the first King who reigned over England purely by the edge of the sword; the other was the last King who reigned over England purely by the choice of the nation. The coming of each of the men who entered Exeter in such opposite characters marks an æra in our history. And yet the work of the two was not wholly alien to each other. The later William came to undo the work of the earlier, so far as it was evil, to confirm it so far as it was good. With the one began the period of foreign domination, which seemed to sweep away our ancient tongue and our ancient law. With the other began that period of internal progress, every step of which has been in truth a return to the old laws of England before the Norman set foot upon our shores. And yet, after all, William the Conqueror did but preserve what William the Deliverer came to

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restore. His Conquest ruled for ever that England should remain an undivided kingdom, and, in so ruling, it ruled that the old laws and freedom, trampled on indeed but never trampled out, should live on, to spring up again in newer forms. When the one William renewed the Laws of Eadward, it was but a link in the same chain as when the other William gave his assent to the Bill of Rights. In the one case the invader came to conquer, in the other he came to deliver; but, in both cases alike, the effect of his coming was to preserve and not to destroy; the Conqueror and the Deliverer alike has had his share in working out the continuous being of English law and of English national life. The unwilling greeting which Exeter gave to the one William, the willing greeting which she gave to the other, marked the wide difference in the external aspect of the two revolutions. And yet both revolutions have worked for the same end; the great actors in both were, however unwittingly, fellow-workers in the same cause. And it is no small place in English history which belongs to the city whose name stands out in so marked a way in the tale alike of the revolution of the eleventh century and of the revolution of the seventeenth. It is no small matter, as we draw near by the western bridge or by the eastern isthmus, as we pass where once stood the Eastern and the Western Gate, as we tread the line of the ancient streets, to think that we are following the march of the Conqueror or of the Deliverer. It is no small matter, as we enter the minster of Leofric and Warelwast and Grandison, to think that on that spot Te Deum was sung alike for the overthrow of English freedom and for its recovery. It is no mean lesson if we learn to connect with the remembrance of this ancient city, among so many associations of British, Roman, and English days, two thoughts which rise above all the rest, the thought that there is no city in the land whose name marks a greater stage in the history of the Conquest of England, that there is none whose name marks a greater stage in the history of her deliverance.

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THE ANCIENT POTTERIES OF THE NEW FOREST, HAMPSHIRE.

By the Rev. J. PEMBERTON BARTLETT.

THE remains of Romano-British potters' kilns have from time to time been discovered in various parts of Great Britain—at Castor in Northamptonshire, in London, on the banks of the Medway, at Ewell in Surrey, at Warrington, and at Shepton Mallet. A rude kind of pottery was made at Holt Forest, in this county, and I was some years since the fortunate discoverer of sites of several potteries in the New Forest. It was a bright and beautiful day in early spring, when in rambling in the Forest I happened to light on a piece of coarse-looking pottery that had been unearthed by a rabbit in making its subterranean home. On carefully examining it, I conjectured it to be of Roman origin. On going some little distance further, I found men busy draining—tall, long-backed, long-limbed West-Saxon-looking peasants, but withal civil and intelligent. Upon enquiring if they ever found fragments similar to the piece I had found, one man, with evident surprise at my interest in such a common-looking shard, told me that on a hill a short distance off I could get a barrowfull. Upon going to the spot described, which was in the then finely-wooded part of the Forest, I discovered what at first sight appeared to be three large depressed barrows. On searching among the grass and ferns with which they were covered, I found several mole casts, which consisted of small pieces of pottery mingled with a fine black ash-like mould. Upon digging into the apex of one of the mounds, the spade brought to light numerous fragments of different kinds of pottery, which led me instantly to conclude I had discovered the site of a potter's kiln.

I found from the workman that the hill was called "Crockkle," which struck me at once as a corruption of

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Crock Hill, or even more probably of *Crock Kiln*. I returned home with my pockets filled with those interesting fragments, and my mind filled with those feelings of pleasure at the discovery which an antiquary only can thoroughly enter into. It may be perhaps that there are some who, like Wordsworth's peasant when looking on the primrose at the river's brim, would look upon these interesting and classically shaped vessels before me as only broken pots and pans, "and nothing more." But it is not so. They speak of a race that has passed away—of a conquered country—and bring before us the very articles of domestic use in those early times.

The circumference of the mounds at "Crockkle" varied considerably, the largest being rather more than 100 yards, the second between 70 and 80, while the third, which consisted chiefly of ashes and small fragments of pottery, and which bore no traces of a kiln, was about 50 yards in circumference, and was more depressed than the others. Having obtained permission from the proper authority to explore the kilns, I set to work by opening a trench about 3 feet wide at the base; the workmen then proceeded to undermine the artificial soil of which the mound was composed, then driving strong stakes into about two feet of ground, they were pushed forward, and the mass fell gently into the trench in a sufficient body to prevent any vessels contained in it from breaking. By these means the specimens now brought before us in the accompanying illustrations, and the collection which is in the British Museum, were from time to time brought to light, I hoped we might have found the masonry of the kilns intact, as Mr. Artis found in his researches among the potters' kilns of Northamptonshire, but in this we were disappointed, as the only traces were a mass of crumbling red brick soil, among which we found a few rough bricks, probably moulded by the hand. Around this mass of decayed bricks in two of the kilns a circle of large sandstone boulders was discovered.

From the decayed state of the bricks, the general coarseness of the pottery, and from the fact that among the great quantity of fragments dug out not a specimen was found with any figures or potter's name, it would seem probable that our forest kilns are of an earlier date than those of Northamptonshire. The only ornaments were circles, dots,

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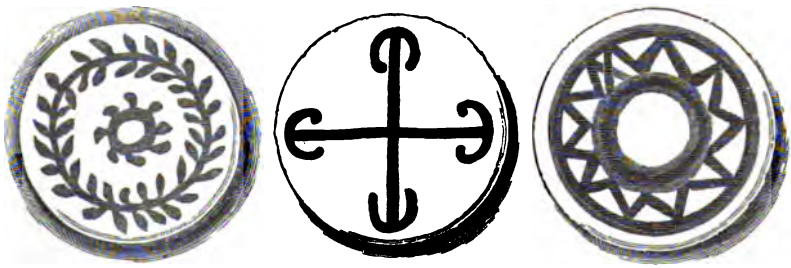
5½ inches high. Brown, with white pattern.

Light Brown. 4½ inches high.

Brown Ware. 4½ inches high.



Red patterns on bases of fawn-coloured pottery. Diameters, 4 inches.

Examples of Pottery found in the New Forest, Hampshire.

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lines, and zig-zags, indented with some tool, or burnt in with a white or red pigment; all were done with considerable neatness and taste.

The fragments and more perfect vessels consisted of the remains of differently shaped vases, pateræ, mortaria, colanders, and what appeared to have been candlesticks, the most perfect example of which is now in the museum of the Hartley Institute at Southampton. The most frequently recurring form, both in a perfect and fragmentary state, was a vase similar to many found at Castor by Mr. Artis.

Although the New Forest pottery is of a somewhat inferior kind, yet it possesses the elegance of form so characteristic of Roman art.

The ornaments of this pottery, though simple, are very diversified; sometimes formed of bands of semicircles or circles, made probably with compasses, sometimes by themselves, and sometimes with lines drawn from the half-circles to the bottoms of the vessels. Some are ornamented with wavy intersections and zig-zag lines, while on others the ornament is formed by raised points encircling the vessels in bands, or grouped into circles, squares, or diamond patterns. In other examples the ornament was more simple, consisting merely of parallel or crossed lines. Lines crossed diamond-wise, like net-work, were also commonly found.

The vessels were of various sizes from 9 in. to 2 in. in height, holding from a quart to less than a gill in measure. They are chiefly made of a hard dark slate-coloured ware, which, when exposed to the action of fire, snaps and flies out, probably from the clay being mixed with a large quantity of silicious matter. Some, however, were of a red porous pottery, and some of a coarse white kind. The indentures at the sides of many specimens were probably formed upon them by the thumb of the potter when unbaked; in others of the same class, but more neatly finished, the indentations appear to have been made by some instrument; a smooth polished pebble found in one of the kilns, and which fitted some of the hollows, was probably used for this purpose.

Some Roman coins were dug up at Cadnam, in the Forest, which one of the workmen informed me were contained in just such "a thumb pot," as he called it; a similar one was dug up at Winchester. I also find in the volume of the

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Proceedings of the Archæological Institute recording the Salisbury Meeting,[1] a drawing of a vessel found in a barrow, almost precisely similar to some found among the New Forest Pottery. Now it happens, curiously enough, that I have an almost exactly similar vessel, a well burnt urn of thin red pottery, in height 4¼ in., while its largest diameter is 2¾ in., a very trifling variation from the size of the one found in the barrow near Beckhampton. I find too on one of the plates of drawings (V.) illustrating the results of the examination of barrows, &c., by the Very Rev. Dr. Merewether, late Dean of Hereford, given in the same Volume, the drawing of a fragment of a small *ampulla* of somewhat coarse pottery found in a barrow near Silbury Hill, which is precisely the same shape as several specimens found in the New Forest kilns.

A small vessel full of silver Roman coins was dug up at Amberwood (about half-a-mile from the site now under consideration), which one of the workmen informed me was exactly the shape of a vase, of which he found several nearly perfect examples. One of the coins I know to have been of Valens, and one of Julian the Apostate, as they were exhibited before the Society of Antiquaries.

From these coincidences we may infer the probability of these vessels being manufactured at the Forest potteries. I was disappointed in my hope of finding any tools used by the workmen. About a pound of corroded sheet lead, and a lump of iron (about half a pound in weight), but so corroded as to render it impossible to form an opinion as to its use, were all that we discovered. The only coins found were two pieces of Hadrian in large brass, and three small brass coins of the lower empire, one of which crumbled to pieces on being exposed to the air; the other two were of Victorinus, who reigned in Gaul, and probably in Britain, from A.D. 265 to A.D. 267; but as all the coins bore traces of having been long in circulation, they were probably lost at the kilns as late as the end of the third century. How

[1] P. 108. List of "Antiquities found near Avebury." Sketches representing objects found in the neighbourhood, "which for the most part are still retained and highly prized by those on whose property they were discovered."

"No. 1. A well burnt urn of thin red pottery, found in a barrow on the south of Beckhampton, towards Tan Hill, at the head of a skeleton, lying at full length; round it were nail-heads as if of a coffin; a few feet from this was a smaller skeleton doubled up. The height of this urn was 4⅛ in., largest diameter 2⅜ in."

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Red with white pattern. Height 8¼ inches.

Dark brown. 5½ inches high.

4¾ inches in diameter.

Diameter, 3¼ inches.

Examples of Pottery found in the New Forest, Hampshire

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long these potteries continued in use after this period must be left to conjecture, but they probably were worked till the Romans abandoned Britain, and it is not impossible they might have been carried on by the inhabitants after that event.

In one of the potteries we found a mass of clay apparently ready mixed and ground together for use. The district of the Forest where these potteries are situated is where the lower Bagshot Sands with their clays crop out, probably part of the same bed which is still used by the potters at Aldershott, and Verwood, on the other side of the Avon. Upon comparing the present style of pottery made there at this time with the specimens found in the Forest, we are struck with the great superiority of the ancient over the modern, both in design and hardness.

Potteries probably extended at intervals for miles throughout the Forest, and, no doubt, more remain to be discovered. Besides those at "Crock Hill" and "Island of Thorns," I found traces of kilns at Anderwood, Sloden, and Pitt's Inclosure, from all of which specimens have been obtained of various degrees of fineness and perfection.

Traces of potteries have also been more recently found by Mr. Wise, in Oakley Inclosure, Lower Hat, Ashley rails, and near Linwood. He also explored a mound in Pitt's Inclosure which I had not examined, and which he describes as "remarkable for the number of kilns placed close together. There were five ranged in a semicircle, and paved with sandstone." Close to the Westernmost kiln were found only the necks of various unguent bottles, while the Easternmost oven seemed to have been used only for baking a coarse red panchion, on which a cover with a knob for a handle was fixed; of these were found an enormous quantity. Mr. Wise also found there "two heaps of white and fawn coloured clay, and red earth placed ready for mixing, and another heap of the two clays mixed for the immediate use of the potter."

Mr. Wise found also a kiln with more perfect bricks than I had discovered, on some of which the finger-marks of the workmen's hands could plainly be traced. I also found the handle of a vessel (which is now in the Hartley Museum, Southampton) on which the graining of the skin of the workman's thumb can plainly be seen. Mr. Wise also found a

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strainer or colander, a funnel, some fragments of mock Samian ware, part of a lamp, and some beads of Kimmeridge clay, which help to prove the Roman origin of the kilns; the iron tools of the workmen had dropped into the furnace, and were much melted; he also found the plank upon which the clay had been tempered, the wood of which, he supposes, owed its preservation to the quantity of iron in the soil, and was in a semi-fossilized state.

There are few who now ascribe these and the other potteries mentioned, to any other period than the Romano-British, and I believe Mr. Roach Smith was the first to deny the so-called "Samian" a British or Italian parentage, and to assign it to the Gaul. If we may assume that the vase previously noticed as found with the skeleton at Beckhampton was made at the potteries of this district, it favours the supposition that they were in operation at least as late as the end of the fourth century; the interment at Beckhampton being of the Roman period, and subsequent to the days of Constantine, when the Pagan rite of cremation fell into disuse.

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VESTIGES OF EARLY HABITATION IN CORNWALL.

(Being an attempt to elucidate the age and origin of certain hut-settlements in the west of England, from observations and discoveries made among the ruins themselves.[1])

By WILLIAM COPELAND BORLASE, M.A., F.S.A.

THERE are still some parts of the Duchy of Cornwall where, as in the case of Dartmoor, the bones of the country protruding through the skin have effectually baffled every effort of the farmer to follow his plough through their treeless desolate wilds. It is true that of late years a more determined foe has arisen in the person of the stone-cutter, who not content with overturning the tolmen at Constenton, has driven his quarries to within a few yards of the Cheesewring itself, thereby having already partially overturned, and still threatening wholly to upset, one of the most weird and curious of Nature's relics. But still many a bold "karn"[2] remains untouched; its summit surmounted, it may be, by a Cyclopean fortress, or, it may be, by the cairn of some pre-historic lord of the soil, whose now tenantless homestead is sure to be found somewhere hard by on the hillside beneath, overgrown with fern and heather, and seemingly scarce worthy of a passing glance. It is, indeed, remarkable that while the memorials of the dead—the cromlechs, the circles, and the monoliths—have secured so large a share of the antiquary's time and ingenuity, the homes of the living have been, until recently, comparatively speaking, overlooked. Plans and drawings have, in some few cases, been forwarded to the local societies, and by them published in their Journals;[3] but no attempt has been made to compare and to classify such habitations, much less to dig to their foundations and examine their contents. As I felt sure that it was by this latter method only that a clue could

[1] Read in the Section of "Antiquities" at the Exeter Meeting of the Institute, August 4, 1873.

[2] "Karn" is used in Cornwall in the same sense as the Devonshire "tor," especially in the west.

[3] We are specially indebted to the pen and pencil of Mr. J. T. Blight, in the "Archæologia," the "Archæologia Cambrensis," the Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall, and the Penzance Natural History Society.

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be gained to the mode of life pursued by the inhabitants, to the ethnology of the race, and to the approximate date of occupation, I set to work upon a few of the more promising specimens. How far I may have succeeded; whether or not I may have opened a passage for one ray of historic light to steal in on these "Children of the Western Mist," it will be for future researches to determine.

It will readily be seen by a glance at the plans and drawings which accompany this paper,[4] that in treating generally of Cornish hut-circles, we are in reality dealing with two distinct types or classes of structures—the one far simpler in plan and apparently far more primitive in construction than the other. Whether we are to regard them both as the work of one and the same people at different stages of progressive culture, or whether the more finished groups (which, by the way, are only met with west of Hayle), were the abodes of a party of settlers on the promontory of Bolerium, more advanced in masonic skill, is a question we can scarcely hope to set at rest. All we can hope to do is to recognise the distinctive features in either class, and then pass on to consider a few of the more characteristic examples.

The main point of difference lies in the fact that while the ruder specimens of the Eastern district are all *detached*, those of the West-country are (with very few exceptions) closely *attached* to each other.[5] In the latter case, the hut-chambers are all seen to nestle, as it were, in the thickness of a surrounding wall, more or less massive, and sometimes defensible. In the former, each hut stands by itself, in the centre, or at the side of an enclosure so uniformly depressed and so large in extent that it is impossible to suppose it was ever intended to serve any other purpose than a boundary of land or a fence for cattle. In cases, however, where defence was necessary, we have evidence, as at Grimspound in Devon, and probably also at Castallack,[6] and elsewhere, in Cornwall, that the builders of the *detached* huts also could

[4] The space devoted to illustrations in this Journal not permitting of the reproduction of all my drawings exhibited at Exeter, the most typical only have been selected. In taking the ground-plan (No. 11) of Castle Karn Brea, I was under great obligations to Sir Gardner Wilkinson's excellent map of that place.

[5] I see that this difference also struck Mr. Blight, in 1867. *See* Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall, No. IX. p. 11.

[6] *See* Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall, No. IV., Oct. 1865, p. 66.

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sometimes raise their cattle fences into walls of considerable height and marvellous solidity. Other distinctive features, such as the relative height of the stone walls of the huts themselves, and the presence of subterranean structures in or near the Western examples, will be noticed in the sequel; meanwhile two points of similarity between the classes are observable in the lines of upright stones which frequently are seen to stretch over the downs, or form enclosures in their neighbourhood, and in the artificial terraces or platforms levelled out of the hill sides in close proximity to them.

Having thus very briefly noted these class distinctions, we will now proceed to examine some few of the more perfect examples of each group, recording as we go on such discoveries made in or around them as may tend to throw light on their origin and use. Firstly, then (though they are probably the more recent), we will consider what I shall term the *hut-clusters* of the Western district.

Generally speaking, these are to be found on the sunny slope of a prominent eminence, varying in aspect from S.W. to S.E. Among the peasants and miners they are known by a name which deserves remark. They are called "*The old men's*[7] *dwellings*," local tradition pointing to them as the habitations of an early race of miners, whose surface works for tin, generally to be found in an adjacent valley, are styled, in like manner, "*The old men's workings*." The name which they bore in the Cornish language was simply descriptive of their present appearance—"Crellas" or "Crowlas" being equally appropriate, whether it signifies, as Gwavas says, "the round green spots," or, as Borlase suggests, "the green folds or pens." In many places the sites of these ancient towns, though now partially or entirely demolished, may be detected at a distance by the immense piles of stones pillaged from older walls, which, in clearing the ground for cultivation, have been gathered together to form the modern hedges. Indeed it was in this manner that I was first guided to the remains of a hut-town at Bodinar[8], in the parish of Sancreed, 4 miles N.W. of Penzance, some features of which are worthy of note.

The site in this case selected for the settlement was ele-

[7] *See* Mr. Hunt's Popular Romances. Second series, p. 111.

[8] Previous notices of Bodinar occur in Borlase's Paroch. Mem., MS., p. 22, and in Edmond's "Land's End District," p. 47.

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vated, and the prospect most extensive, commanding to the Southward the greater part of Mount's Bay and the land intervening. Terraces artificially levelled, not for defence, but, seemingly, to facilitate the progress of a rustic plough, skirt the ascent, while a narrow sunken lane winding through them leads to the dwellings above. Of the number of these dwellings, existing even within the memory of man, the present ruins represent but a fraction. Small levelled plots, surrounding those that still remain, afford excellent grazing for cattle, a purpose for which they were no doubt designed. One structure more perfect than the rest I have selected for illustration. (Nos. 1 and 2.) It is placed at the northern extremity of the town, and consists of two contiguous oval enclosures, the larger 41 ft. by 36, the smaller one 32 ft. by 19. The entrance to the former faces S.S.E., and two rude pillars, each 6 ft. high, guard the passage from the one to the other. Observing that chambers existed in the thickness of the wall of the larger circle, I caused these to be cleared out in the summer of last year. These, which are indicated in the plan, I found to be three in number, of various lengths, but averaging 4 ft. in breadth. All three opened into the central court by narrow doorways, 2 or 3 ft. wide, the jambs of which were still in their places. The end of each chamber was semicircular and exhibited some attempt at the overlapping mode of structure of which we shall presently speak. The depth of vegetable mould exhumed from the chambers made it pretty clear that the roof had in each case consisted of turf, or thatch, supported, it may be, on wooden rafters springing from the walls at a height not exceeding 5 ft. from the floor.

The following notes on the construction of this hut-cluster will be applicable generally to all the other hut masonry of this class. The outer wall of the larger circle was faced externally with immense granite blocks, in some cases 8 ft. long, placed contiguously to each other, and fixed on their edges in the natural soil. These enclosed and supported a bank of smaller stones and rubble, in this case not exceeding 6 or 8 ft. high, though sometimes, where defence was aimed at, it reached double that height. Internally, this outer wall (which served also for the back wall of the chambers, and branched off to form the partitions between them) consisted of hedging stones neatly fitted together without mortar, and

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was strengthened here and there by upright pillars or joints, sometimes as much as 4 ft. in height. In the case of the smaller circle adjoining, a low bank of earth, not 2 ft. high, had been faced on either side with stones set on edge, the thickness of the whole averaging 3 ft. How huts of this description were covered in, if they ever were so at all, I am at a loss to conjecture. In this instance a great depth of vegetable mould in the interior indicated, perhaps, that turf rising in the form of the stone beehives, and supported by poles lashed together or other framework of wood, had formed the original roof. During the work of exploration small quantities of burnt earth and ashes were taken from the floors of the chambers, together with pebbles from the sea shore, which some may regard as cooking stones, like those of the Assinaboins, or "Stone-boiling," Indians.[9]

Although not very successful myself in the case of the Bodinar Crellas, I found on inquiry that previous explorers had met with better fortune. Thus, from an old inhabitant, I learnt that during the removal of another of the huts, which he remembered to have been built of stone, "like a bee-bult, with a lintel over the door," a "stone saucer" had been found, and with it "a round stone which resembled a man's head." From the foundations of the same hut were taken up "the ashes of a fire, and small copper coins." From another man I gained the information that a second hoard of copper coins, like the first, but in much greater quantity, was brought to light some years ago, under a flat-stone in the lane leading up to the village. Of these I was able to obtain three, which proved to be third brasses of Victorinus, Tetricus, junr., and Probus (265 A.D. to 282). Others of like date have been picked up in ploughing the level platforms before alluded to. I may mention that two stones' throw S.W. of the huts there existed in 1738, when Borlase visited Bodinar, a subterranean structure known as the "Giant's Holt."[1]

[9] See Tylor's "Early History of Mankind," p. 265. Supposed traces of stone-boiling were found by the Hon. W. O. Stanley, F.S.A., in a hut-circle on Holyhead mountain, and also by Dr. Blackmore in a dome-shaped pit habitation near Salisbury. It is evident, however, from many examples, that our Cornish hut-pottery was subjected *externally* to the fire, whereas in the case of the Assinaboins a hole was dug in the ground, into which a skin was inserted to form the pot, and the water in it was then boiled by the insertion of the hot stones. Our pebbles are not sufficient evidence of so rude a practice.

[1] Neither Mr. Edmonds (author of the "Land's End District") nor myself have

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The presence of a bee-hive hut at Bodinar may next lead us to examine the nature and construction of a few of these remarkable buildings, forming, as they do, so instructive a feature in early architecture, and so common a one in the hut-dwellings of the British Isles. Of these, West Cornwall possesses one or two unusually good specimens. One of the most perfect has been so admirably planned and figured by Mr. T. T. Blight[2] that no illustration need here be given. It is situated in a marshy valley at Bosporthennis, in the parish of Zennor. Formerly it was one of a much larger group, now demolished; and at the commencement of the present century it was itself perfect, the stone dome being covered in by a mound of earth. In internal diameter it measures 13 ft. E. and W., by 13 ft. 10 in. N. and S.; and the height in the centre, when perfect, must have been 8 or 9 ft. By a doorway, 3 ft. 10 in. high, and 3 ft. 8 in. wide, it is connected with a second chamber oblong in form.

This entrance, "*si parva licet componere magnis*," cannot but remind us, both in the cyclopean appearance of its masonry, and the massive stone-work that abuts on it, of the close-jointed walls of Cortona, and the far-famed door-case at Mycenæ. Besides this one, the hut is provided with two other means of exit, placed on the S.W. and N. sides; the former high enough for a person to pass under upright, the other only 2 ft. 7 in. high.

The beehive structure, as it has been termed, consisted in the West, *in its most primitive form*, of successive layers or courses of stone, each overlapping the one beneath it, until a single stone was sufficient to complete the apex of the dome. The manner in which each stone was poised on the one immediately below it is worthy of notice, and proves how skillfully the builders could adapt to their work the ponderous and unhewn materials at their disposal. The lower layers consisted of square blocks of no great breadth or thickness, overlapping each other only in a very slight degree. The upper stones, on the contrary, were often of considerable

been successful in discovering the whereabouts of this cave, though ample tradition of it survives in the neighbourhood. I found, however, a small stone structure in one of the hedges, which may have been a secret entrance to this ancient "*vau*." It was only high enough to crawl through, though marks of fire were on the floor, and a drain was beneath it. Inserted in the barn wall is a stone with a cavity in it for hand-grinding. The "stone saucer" and "round stone" no doubt were for a similar purpose.

[2] In "Appendix to Cornish Churches," p. 139, &c.

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length,—their outer extremities, or backs, being sufficiently heavy to counterpoise the weight imposed on their inner ends, which sometimes protruded as much as 2 ft. into the building, and were strengthened by pinners between. Thus, while the inside of the hut was often pretty symmetrical, the outside presented a rugged and irregular appearance, though in most cases, no doubt, this defect was hidden by a mound of earth reared over the whole.

I have said "in its most primitive form;" for we have one instance in West Cornwall of a hut, roofed in the beehive fashion, still perfect, and displaying such a decided superiority of construction as at first lead me to suppose it to be a modern erection. Taking into consideration, however, its surroundings, and allowing that one side (previously destroyed by mining operations) has been rebuilt more recently to render it serviceable as a cattle-shed, I now do not hesitate to regard it as a genuine ancient structure (No. 3). It is to be found on the slope of a hill immediately South of Ding Dong Mine, in the parish of Madron, and has never been figured or described before. A semicircular wall, which in Greece would be termed cyclopean, 60 ft. in circumference, and 7 or 8 ft. in height, encloses a bank of earth and stones. At one end of this, a low entrance, 3 ft. wide, opens into a passage chamber (A) 18 ft. long by 5 ft. in width, roofed in with 8 granite blocks, and corresponding precisely to the other ancient caves, or "*vaus*," as they are termed, in the neighbourhood. At the other extremity of the bank a second door-way, 2 ft. 6 in. wide, and 3 ft. 6 in. high, opens into a building (B) 9 ft. square. On entering and looking up, the roof is seen to be formed of a few enormous stones placed in the following manner:—The walls of the rectangular area, after rising perpendicularly for 4 ft. are spanned at each corner by long blocks of granite placed transversely across them. Above these, again, is a second layer of similar stones, their length being parallel to the walls beneath, and their ends resting on those below them. It now required only a single stone to fill in the aperture in the centre. For this purpose a fine flat block of granite was chosen; and, thus, the simple dome was completed at a height of nearly 8 ft. from the floor below. The proximity of this hut to a mine (C) traditionally worked "before the coming of Christ," renders the discovery of it the more remarkable. For a

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knowledge of its whereabouts I am indebted to Mr. Trounson, C. E., of Penzance.

When compared to beehive structures such as these, those of Dartmoor and Eastern Cornwall scarcely deserve the name. So small are the latter that they have been compared to "cupboards," and so rugged are they on the inside that they could scarcely have served for the habitation of man.[3] In the neighbourhood of Brownwilly, however, several more perfect ones, on a larger scale, are still to be met with. Indeed, there are said to be seven, the whereabouts of which are known. One, in especial, at Fernacre (No. 4), nearly square in its ground plan, measures 8 ft. in length, by 7 ft. in breadth, and is 7 ft. 6 in. high. Whether this is in reality an ancient building is open to question; but, even should we regard it as recent, it points to the survival, in that vicinity, of this mode of building; and, doubtless, represents to us all the characteristics of the more primitive ones from which it derived its origin. The "culver house" (Columbarium), or dove-cot at lower Bussow in the parish of Towednack (No. 5) is another example of the survival into modern times of this self-same beehive construction, in conjunction, too, with the old dry masonry. The dome in this case is formed by 8 layers of stone, each overlapping the one below it. It is 18 ft. in height, and in its low door-case and the rude stone-work which surrounds it, might pass for a Sardinian "Nurhag," or an Irish round-tower of Mr. Petrie's earliest period.

The overlapping structure, though best adapted for circular buildings, was not confined to these. It was the universal mode of construction in the case of the subterraneous chambers already alluded to. One of these, enclosed (like the Irish examples) by a rampart, and situated at Trelowarren, affords an excellent example of this. It has been admirably figured by Mr. J. T. Blight, in the "Archæologia."[4] The walling stones, in this case, as in others, gradually approaching each other, from either side of the

[3] Mr. Spence Bate, F.R.S., in his paper on the Antiquities of Dartmoor, printed in the Transactions of the Devonshire Association, 1871, observes (p. 501) with regard to the beehives: "There is every reason to think that they were places for keeping stores of food or other valued possessions in." I know of no instance of valuables being found in any of these; but, as ashes have been found in them, it seems more reasonable to suppose them places for the fire, which could not safely be lighted in the adjoining thatched enclosure.

[4] Vol. xl.

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passage, with almost the regularity of an arch, are finaly spanned by a single stone, which serves the purpose of a key-stone, both in inversely supporting and consolidating the walls on which it rests.

It is, indeed, when we descend into these underground structures (many of which were dwellings in as true a sense as those on the surface[5]) that we see the masonry of our hut-dwellers in its greatest perfection.

During the summer months of the years 1863, 1864, and 1868, I busied myself in exploring a structure of this kind at Chapel Euny in the parish of Sancreed, which possessed an additional interest from the fact that it contained a large subterranean "beehive" hut. An account of this was read before the Society of Antiquaries; but, in order to make the accompanying plan (No. 6) intelligible, and to point to some of the discoveries I then made, I must here recapitulate a few of the details. A passage chamber (A), 40 ft. long, and from 6 to 7 ft. high, was roofed in with granite slabs, averaging in breadth from 2 to 7 ft. Owing to the fact that it was entirely filled with fine dry earth, reaching close up to the under-faces of the roofing stones, it was not discovered until the other chambers had already been cleared out. At the south-western end, a low narrow passage, 9 ft. long, and about 3 ft. high (B), communicates abruptly with the surface. At its other extremity, a third chamber (C), also passes to the surface by a gentle ascent, where the entrance is marked by an upright stone. A fourth chamber (D), 4 ft. high and the same in width, branching off at right angles at the junction of A and C,[6] leads into the beehive hut[7] (E). This beehive hut is a more perfect specimen than that at Bosporthennis; but, in many respects, the two structures are precisely similar; and the doorways are so much alike[8] that the single drawing (No. 7) might almost serve for them

[5] In West Cornwall they are very common. In addition to Trelowarren and *Chapel Euny*, we may name Trewoof (2), *Boscawell*, *Pendeen*, *Bodinar*, *Chysoister*, Castallack, Tremenheer (Mullion), Bodean Veor, Bray, Polhanogon (St. Keverne), Rosemorran, Bosanan, and Treveneague. At the latter place were discovered pottery (some with the chevron pattern, as also at the huts at Carne in Zennor), flints, ashes, bones of animals, spindle-whorls, querns, mullers, implements of iron, &c. In all the others explored similar discoveries have been made. Those in *italics* I have myself explored.

[6] The chamber D is 10 ft. long.

[7] Diameter 15 ft.

[8] Compare the sketch marked No. 7 with the door case at Bosporthennis figured in Mr. Barnwell's paper in the Arch. Cambrensis, third series, No. xxxiv.; and also in Blight's Cornish Churches, p. 142. For a drawing of the beehive hut see Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, Nov. 26, 1868.

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both. This fact is important, since it not only affords proof of the contemporaneity of the surface dwellings with the subterranean ones, but shows also that the inhabitants were in possession of a distinctly recognised style of masonry, which, as induction accumulates, may perhaps one day serve to distinguish these structures wherever they are to be found.

The drawing (No. 8) represents the lower entrance of the narrow passage marked B; it is 3½ ft. high by 2½ ft. wide.

The method employed in the erection of the whole structure at Chapel Euny was clearly to be made out during our explorations. A trench about half the required depth had been sunk in the natural soil. Within this the building had been completed to its full height. A bank of earth had then been heaped over the whole, completely concealing it from view. The floors of the chambers had, in each case, been drained by channels having their outlet at F.

During the removal of the earth, with which the long chamber A had been (purposely to all appearance) filled, the following objects were found :—

1. A fragment of a small ornamental vessel of *Samian ware.*

2. An iron crook, or fish-hook, and another iron object, possibly a nail.

3. An iron spear-head, 2½ in. long.

4. A circular perforated stone, of the type known at present as spindle-whorls.[9]

5. Several flat pieces of a corroded substance.

6. Whetstones, mullers, pebbles, ashes, teeth of animals, red pottery, black pottery of three kinds, some thin and roughly glazed, others thick, rudely ornamented, and smoked; all wheel-made, and apparently parts of culinary vessels.[1]

Lastly, from the centre of this long passage, a considerable quantity of fused tin very rich in quality. Near it was a large granite block covering a sink in the drain.

From the first six of these discoveries we may fairly infer an occupation of this place in Romano-British times, *i. e.*,

[9] A second one was afterwards found.

[1] A workman on the spot has since discovered and brought to me a broken piece of the upper or revolving stone of a granite mill. It is neatly grooved on the outside, and the under face (which worked round on the lower stone) is concave. Its diameter when perfect was about 16 in. At the top is a portion of the hole into which the grain was poured. The under stone of a similar mill, almost perfect, was found at Chysoister, July, 1873. A flint, perforated by an iron instrument broken off in the hole, has been found lately at Chapel Euny, in close proximity to the cave.

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somewhere between the first and fifth centuries after Christ —the articles found being precisely similar in character to those taken from villages ascribed to this period in other districts. It is curious to notice that, while in the "wheems" of Scotland, and especially in one at Arbroath in Forfarshire,[2] the cave at Chapel Euny, and similar structures elsewhere in Cornwall, have their exact counterpart in ground plan and section, that *there* also Romano-British remains, such as Samian ware, have been discovered, and that in one case a piece of well-moulded Roman architecture had actually been inserted into a "wheem"[3] wall. From the discovery of the tin[4] we may further draw the inference that the occupiers of this cave were smelters; if not, that the cave itself was used for this purpose. As a consequence, there must have been miners among them also, who, no doubt, obtained the ore in some ancient and extensive stream works in the valley below. It is remarkable that a local tradition pointed out the place as one where "the old men" had smelted their tin, and so strong was the feeling that metal of some kind had been left there, that persons had actually sunk pits in search of the long-hidden treasure.

And here let me notice that so little is known, and so much has been conjectured on the subject of early Cornish mines and miners, that any facts which explorations among these "old men's dwellings" may furnish us with must be of the greatest value. It is especially interesting to find in these caves and villages traces of industry at a period utterly lost to history and tradition—traces, not of the Phœnicians, nor of the Jew-miners of King John's time, but of genuine Romano-British civilization, at a time when the tin must have found a ready market (if for the production of bronze alone) amid the decaying splendour of the Roman world.

I am indebted to Dr. C. Le Neve Foster for the suggestion that some at least of the stone hand-mills found in these huts may have served, as they still do in the Italian Alps,

[2] Proceedings of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries, 1861-62; *Id.* for 1853, p. 214. Samian ware was found in a "Pict's house" at Pitcur, in Scotland.

[3] Wheem—from the Gaelic *uamh*—a cave or vault. "Fogou" or "vow" is the Cornish equivalent—a name by which the cave-dwellings are still known.

[4] I have to thank Mr. J. H. Collins, F.G.S., for kindly examining this metal for me. From him I learn "that it consists of oxide of tin, with some metallic tin, and traces of zinc, iron, and organic matter; . . . that it was probably once altogether a mass of metallic tin, gradually oxidized from without;" and that it is similar in origin to that known as "Jews' house tin."

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for pounding the ore previous to its being subjected to the fire.

Besides the underground chambers at Chapel Euny, it will be seen by the plan (No. 6) that the settlement consisted also of several hut-dwellings on the surface, while in the neighbouring fields are traces of levelled platforms as at Bodinar. No vestiges of fortification are observable, perhaps on account of the proximity of Caer Bran (the King's Castle), which crowns the summit of the hill, and commands a splendid view over the Land's End district. One of the surface structures (G), is of a type which connects this village at Chapel Euny with others which now deserve our special attention.

The hut-town of Chysoister, or Chysauster, lies on the Southern slope of the hill between the place of that name and higher Carnequidden in the parish of Gulval.[5] Ruinous heaps still indicate its site, which formerly covered the whole hill-side, occupying several acres in extent. Among these may be found the remains of an underground structure 200 yards South-West of the principal group, and artificial terraces, here, as elsewhere, skirt the ascent. That portion of the hut-town, which still remains, consisted, as far as can at present be made out, of eight or ten hut-clusters, placed, with a view perhaps to greater security, in close proximity to each other. Each and all of these display so great a similarity in general arrangement, in size, and in mode of construction, that I have selected one only (No. 9) for illustration; and a brief description of that will serve to convey an idea of all the others. During the early part of the summer of 1873 I caused this cluster to be carefully cleared out to its foundations.[6] Stones, which had evidently fallen from the walls, were replaced as far as possible in their former positions, and thus the group is now in some measure restored to the state in which it was before the roofs were first put on. It consists of an oval enclosure, 95 ft. long from out to out, surrounded by a wall of considerable breadth in some places, with chambers nestling in its thickness, all of which open into a central court. Near the gateway this wall reaches a height of 9 or 10 ft.; and, at certain points, especially on the Northern side, traces of

[5] The settlement has been noticed in several Journals by Mr. Blight.

[6] The adjoining cluster (No. 10) still remains unexplored.

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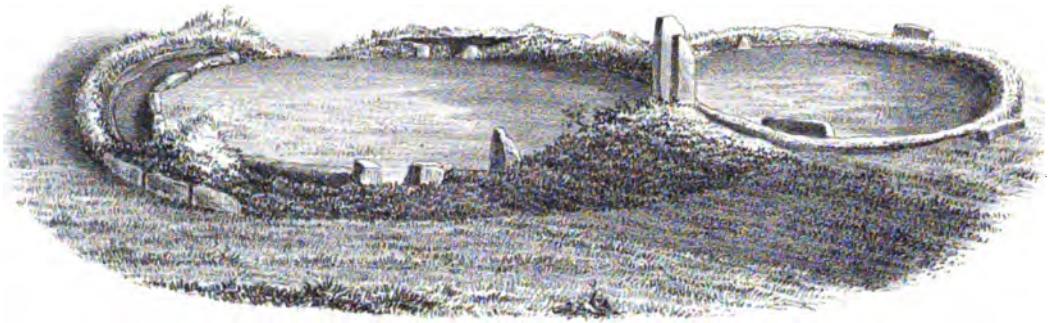
Nº 2.



Chamber Hut, Bedinar.

Nº 10.

Hut-Cluster, Chysoister.

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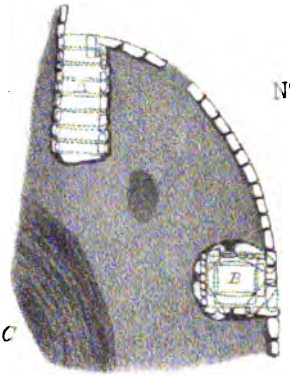

N° 3.

B (Section)

Passage Chamber and Bee hive Structure near Ding Dong Mine.

N° 4.

Beehive Hut, Fernacre, Brownwilly

N° 5.

The "Culver" House, Lower Bussow, Towednack.

N° 7

N° 8.

Stone door ways at Chapel Euny

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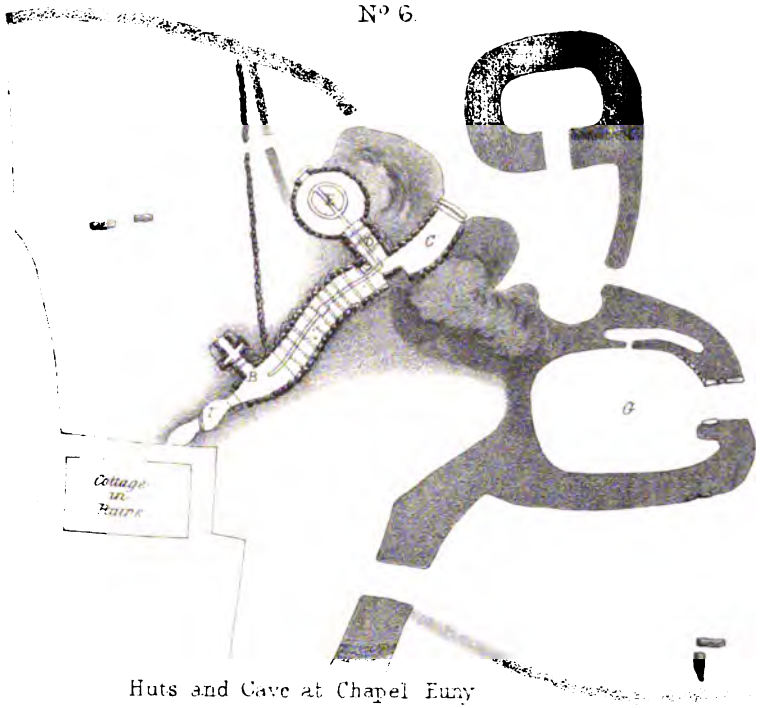
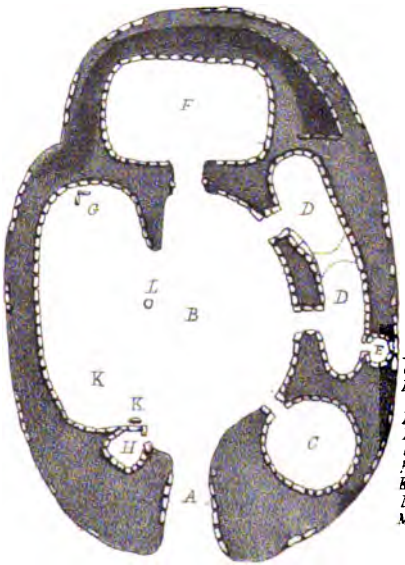
Nº 6.



Huts and Cave at Chapel Euny

Nº 9.



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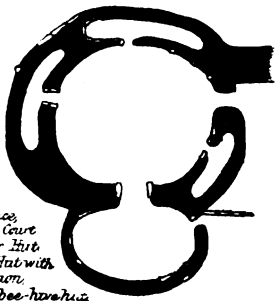

Chambered Hut, Bodinar.

A. Entrance,
B. Central Court
C. Circular Hut
DD. Long Hut with partition,
E. Small bee-hive hut,
F. Oval hut,
G. Hearth,
H. Square Hut,
K.K. Pit, and traces of smelting,
L. Round Grinding Stone,
M. Raised Platform, or rampart.

One of the Hut Clusters at Chysoister

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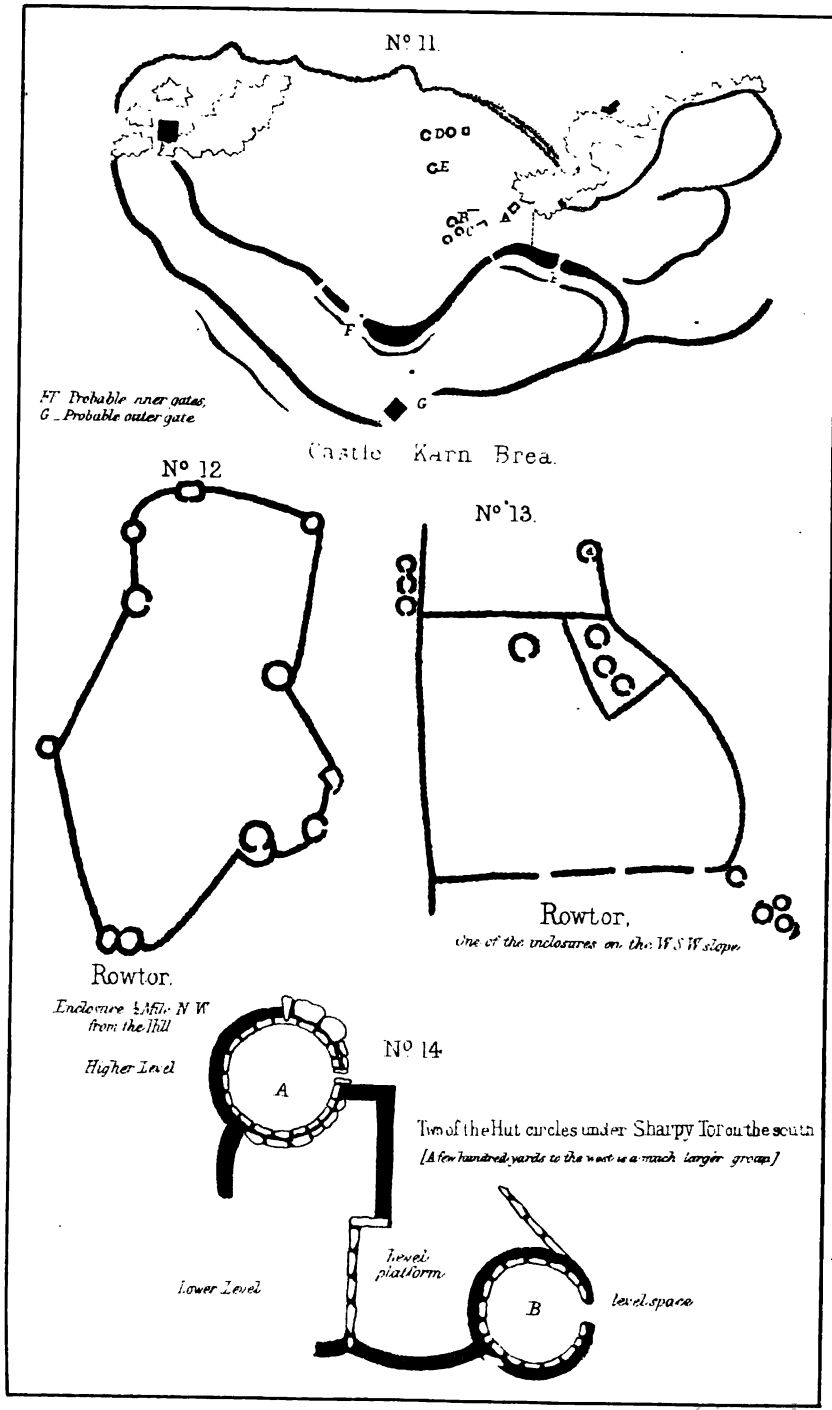

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a rampart are observable, with a trackway round it, surmounted by a parapet still 2 or 3 ft. in height—a feature still more clearly defined in an adjoining cluster. [An elevation of this latter cluster, showing the gateway and basement stones, is given in No. 10.] The site for the whole had been levelled out of the side of the hill—the hut-chambers on the Northern side having their floors considerably lower than the natural soil, while those opposite them had their foundations laid on made ground.

Entering No. 9, on the S.S.E. side, by the gateway (A), we pass by a passage, narrowing from 12 ft. to 6 ft. wide, and through a wall 16 ft. thick, into the central courtyard (B). Turning to the right, we first of all ascend by a paved way into the circular hut (C), 14 ft. in diameter. This proved on exploration to be paved throughout; and in the centre, indications of the hearth appeared in the numerous wood ashes and burnt earth which strewed the floor and penetrated beneath it. Near the hearth was placed a square block of stone, apparently the old-accustomed seat beside the long-extinguished embers. Amongst the ashes were fragments of coarse, black, wheel-made pottery, similar to that from Chapel Euny, a hand muller, and a curious little broken stone, ornamented at the side, the use of which I cannot guess, unless it served as a pulley-block to suspend the kettle, or to sharpen a pointed instrument. From the scarcity of stone in the area of this hut, it can hardly have possessed a roof of that material. The walls, seemingly, reached a height not exceeding 5 ft. or 6 ft., and from this stage upwards it is possible that poles resting "on the circular basement, brought together at the top," and covered with turf or thatch (in the manner indicated for the Dartmoor ones by Mr. Kelly[7]) completed the roof.

Proceeding further round the same side of the court, we next arrive at a narrow doorway, 3 ft. wide, opening into a long curved chamber (D), having a second exit into the court at the further end. A rude stone partition at one time divided this hut into two parts, each about 15 ft. long, and 6 ft. or 7 ft. broad. The floor was lower than that of the circular hut, and more rudely paved. Under the paving, pits had been sunk, perhaps for drains; ashes strewed the floor, but there was no sign of pottery.

[7] "Transactions of the Devonshire Association," 1866, part v. p. 45.

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Five feet from the Southern end, the workmen discovered, in the Eastern wall, a narrow entrance, 2 ft. wide, with a pillar on either side, opening into a most remarkable little structure (E). It is oval, 7 ft. long and 4 ft. 9 in. broad, and built, like the caves, partly in an excavation in the natural soil. The ordinary walling rises to a height of 4 ft., above which a layer of stones point inwards to receive a "beehive" roof. Eight of these roofing-stones are still in their place, and the remainder of the dome we removed from the interior. Numerous fragments of black pottery were found on the clay floor, and in the S.E. corner was a curious little pit, with perpendicular sides, 16 in. deep, and the same in diameter. A large lump of ashes lay at the bottom.

Whatever may have been the use of this strange little hut, it is clear that the interior had frequently been subjected to strong heat, and I cannot but think that the pit was in some way connected with cooking operations. Perhaps a fire was kindled in it, and one of the larger vessels, portions of some of which were blackened with fire, set over it to boil.

The next enclosure that deserves our attention is the spacious oval (F) immediately opposite the gateway. It measures 26 ft. long by 18 ft. broad, and all traces of a roof have entirely disappeared. The entrance is 6 ft. wide, and a few stones set in order across the Eastern end, seem, from the ashes on the rude pavement round them, to have formed the fireplace. Near the doorway a rough granite block was discovered, with an artificial cavity, (10 in. in diameter and 4 in. deep), scooped out in its face. Several mullers found with it had doubtless been used in the cavity for hand-grinding. If we may indeed consider this as the mill[8] of the establishment, the wide entrance was perhaps intended to admit the rude conveyances bringing in the grain. Portions of a granite boulder, 2 ft. in diameter, used, perhaps, in grinding, not corn, but tin ore, may be observed lying in the courtyard outside.

Coming round to the S.W. side of the cluster, traces of a small hut, with a hearth and ashes, were discovered at G;

[8] In the corresponding hut in a similarly arranged cluster at Bosullo, among the paving stones, I dug up a much larger mill-stone, broken across the centre. The entire stone in this case was 3 ft. broad, with a hole drilled through it averaging from 3 in. to 6 in. in diameter. The upper face of the stone was smooth, and its form rudely circular. Burnt earth, pottery, charred wood, and a muller lay near it.

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and at H, in the thickness of the rampart, we found a seventh and last chamber, 7 ft. in diameter, whose stone roof falling in had crushed out the door-posts, which we replaced at a distance of 2 ft. apart. The floor had been divided into partitions, by layers and courses of stone. Immediately outside this chamber was a rough trough, near which lay a piece of metal,[9] which, though not sufficiently fused, had clearly passed through the fire. From this fact it may be inferred that here, as at Chapel Euny, smelting had been carried on. At K was a pit filled with clay, more or less burnt, fragments of pottery, and a muller or hammer-stone.[1] The lower stone of a quern, 1 ft. in diameter, was found at the same place.

Having thus given the details of the exploration of Chysoister, it only remains to notice the striking similarity which exists in the ground-plan of this cluster and others in the vicinity. At Chapel Euny, at Bosullo (also explored by me some years since), at Mulfra,[2] and elsewhere, we have *precisely* the same central court, with the side chambers in *precisely* the same positions opening into it. Should the ethnologist ask—"Is an arrangement, so distinctive and peculiar, to be met with elsewhere?" it will interest him to learn, if he does not know it already, that in some parts of Carnarvonshire, as at Voel Rhiwen, and Llanllechid, there are early enclosures, described by Mr. Ellis Owen in the "Archæologia Cambrensis,"[3] the ground-plans of which might actually pass for those I am describing. Indeed, by merely altering the names of places, his descriptions of them would suit those on our West-Cornish hills. The significance of this fact becomes still more striking when we find that, where the Welsh examples have been explored, the articles discovered have been the same as in our own. Querns and grinding-stones, more or less rude, pebbles, spindle-whorls, whetstones, stone fire-places and seats, smelting-places, and even Samian ware and late Roman coins, have been the

[9] I am indebted to the Messrs. Bolitho, who kindly caused it to be analyzed for me, for the information that this metal is that known to the smelters as "Jew's-house tin," and contains ninety per cent. of tin.

[1] Near these pebbles or mullers were found several flat stones, with slight cavities two or three inches in diameter worn into their surface, probably by the working of the pebbles in them for pounding paint or other substances.

[2] The settlement at Mulfra lies on the South side of the hill of that name. One cluster is very perfect. A tall stone, 16 ft. 6 in. high, stands at the gate of another.

[3] Vol. xii.

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objects which have been met with by Mr. Stanley during his researches into those near Holyhead.[4] On the inferences to be drawn from this comparison I will not dwell; it will be sufficient to have pointed out the identity of the structures and their contents.

With regard to the fortification exhibited in the structure of the hut-clusters of West Cornwall, it appears that where no hill-castle existed in the vicinity, strength sometimes formed a part of the design; whereas, when one was close at hand, no such necessity arose, the inhabitants betaking themselves with their goods inside the lines. Thus Chywoone Castle[5] is provided with hut-structures all round the inner wall, the refuges, no doubt, of the villagers of Bosullo, an undefended hut-settlement immediately below, and from which a paved way runs direct to the castle. It would be foreign to my subject to enter here into a detailed account of this splendid camp-of-refuge[6] at Chywoone. Suffice it to say that while the Cyclopean masonry of the inner rampart is far finer than any other in the West of England, it precisely corresponds with that of the hut-clusters just described.

On the other hand, where no hill-fortress was near by, the enclosing walls of the villages sometimes rose to a considerable height. Thus, at Chy-gwidden, in the parish of Sancreed, they measured from 12 to 15 ft. high, including a parapet on the top. This place, though now almost demolished, was tolerably perfect when Dr. Borlase visited it in 1752. From his MS. notes made on the spot,[7] it appears to have measured from out to out 150 ft. in length, by 120 ft. in breadth. Outside was a ditch 19 ft. broad, and beyond it a small vallum or counterscarp 5 ft. thick. The inner wall was 16 ft. wide, and the courtyard about 90 ft. in diameter. The entrance, which faced the S.E., was "through a large portal 8 ft. wide, across which, as a lintel, lay formerly a large flat stone," then, "fallen into the

[4] "Memoirs of remains of ancient dwellings in Holyhead Island," by the Hon. W. O. Stanley, M.P., F.S.A., part i. pp. 17, 19; part ii., pp. 7, 19, 20.

[5] See Borlase's Antiquities of Cornwall, edit. i., pl. xxiv. p. 316.

[6] Sir Gardner Wilkinson, after having visited the Cornish antiquities and those of Dartmoor, observes: "I have seen no camp or fort like Chûun." "The walls," he adds, "are wonderfully well built, . . and the style of its masonry grand, . . the stones fitting to each other as in the old Etruscan walls at Cortona"—From two MS. letters to the late Duke of Northumberland.

[7] Paroch. Mem. MS., p. 22, and MS. Excursion Book, both in my possession, in the library at Castle Horneck.

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passage." The "barracks," as the Doctor terms the side chambers, were placed round the court "in a circular plan," and measured respectively in diameter 15 ft., 24 ft., 12½ ft., and 12 ft. Altogether this must have been, when the Doctor wrote, a larger and more perfect hut-cluster than any in the neighbourhood at the present day. At present, nothing remains of it but a portion of the Northern wall, with two large granite boulders, as at Chysoister, lying in the area. The spot where it stands is known as the "geer," or castle, croft. In clearing away the ruins, an old man informed me that ashes and pottery were found, and with them several little thick copper farthings with the figure of a man upon them. These, I have reason to suspect, were third brass Roman coins, like those at Bodinar.

Other examples of early enclosures more or less fortified, with ruins inside,[8] and yielding querns, pottery and ashes, might be cited from the same neighbourhood. It is now time, however, to pass on to the second class of hut-circles, or those which belong especially to the Eastern districts.

These Eastern huts, as we have observed before, differ from the Western ones, first, in that they are, generally speaking, *detached* from each other, and, secondly, in their inferiority of construction. In many instances they bear so strong a resemblance to those of Dartmoor, that any light that may be thrown upon the origin of the one may be expected to elucidate also that of the other.

The fortified hill of Karn Brea (No. 11), near Redruth,[9] has been so fully and accurately described by Sir Gardner Wilkinson, that I need do no more than point out that it is a fair specimen of those entrenchments usually acknowledged to have belonged to the early British inhabitants, shortly prior to the final establishment among them of the Roman arms, and the Romano-barbaric civilization. Here, as in the splendid Caer Caradoc on the Herefordshire Beacon, the ramparts follow the convolutions of the hill, the ground plan

[8] One of these, at Castallack, in the parish of Paul, has been described by Mr. Blight, in the Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall, for 1865, No. iv. It bears a strong resemblance to some of the Devonshire "pounds." The lower stone of a mill was found there, and various other articles in a cave near by. See Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, May 16, 1867.

[9] See an excellent paper on Karn Brè (or Karn Brea), by Sir Gardner Wilkinson, in the Forty-second Annual Report of the Royal Institute of Cornwall, 1860, p. 17, Appendix I.

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and the comparative height of the walls being adjusted to the general contour of the surface, and its adaptability for defence. Thus, while the entrenchments on the S.E. side, where the gateway seems to have been, are remarkable for their thickness and strength (the hill on that side being a gradual declivity), those to the Northward are in some places scarcely perceptible, the precipitous descent on that side affording a sufficient natural protection.

Of the settlement within the lines, I was able to make out the positions of several huts in the places indicated in the accompanying plan. Five or six of these were in fairly good preservation, but in their ground-plan they are by no means invariably circular. One hut, for instance (A), immediately under a pile of rocks at the Eastern end of the camp is (but for a corner rounded off on the South side), a perfect square—the sides measuring 19 ft., and the entrance, as usual, facing the E.S.E. It consists, at present, simply of 20 granite blocks fixed upright in the natural soil. Of the basement of a circular hut there is a good example at B, 40 paces from the Eastern wall, and due West of the Dunstanville Column. Its internal diameter is 25 ft. 6 in. N. and S., by 24 ft. E. and W. The wall is composed of a low bank of earth 2 or 3 ft. high, and 4 ft. thick, faced on the interior, and, in some places, on the exterior also, with slabs of granite set on edge. The entrance is E.S.E. Twelve ft. to the S.E. is a similar hut-circle (C) more dilapidated; and midway between these two and the square hut before mentioned are ruins of low walls arranged in a rectangular form. Another group of huts, of various shapes and sizes, lies on the opposite side of the camp at D; and a remarkably perfect circular basement occurs at E, the dimensions of which are nearly the same as that at B.

We have seen that, in its general features, the camp containing these detached hut-circles belongs to the class attributed to the early Britons. The conclusion that, even if not *erected*, it was *occupied* during this period, is strengthened by the fact that in the year 1749, in the middle of the ridge of the hill, and within the ramparts, a hoard of gold British coins[1] uninscribed, and of the rude "biga" type, was

[1] A coin of similar date, of the "Catti" type, has been lately found near a hut-circle on Dartmoor, and is in possession of Lord Talbot de Malahide. It was exhibited in the Museum formed at the Exeter Meeting of the Institute.

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discovered by a labourer cutting turf. That the camp was also occupied at a later date may perhaps be indicated by a second discovery made in 1744 of brass celts in company with coins of Antoninus, Constantine, and Severus Alexander; and by a third, made at the foot of the hill, of a pint of coins of Tetricus and the Urbs-Roma type, together with the head of an animal in brass, and other pieces of metal.[2]

A place of even greater natural strength than Karn Brea, was the rugged hill of Rowtor, near Camelford; yet here too, not content with the bulwarks nature had provided for them, the inhabitants reared a Cyclopean castle or camp-of-refuge, as it seems, for themselves and their herds in time of danger. The Tor itself, grand in the desolation of its surroundings, consists of two natural peaks of rock with an elevated platform between them 300 paces in length. Four lines of rude dry walling, two on either side, consisting of massive stones sometimes pitched on end, sometimes laid one on the other, join peak to peak; while each rocky extremity is itself surmounted by an immense accumulation of small stones—the one to form the cairn of some chieftain,—the other an outwork to the castle itself, and on which the superstition of the Middle Ages reared a chapel to St. Michael. And here I must venture on a speculation which, however fruitless it may be, is not altogether an idle one. There is no part of England of which it may be more truly said than of Cornwall, that its folk-lore rises to the rank of a distinct mythology.[3] The *savans* of other countries have found a resting-place for many of their myths in some real occurrence of the past. Why should not we do the same for the Cornish ones? When we look at rugged fastnesses, such as Rowtor and Trencrobn,[4] and remember that it is *here* that the legends are laid, do we not feel that, after all, some germ of historic truth lies hidden at the root of the tales of the Giants? In these Cyclopean strongholds may we not have the veritable castles of a race of men, strangers, it may be, in

[2] Borlase's Ant. of Cornwall, edit. i. pp. 242, 264, 288.

[3] See Halliwell's Rambles in Western Cornwall in the footsteps of the Giants; Bottrel's Traditions and Hearthside Stories of West Cornwall, 1st and 2nd series, and Hunt's Romances and Drolls of the West of England, 1st and 2nd series.

[4] Each of these tors possesses its giants. From the summit of the former the giant (who under the patronage of the saints had become the devil himself) was hurled by St. Michael, and on the latter dwelt the giant heroes of most of the West country drolls, foes to those on St. Michael's Mount.

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the land, or it may be the progenitors of the Celtic people, whom subsequent generations have raised into the Olympus of their crude oral myths, and invested, as of necessity, with superhuman attributes lodged in gigantic forms? Is it not on these very hill tops that the Giants roll about the rocks, and wield their quoits? Is it not of the thievish and cruel propensities of rude marauding chiefs, side by side with an inoffensive agricultural population dwelling around them, that these tales are told? And have we not then, in these weird forts and the hut-villages that lie below, the very materials out of which would have been developed just such a mythology as in the drolls and old wives' stories we in truth possess? But to proceed:—

Immediately below the Tor—the one, half a mile to the N.W., the other half that distance to the W.S.W.—lie the two hut-settlements, Nos. 12 and 13, we have now to notice. They are only taken, however, as examples of many others scattered over the whole hill side. From the ground-plans it will be seen that the two enclosures differ from each other in the circumstance that, while in the N.W. one the hut basements occur on the line of enclosure itself, those in the S.W. one are either contained within it or immediately adjoining it on the outside. In the former the areas of the huts are larger, some measuring as much as 27 ft. across; while in the latter from 12 to 15 ft. is the average diameter. The largest circle I measured lay near the N.W. group, and was 45 ft. in diameter. Like those at Karn Brea, some of the foundations display a rectangular plan. In a few instances a small hut has been attached to a larger one; and where this is the case, the accumulation of ruins in the area of the former seems to indicate that, like those noticed by Mr. Bate on Dartmoor,[5] the form was originally a rude stone beehive. If so, the rudeness of structure, added to its extremely small proportions, would make it a very incommodious dwelling for human beings. Indeed the construction of these hut-basements in general is excessively rude. In the case of the larger examples, the banks of earth which form their walls have been faced on both sides by stones on edge; but in the smaller ones a single row of upright blocks is all that remains of the structure, whatever it may have been. The contents, where they have been explored, have

[5] See Mr. Bate's paper previously quoted.

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been found, like those on Dartmoor,[6] to be meagre in the extreme. The Rev. J. J. Wilkinson, who has kindly superintended for me the clearing out of several of them, tells me that he has discovered, in more than one instance, rough paving. One circle had a division across it, on one side of which were numerous ashes, and burnt stones foreign to the soil. "One hut," he adds, "was a grand success. Its diameter was about 19 ft., with two stout upright gate-posts 2 ft. 3 in. apart, in front of which, near the centre, was a perfect fire-place, 1 ft. 5 in. by 1 ft., and 1 ft. high. On the hearthstone were remains of what had been wood-ashes."[7] I am not aware that any pottery has, as yet, been found in them.

The enclosures in which these huts stand are generally rectangular, and, like those of Dartmoor, are frequently subdivided by partitions. They consist of low banks of stone, seldom more than 30 inches high, and these, as I have remarked before, are so uniformly depressed, and so widely extended, that they could have served no other purpose than boundaries of land or fences for cattle. In some cases these banks may be traced for a mile or more over the plain; in others they come to an abrupt termination in a single hut, as at A in plan No. 13; and in others again they run direct for the Tor, losing themselves in the blocks of denuded granite which lie in and around the entrenchment. Anything more strange and anomalous than is this network of low banks with circles dotted among them, arranged round the sides of this fortified Tor, can scarcely be imagined. On the downs, half a mile to the southward of them, where not a single hut-circle or bank is to be found, stands a circle of the class known as Druidical or Sacred, measuring 45 paces in diameter, and having upwards of fifty stones, nearly contiguous, still in their places. On the further side of this again, other hut settlements occur, showing the close proximity in which (here as in Dartmoor) these structures lie to monuments of the Megalithic class. It is a plain fact that had the builders of these villages not regarded the sacred circle as something inviolate, they would have removed the stones to form their own dwellings. The inference must

[6] Sir Gardner Wilkinson in the 42nd Report of the Royal Inst. of Cornwall, 1860, p. 34.

[7] MS. Letter, 17 July, 1873.

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either be a comparatively speaking contemporaneity between the two classes of structure, or a date for the sacred circle more recent than that of the huts.

As an illustration on a larger scale of hut basements of this type, I have chosen two from the southern side of Sharpy Tor, near Liskeard. (No. 14.) They form part of a much larger group, formerly extending over the whole side of the hill. The Northern circle (A) is 22 ft. in internal diameter, formed in the usual manner, and entered by a gateway 18 in. wide, with jambs on either side, and fronting, as usual, E.S.E. The Southern circle (B), which is joined to the other by a wall and stones on edge, measures 20 ft. in diameter, and is placed on a lower level. Its entrance, 6 ft. wide, opens into a platform levelled out of the hill, reminding us of those found in connection with the Western clusters. The fortress on the Cheese-wring hill lies immediately opposite this village, and perhaps served as a retreating place in time of war.

I have now come to the end of my descriptions of these early habitations, and it only remains to see what conclusions, if any, I am justified in drawing from the data before me.

Firstly, I think, in the absence of any known pit-dwellings in Cornwall, we may fairly regard the rude detached hut basements of the Eastern District and Dartmoor, as the most primitive examples we have of the surface habitations of domesticated man.

Secondly, that, from their surroundings, we may infer their occupation by a pastoral people, herding their flocks in pens on the mountain side, or driving them into the strongholds when danger threatened ; that these people were in a low state of culture, possessing, with great strength, little masonic skill, and that what civilization they may have acquired was probably retarded by the necessity of self-defence, if not by their own marauding habits.

Thirdly, that we are not without presumptive evidence that their connection with the Megalithic or Druidical monuments was something more than the mere proximity of their villages to them.

Fourthly, that, although their *origin* is buried in obscurity, certain *degrees* of rudeness are observable in their construction ; and that the presence of some of the better sort in an

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earthwork belonging to the times of the British wars, together with the discovery of coins of that period there, leads to the presumption that they were still the recognised dwelling-places of the people down to the times immediately preceding the Roman occupation.

Fifthly, that in the Western district we have a distinct class of structure altogether; whether pertaining to these same primitive people at a later stage of culture, or the abodes of a party of settlers—pre-historic adventurers in tin mines—there is not sufficient evidence to show; but that even on this question the comparative ethnologist may hope to gain some few hints from the fact that structures precisely similar to them, even to the minutest detail, exist in some parts of Carnarvonshire.

Sixthly, that from explorations made amongst the examples of this latter class, it is evident that they are contemporary with the subterranean structures and beehive huts found in the same district, as also with some of the Hill castles.

Seventhly, that, from a like source, we derive the information that the masonry of their builders, though without mortar, was of no mean order, and was sufficiently remarkable to be highly characteristic; that smelting, and consequently mining, was the employment of some of the inhabitants, while others were engaged in agricultural labour, or in grinding at home the produce of their artificially-levelled fields; that all this time, however, they were far from secure from hostile encroachment, and were compelled either to enclose themselves by a rampart, or seek shelter in the vicinity of a friendly camp; that iron was in use among them not only for weapons, but for other implements also; that they made their own wheel-pottery of various qualities, but were also acquainted with the Roman fictilia; that Samian ware and late Roman coins have been found in their dwellings; and that, in short, and apart from this latter circumstance, they display just that superiority over the hut-dwellers of the Eastern district which would be the result of a century or so of indirect contact with the civilization derived by the provinces from Rome. It is, then, to this period that I would assign them. My reasons for thinking that some at least of our Western "cairns" belong to a like date, and are the sepulchres of these people, I have already stated at

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length elsewhere.[8] Of one fact with regard to these people I think we may rest assured; they were not the savages some would have them to be. The charge of utter barbarism, so often applied in ignorance and haste to all that at first sight seems pre-historic and past recall, cannot in fairness be maintained against them. Whether we see them as miners in the streams, smelters in the caves, herdsmen in the paddocks, husbandmen in the cornfields, soldiers on the ramparts, or cooks in the kitchen, they are still men, not merely of like passions and like instincts, but of like vocations also with ourselves.

If then, in tracing the simple annals of their daily life, we can reinstate these early people in that place in civilization to which (however immature their culture may have been) they appear in truth to lay claim, shall we not draw from the historian as well as from the antiquary the acknowledgment that in these ruinous heaps there is still a study worth pursuing?

[8] "Nœnia Cornubiæ." Longman, 1873.

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PICKERING CASTLE.

By G. T. CLARK, Esq.

THE castle and town of Pickering stand upon the southern edge of the moors of north-eastern Yorkshire, where the upland subsides into a broad tract of meadow, which, under the names of Carr, Ing, Marisch, and Bottom, extends southwards nearly to Malton, and east and west from near Scarborough to a little short of Helmsley. This is the district known as the Lythe or Vale of Pickering, a designation which shows the early and wide-spread importance of the castle, the chief seat of so considerable a district.

One of the principal passes into the Lythe from the north is that now occupied by the Malton and Whitby Railway, and down which flows the Pickering Beck, a tributary (through the Costa Beck) of the Rye and the Derwent. The pass is rather a ravine than a valley, and is deep, rocky, narrow, and winding. The castle occupies a rocky knoll near where the pass opens out into the plain, and stands a few yards east of, and 100 ft. or more above, the stream, on either bank of which is built the town, below and under the immediate protection of the castle.

The position is a rocky headland, about 70 or 80 ft. above the town, and jutting out sharply towards the north and west into the valley. Thus two sides, covering nearly half the area, are naturally strong. Towards the south and west the ground rises gently, attaining to the height of 200 and even 300 ft., at distances of from a quarter of a mile to two miles. On these sides, therefore, the defence is artificial, and composed of a deep and broad ditch, which opens out upon the valley at each of its ends. It is quite dry, and from its position and level was probably always so: a part of it indeed carried the way up to the postern.

The area thus defended falls somewhat towards the west. It is pear-shaped, the stalk being towards the south-west. Its

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cross dimensions are about 500 ft. by 350 ft. It is contained within a curtain wall of considerable height and strength towards the town front, and having upon its southern half four towers. Upon the northern half were formerly two, both of which have disappeared. The Keep and the inner gatehouse belong to both divisions, being upon the line common to both. Within the general area, and rather near to its north-eastern or larger end, is a conical flat-topped mound, wholly artificial, and surrounded by a circular ditch, of which a part towards the east is quarried out of the rock. Upon this mound stood the Keep, and from it, on nearly opposite sides, sprung the cross curtain which traversed the area in almost its greatest diameter, and, with the Keep, divided it into two nearly equal wards, to the north and the south. On the outer or the southern front of this wall is a deep and wide ditch, which extends from the ditch of the mound each way towards the *enceinte*, the eastern limb opening into the outer ditch, and the western upon the face of the low cliff. Each of these openings is, however, traversed by the main curtain. Upon the southern and longer limb of the cross curtain is the inner gateway, leading from one ward to the other, and opposite to the outer gate, which is on the southern front.

The four mural towers already mentioned are all in the southern ward. They are, Mill Tower, Rosamond's, the Devil's Tower, and the Gate Tower. Devil's Tower contains a postern. Besides the Keep, Leland mentions three towers in the north ward. Of these the inner gate was one, and the other two probably capped the two angles of that ward. The domestic buildings in Leland's time were of timber, and are gone. There remains a chapel, desecrated, and of which the existing building is of very doubtful date.

The Mound is 76 ft. diameter at the flat top, about 70 ft. high, and at its base in the bottom of the surrounding ditch about 220 ft. diameter.

The Keep, which is placed upon its summit, was a shell of masonry, 6 ft. to 7 ft. thick; within it is circular; and outside, in part at least, polygonal; and was perhaps originally a nonagon, with sides of 24 ft. Of this shell there remain two fragments, on nearly opposite sides of the area, one 35 ft. long, and containing two loops, the other 24 ft., and containing a loop and a half. These are at the ground level. They are

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6 ft. high and of 3 in. opening, dovetailed at the lower end, and having a short cross member. Each is placed in a round-headed recess of 6 ft. opening and splayed. The fragments are about 18 ft. high, and may have been 20 ft. to the rampart walk. Outside, the wall rises from a low plain plinth. The wall is of rude roughly coursed rubble, with ashlar dressings and quoins at the two angles that remain. There is a ledge or walk of about 2 ft. broad outside the wall.

From opposite sides of the mound spring the cross curtains, at a very obtuse angle, so that a trifle more of the base of the mound belongs to the south than to the north ward. These curtains are 7 ft. thick, and are built upon the slope and across the ditch of the mound, being at the deepest about 70 ft. high. At present they cease at the top edge of the mound, and do not seem to have been any higher, save by a parapet, or to have abutted against the Keep. This is what appears at Tickhill and Tamworth, and perhaps was the case at Berkhampstead. No doubt the parapet was continued against the Keep wall, and there may have been a postern, as at Hawarden, where, however, the wall itself abuts upon the Keep. The eastern limb is tolerably perfect as far as the counterscarp of the ditch. It is then broken down for some feet, but finally is seen to have abutted upon the outer curtain, close to the Devil's Tower. The other, or western limb, extends to the inner gate tower. Towards the junction the curtain is somewhat thickened and very lofty. Here a straight flight of steps ascends from the rampart walk to a second rampart higher up, so that there are two rows of loops, the upper being in the battlement. Possibly there was a wooden gallery here to give breadth to the upper rampart.

The Gate Tower at which the curtain ends was not a gatehouse, but a tower, as at Cardiff, by the side of the gateway, but having no communication with it. This tower is 21 ft. broad by 16 ft. deep, and had a basement and two stories. The gateway, of which it formed the eastern side, was probably a mere opening in the curtain. The further side is gone, but the tower side shows no marks of vaulting or portcullis, and has but one rebate for the doors. Here was a drawbridge of 6 ft. span, of which the counter-pier remains. From the gateway the cross curtain was continued until it abutted on the west curtain. All this part is gone,

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or nearly so. In front of the cross curtain is a ditch, crossed by the outer curtain at each end, and running into the ditch of the mound, as has already been mentioned. It is from this ditch that opens internally the postern of the Devil's Tower. This cross curtain is of rough masonry, and at the least its lower part may very well be Norman work.

Of the towers in the outer ward the first to be noted is the MILL TOWER. This caps the S.W. angle of the castle. It is 31 ft. 6 in. square, with walls 10 ft. thick. It has a basement and two upper stories, all once floored with timber. It is built of excellent ashlar. The basement chamber is at the ward level, but 20 ft. or more above the ditch. It is 11 ft. 6 in. square, and entered by an acutely-pointed doorway from the inner face. In its outer face is rather a singular loop. A shoulder-headed recess, 4 ft. 3 in. broad and 5 ft. deep, converges upon a loop of 4 in. opening, the sides of which are parallel for 5 ft. On the splay of the loop, in the scanty light of it, some prisoner has carved a circle with figures. Outside, in the west wall, is the mouth of a small drain from this chamber, which was evidently a prison. The first floor is at the level of the rampart walk of the outer curtain, and is entered thence by means of an external stone stair, sheltered by a parapet, 6 ft. 6 in. high. The doorway has an equilateral head, with deep mouldings, beaded angles, and a passage ribbed transversely. The chamber is 15 ft. 6 in. square. In the west wall is a garde-robe chamber, 2 ft. 6 in. broad by 10 ft. long, looped, and with an external shoot, flush with the wall. In the south wall is an equilateral arched recess, with a ribbed barrel vault and stone seats, and in it a two-light flat-topped window, trefoiled. In the east wall is a plain square-headed fire-place, and a door, also square-headed, opening into a well-stair, which ascends hence to the battlements and the upper floor. This stair is contained within a triangular projection from the tower. It ends above under a ribbed and domed covering.

ROSAMOND'S TOWER caps the S.E. angle of the curtain. It is of ashlar, 22 ft. broad by 24 ft. deep, and has no internal projection. The floors were of timber. It has a basement about 5 ft. above the court level, and a first and second floor. The basement, entered from the ward, is 10 ft. by 8 ft., and has a single loop. The gorge wall, at the rampart level, is pierced by a gallery to carry the rampart

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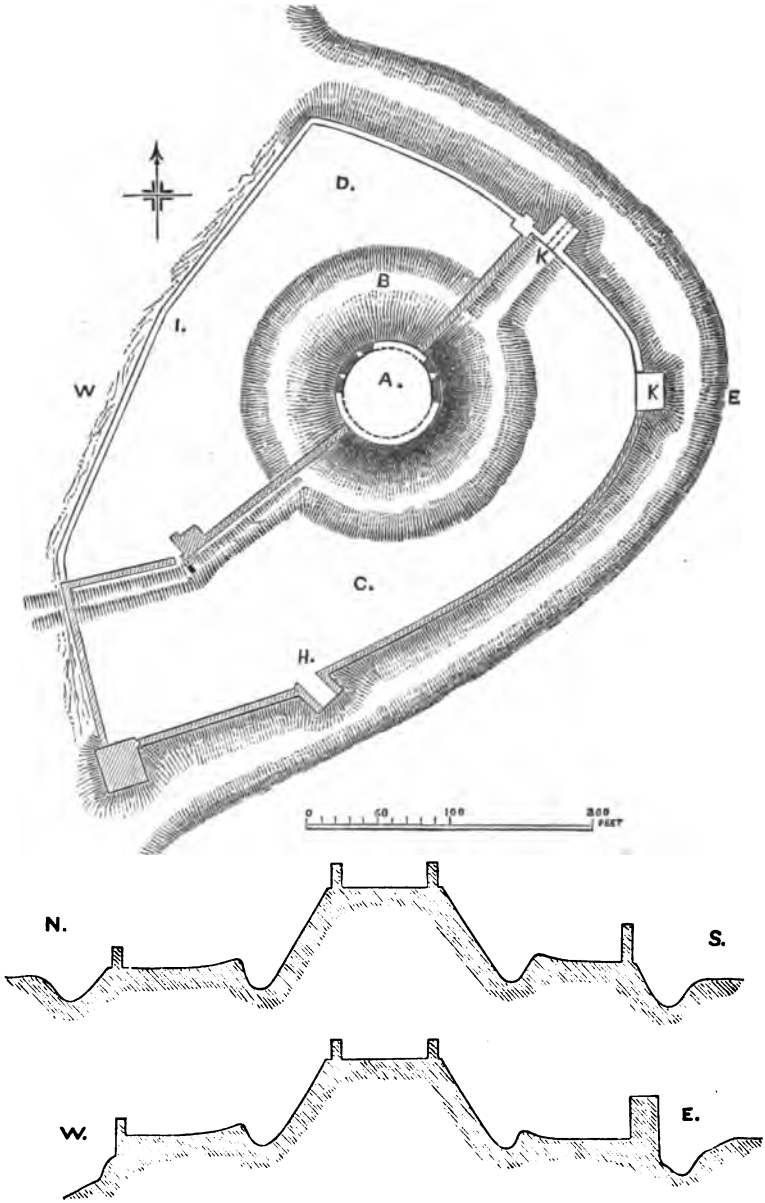

A. Keep. B. Inner Ditch. C. Outer Ward. D. Inner Ward. H. Gateway.
I. Norman Doorway. K. Postern Tower.

PICKERING CASTLE.

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walk. This gallery descends and rises again 4 ft., the first floor being so much below the rampart level. This floor seems also to have been entered by an exterior stair built over the lower doorway.

The DEVIL'S or POSTERN TOWER, that N.W. of the Keep, is rectangular and of ashlar, and has exterior projection only. It is 22 ft. broad by 27 ft. deep. The basement is vaulted, and pierced by a postern passage. The inner door, pointed, opens in the bottom of the ditch of the cross curtain; it is now nearly buried. The outer door is walled up. It is pointed, of 3 ft. 6 in. opening, and placed in a square-headed recess, 6 in. deep, 5 ft. broad, by 10 ft. high, intended to lodge the bridge when up. At the foot of this door, outside, in two strong stones, are two holes, 6 in. diameter, and 18 in. deep, which contained the wooden axle of the drawbridge. Above is a central chain-hole for working the bridge. The chain must have carried a yoke or sort of splinter-bar, 4 ft. or 5 ft. long, with lateral chains fastened to the sides of the platform. This bridge must have had a special pit, since the way to it, inside and outside, lay along the bottom of the regular ditches. Above the door is a cruciform loop, and above that a plain one. The approach to this postern lay from the meadow north of the castle, up the mouth of the ditch of the place. The first floor of this tower is entered by a round-headed, Decorated door, with exterior steps, through a mural passage, 3 ft. broad and 20 ft. long, at one end of which is a garde-robe. The front floor is 8 ft. by 12 ft., with a cruciform loop. The second floor is entered from the rampart. The gorge wall coincides with the curtain, and is pierced to carry the rampart walk. Projecting from the curtain, close south of the tower, is a very handsome chamfered bracket, pierced as the shaft of a garde-robe, and worthy of more noble service.

About 12 ft. north of the tower, at the junction of the cross and main curtain, is a rectangular turret, about 12 ft. square, and pierced for the passage of the rampart walk. Its use seems to be to break the communication between the ramparts of the cross and main curtains.

The OUTER GATEHOUSE TOWER, which stands on the south or town front, between Rosamond's and the Mill Tower, in general construction seems of the date of the inner gate. Strictly speaking, it is not a gatehouse. The curtain is broken

and turns outwards, forming two parallel walls, 7 ft. thick and 20 ft. projection. They are 12 ft. apart, and between them lies the entrance. In the line of the curtain this passage is crossed by an acute arch, 2 ft. thick, the springing 15 ft. high, and above this the curtain rises to 50 ft., forming a sort of screen, giving the appearance of a tower over the gate. The flanking walls, about 20 ft. high, form a sort of barbican, and no doubt protected the drawbridge. A door above opened upon these battlements. The work is poor; there is no portcullis or portal vault. The entrance is quite unworthy of the castle.

Returning to the inner ward, no doubt the three towers mentioned by Leland were the inner gate tower, and two upon the two angles of the ward; but these are gone, though, probably, if the turf and brambles were removed, the foundations would be seen.

The Norman doorway may have opened into one of these towers. At present it fronts a recess in the curtain 6 ft. broad, barrel vaulted; and 6 ft. high to the abacus or string which marks the springing. The doorway was flanked by two nook shafts, now gone, standing upon square plinths, and with fluted capitals. The architrave is highly ornate, having a beaded angle with a moulding of pointed arches repeated. This looks like rather late Norman, and is the only bit of work in the castle distinctly referable to that period. The drip, if ever there was one, is gone. There is no rebate or trace of a door. The adjacent curtain is low and ruinous. Here are several corbels, as though to support a lean-to range of buildings. Near this door is a small building which looks modern, with four old lancets inserted, and a door which seems copied from an older one. This is said to be the chapel of the castle which Leland saw, and which was served by one chantry priest. Grose calls it a small mean building, with some old pews in it. It is now a potato-store.

Pickering Castle represents one great type of Anglo-Norman fortress, that is, a castle of Norman masonry upon an English earthwork, for the present walls, if not Norman, are unquestionably laid upon Norman lines. Here the mound does not, as is more usual, form a part of the *enceinte*, but is concentric, though placed out of centre, like the earthwork at Barwick in Elmete.

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No doubt the earthworks were taken possession of and walled, either late in the eleventh or early in the twelfth century, in the Norman period, and the mass of the curtains, with the Keep and the Norman door, are probably remains of this work. But the whole fortress was rebuilt in the Decorated period, the mural towers added, the curtains raised, and the place rendered stronger. It is difficult to decide on the age of the gateways. They may be Norman or they may be of the time of Richard II., probably the former.

The domestic buildings are said to have been of timber. They are gone. There is no known well. The castle mill was upon the river a little below the castle. The ditch along the south and west has been nearly filled up; beyond it is a hollow way leading down to the river, which may be old, and intended as a second line of defence.

It is stated in Domesday that, in the time of King Edward, Pickering (Pickeringa) belonged to Earl Morcar. It was then held by the King, with four berewicks or appended manors, and some chapelries or spiritual dependencies of the parish church. The castle and its territory seem never to have been alienated from the Norman Crown. The Pipe Roll of 31 H. I. mentions that Robert de Widville rendered account for the "census rents of the forest of Pinckering." In 31 H. II., pannage was accounted for from the forest; and in 1 R. I. rents were accounted for by William Boie and Alan Fitz Geoffrey, probably the same who occurs in the same year as Alan de Pikering. In 33 H. II. the men of Pickering were assessed in a "donum" towards a royal expedition, a tax which was from time to time repeated. In 9 R. I. mention is made of the Wapentake and Town of Pickering; and in 11 John, a settlement was ordered of the boundaries between the King's Forest of Pickering and N. de Stuteville's forest.

King John was here in February, 1201; August, 1208; and March, 1210; each time for a day.

In 45 H. III. the castle was held by Hugh le Bigod against the King, with Scarborough, which castle he was monished under the Bull of Alexander VI. to surrender.

Henry III. granted Pickering to his son, Edmund Earl of Lancaster, about which time mention is made of the Manor, Fee, and Forestry of Pickering. In 13 Ed. I. the Earl had a

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confirmation of the manor, castle, and forest. On the execution and attainder of Earl Thomas, Henry, Earl of Northumberland, had charge of the castle, but on the fall of Edward II., Earl Henry recovered it. When Henry of Lancaster landed at Ravensburn in 1399, he marched on and retook Pickering, then held for the King.

King Richard II. was prisoner here before his removal to Pontefract.

Peck enumerates Pickering among the royal castles, and says there was a Steward of the Lordship, a Constable of the Castle, a Master of the Game, and a Rider of the Forest.

Pickering was held for the King in the Parliamentary struggles, and breached on the west point, and dismantled. It seems never to have been alienated from the Royal demesnes. The Crown held it from the Conquest until it was granted by Henry IV. to the Earl of Lancaster, since which its history is that of the estates of the Duchy of Lancaster, of which it still forms a part.

With Pickering Castle should be mentioned a very curious, though nameless and but little known earthwork in its immediate neighbourhood. This is not even laid down, as an earthwork, in the Ordnance Map, usually so accurate, though marked as the site of a station. It is placed upon the highest part of a round grassy hill, with easy slopes, which rises upon the western or right bank of the Beck or river of Pickering, about 200 ft. above the water, and opposite to and a little lower down than the castle. The position is good, it is clear of the ravine which opens out just above the town and castle, and from it is a rich and extensive view, especially to the south and west, over Rysdale and towards Helmsley. The labour bestowed upon the work is light compared with that expended upon the earthworks of the castle, though the mound is the leading feature of both, and attests their common Saxon or early English origin.

A central mound, 90 ft. in diameter at the top and 20 ft. high, is girt by a ditch, out of which it rises, and upon the outer edge of which is a low bank. The summit of the mound is level, but is surrounded by a light circular bank, which probably was heaped up to cover the lower edge of the timber defence or residence, which no doubt was here placed. The entrance seems to have been on the south-

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east side, where are marks of a way across the outer bank, and perhaps of a causeway over the ditch. The hill is enclosed, and part of it under the plough, so that no traces of any exterior or appended enclosures are visible. The work, however, though its general outline is to be traced with certainty, is much lowered, and its details weakened and rendered obscure by time and weather. It is, however, an earthwork of the same general class with Laughton, Barwick, Castleton, and others similar to them in Yorkshire and elsewhere, and with them it deserves attention. No doubt it is earlier than the castle mound of Pickering, and probably was abandoned when that was thrown up; perhaps when the wealth and power of the owner enabled him to found the Lythe or Lordship of Pickering.

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SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.

By H. H. DRAKE, M.A., Ph.D.

THERE never was a dearth of heroes in this fair Devon of ours, and in the foremost rank we claim a place for Francis Drake, the man whose exploits once rendered his name so famous that "none other stood so high at home or abroad," and whose character has been variously drawn, according to the delineator's sympathy or taste. In a period of political transition, every prominent man, in proportion to his progressive powers, must naturally excite hostility among the adherents to the past, but who can say what would have been the present condition of the so-called Anglo-Saxon race, had the Devonshire hero faltered or wavered in his course?

It is not our object to repeat what is already known from printed biographies about Sir Francis Drake, and more lately from the vigorous pages of Froude, but rather to supplement what has been done by gleanings that would have remained undisturbed by the ordinary writer, who has neither slumbering traditions to awaken, nor the incentive of loyalty to a family name. Although the date of his birth is doubtful, it is clear enough that Sir Francis Drake was born at Croundale, in South Tavistock. Very soon after his death his parentage was shrouded in mystery. His representative[2] was well satisfied to regard him as the Buonapartes did the first Napoleon, without looking further. Those who wrote about him did not trouble themselves to go where genealogical information could be found, and were then safe in making assertions which no one was in a position, or cared, to contradict; yet how many favourite structures crumble before the rigour of modern scrutiny! By general assent not only was he of the lower orders but his line was so far wanting in antiquity that he ventured to borrow arms to

[1] Read in the Historical Section of the Exeter meeting of the Archæological Institute, August 1, 1873.

[2] Heralds' Visitation, 1620.

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hide the deficiency of a name as essentially heraldic as that of Plantagenet; for we scarcely need the reminding that the dragon was an ancient standard of England,[3] as of other nations, in times more remote, and Le Drake, Drake, and Dragon were synonymous. They were severally and indifferently used in old legal processes, both in Devon and York, and it is worthy of remark, that Sir Francis Drake named his first ship "the Dragon," and was himself styled the same by his countrymen and by strangers.

We shall have to show some advance beyond our predecessors, by launching our hero into life with an authentic and respectable parentage. When a young man he embarked his savings in a mercantile venture and lost his all, through the treachery of the Spaniards, at St. John de Ulloa. At that time Spain laid claim to the Western hemisphere by Papal grant. "The Inquisition had decided that all heretics whom it could reach were amenable to its laws."[4] English property was confiscated and English subjects, Drake's kinsmen and friends amongst them, were cruelly treated and imprisoned. He sought redress to no purpose, and her Majesty's letters in his behalf were disregarded. Philip could, or would, not interfere with the Holy Inquisition, and the spirit of the dauntless Devonshire man would entertain no craven submission. With confidence in Divine assistance, he resolved to cope singly with all the might of Catholic Spain.

> "Whether to win from Spain what was not Spain's,
> Or to acquit us of sustained wrongs.
> Or intercept their Indies' hoped-for gains,
> Thereby to weaken them and make us strong;
> Here to discuss to me doth not belong."[5]—*Stanza* 420.

The actuating principle and its results were aptly expressed in his double motto—"*Auxilio Divino.*" "*Sic parvis magna.*"

This resolve of a private individual in the end proved most opportune for Elizabeth, who, terrified at the pretensions of Philip, the legitimate descendant of John of Gaunt, clung to Protestantism for support, and discovered an

[3] It was the badge of the Cymry, or primitive Britons.

[4] Hakluyt Soc. "The world encompassed." Vaux, Introduction.

[5] "Life and death of Sir Francis Drake," by Charles Fitz-Geffry, a poem printed at Oxford, 1596. For notice of the Rev. Charles Fitz-Geffry see Wood's Athenæ Oxoniensis, by Bliss, vol. ii p. 607.

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invaluable weapon in the intrepidity and enthusiasm of Drake. "The king in petticoats," as Essex wrathfully called her, concerted measures with the Devonshire worthy against the common enemy, but however much her kingly energy and spirit might, at times, have aided our hero, the vacillation of the Queen sadly interfered with his steady purpose. It was part of their compact that he was to be disowned in case of failure, and to be hanged as a pirate rather than betray his mistress. Truly he was heavily weighted, but the two equally regarded each other as instruments subservient to their own ends. He had to endure affront, and win success, before Elizabeth would pronounce "whosoever striketh at thee, Drake, striketh at us likewise." She scolded him for burning powder, and upbraided him for seeking vain glory.[6] He had to become by "his own word and promise personally liable"[7] for costs incurred in the public service, while a price of 20,000 ducats was set upon his head,[8] and offered by the King of Spain to John Doughty; and Jesuits came over to England with the design to assassinate him.[9]

The circumnavigation of the globe, minor exploits, and captures, with the skill and daring bravery displayed by Drake, are too well known for comment in a brief sketch. Before the famous "Singeing of the King of Spain's beard," Fenner wrote from Plymouth to Walsingham, that "Drake sticketh at no charge to further the service, and layeth out great store of money to soldiers and mariners to stir up their minds."[1] The next day Drake, writing to the same minister, "hopes the enemy will have cause to say that God doth fight for her Majesty as well abroad as at home."[2] He hurried to sea to elude the portending countermand of the 9th April, wherein her Majesty "desired him to forbear entering any of the ports of Spain, for the preparations of the king were not so great, and Philip had made overtures."[3] By the 27th April, however, Drake was able

[6] Letter of Eliz., 20th May, 1589. State Papers, Domestic, vol. ccxxiv., No. 53. Drake offended Elizabeth by consuming ammunition at target practice. Froude, vol. xii., p. 438.

[7] Letter of Sir F. D., Nov., 1587. Sta. Pa. Dom., vol. ccv., No. 54.

[8] Confess. of Pat. Mason, May, 1582. Sta. Pa. Dom., vol. cliii., No. 49.

[9] Sta. Pa. Dom., vol. cxci., No. 35.

[1] 1st April, 1587. Sta. Pa. Dom., vol. cc., No. 1.

[2] 2nd April, 1587. Sta. Pa. Dom., vol. cc., No. 2.

[3] 9th April, 1587. Sta. Pa. Dom., vol. cc., No. 17.

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to announce to Walsingham from Cadiz, the destruction of the shipping preparing for the invasion of England, and that he intended by God's help to stop their supplies.[4] He added a postscript urging England to be prepared strongly, and most of all by sea;—"Stop him now, and stop him ever." On the same day he wrote a private and highly characteristic letter to John Fox, the martyrologist, which we will give further on. We need not relate how Effingham and Drake drew upon their own resources to keep afloat the fleet that was to save England. Whether the game of bowls on Plymouth Hoe was apocryphal or not, we may be sure that on the Armada's approach, Francis Drake, the Puritan, said in his heart, like Cromwell on the descent of Leslie at Dunbar, "The Lord hath delivered them into our hands, for they are coming towards us." We know how the west country lions, for his captains were chiefly Devonshire and Cornish men,[5] had to continue the fight with ammunition taken out of the magazines of their prizes; but historians, before Froude, forgot sufficiently to record that the chief glory of those terrible days, belonged to Sir Francis. The Spaniards declared "Toda la gloria se da a Draeck,"[6] and even our own seamen afterwards imputed want of courage to the noble Howard, affirming that he hung back, and that "the Spanish fleet would have yielded on another fight."[7]

Before the expedition quitted the Spanish shores, a letter written in St. John de Luz stated that "the account made in England of the king and all his Spanish force, is less than the fear that the Spanish mariners have of Sir Francis Drake."[8]

Different accounts are given of our hero's resignation and patience under adversity. Some assert that his death was hastened by chagrin, which brought on disease, and Monson and Lopez de Vega hint at poison.[9] Dr. Johnson hoped that "he whom no series of success could ever betray to vanity or negligence, could have supported a change of fortune without impatience or dejection."[1] The speech concerning his friend or relative, Brute Brown, is evidence

[4] Sta. Pa. Dom., vol. cc. Drake to Walsingham, 27th April, 1587, No. 46.

[5] See list at p. 384.

[6] Simancas MSS.

[7] Sta. Pa. Dom. Add., vol. xxxi., No. 20.

[8] Sta. Pa. Dom. Add., Jan. 16, 1587. Vol. xxx., No. 7.

[9] Sir W. Monson's Tracts, p. 26, and "La Dragontea," poem, by Vega. 1597.

[1] Gent. Mag., vol. xi., p. 41. 1741.

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that his self-control did not forsake him, and the following description of his last moments may be new to many, and give an idea of his cool collectedness and fortitude.

William Whitelock, brother of Sir James Whitelock, a Judge of the King's Bench, "served Sir Francis Drake in his chamber, and followed him to the *Groin* and his other sea voyages, and behaved himself very valiantly to the good liking of his maister, and so continued in his service until Sir Francis died at sea, at which time he was nearest about him, and put on his armour upon him a little before his death, which he wolde have doone, that he might die like a soldiour." [2]

Clarke says, "His corpse being put into a coffin of lead, was let down into the sea, the trumpets in a doleful manner echoing out their lamentations for so great a loss, and all the cannons of the fleet were discharged according to the custom of sea funeral obsequies." [3] His death was mourned as a national calamity, and FitzGeffrey exclaimed—

> "Drake for his country died, O joyful end!
> This joyful end began his country's woe."—*Stanza* 275.

Within a stanza or two our author took heart, and became defiant—

> "Proud Spain, although our Dragon be bereft us,
> We rampant Lions have enow for thee!"—*Stanza* 278.

The memory of Sir Francis needs no panegyric at our hands; enough in that way has been already done. We simply desire to present the results of our investigations, with our mode of interpreting the mainspring of all his actions.

The remembrance of the blood-thirsty persecution which had driven his father from his quiet home in Croundale, "to inhabit in the hull of a ship" [4] on the Medway, engendered in him a dominant hatred of the Church of Rome, of whose insidious aims Spain was the ostensible or avowed abettor; and this hate was intensified, embittered, and even sanctified by a Puritanical training. His writings abound with sentences worthy of John Knox, and on the very day of his important despatch, informing Walsingham

[2] "Liber Familicus," p. 12. Sir J. Whitelock. Camd. Soc. 1858.

[3] "Life and Death of Sir Francis Drake," by Samuel C. Clarke, Minister of St. Benet's Fink, Lond. 1671. p. 68.

[4] "Drake Revived," &c. Preface. 1652

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of the celebrated Cadiz action, he wrote "To the Right Reverend learned Godly Father, my very good friend, Mr. John Fox, preacher of the word of God.

"Mr. Fox, whereas we have had of late such happy suxces against the Spaniards. I doe assure myself that you have faithfully remembered us in your prayers, therefore I have not forgotten briefly to make you partaker thereof." [He goes on to describe his adventures, saying that "the king of Spain was making great preparations, and expecting assistance to invade England," and concludes thus—] "Wee purpose to set apart all fear of danger, and by God's furtherance to prevent their coming, wherefore I shall desire you to continue a faithfull Remembrance of us in your Praiers, that our part and service may take that effect as God may be glorified, his Church, our Queen, and country preserved. The Ennymies of truth so vanquished that we may have continuall peace in Israell. From aboard her Maj^istys good Shipp called the Elizabeth Boneadventure, in very great hast, 27 Aprill, 1587.

Your loving and faithful sonne in Christ Jesus,
FRANCIS DRAKE."

"P.S. Our enemis are many, but our protector commandeth the whole world. Lett us pray continually, and our Lord Jesus will hear us in good time mercifully.[5]"

Fox died on the 18th April, 1587, in the interval between Drake's departure for Cadiz, and the date of the letter. When the rumour reached Fox at Reigate, that the Six Articles were to be revived, he strongly remonstrated in a Latin address to parliament.[6] Samuel Fox, the biographer of his father, speaks of the friendship which subsisted between him and Sir Francis. "Inter militares viros Fran. Drakum consuetudine sua, mire devinxerat, quem virum prope ea tempora laudari quibus vixit superfluum fuerit, commendari posteris, vel multis

[5] The date is taken from the Harl. Select MSS., 7002, the text is to be found printed in black letter, at the end of Thomas Greep's history of the voyage, published in London, A.D. 1587, 4°. The name of Greep still exists in Buckland Monachorum.

[6] Strype, Mem. of Archbp. Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 937. Henry Drake was living at Reigate about the time, and was styled on his monument "E familia Dracorum in Com. Devonia oriundus."

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voluminibus vix suffecerit," which Fox thus renders, somewhat incorrectly, "Among military men Sir Francis Drake was much delighted with his familiarity, whom to commend near the times he lived in were needless, but to commend him to posterity, according to his deserts, many volumes would scarce suffice."[7]

We have here a sketch from a sectarian point of view, and this intimacy with Fox ought to give a clearer insight into the real character of Drake, for such adventitious records afford a better criterion than his Spanish reprisals, and we must not overlook the fact that Thomas Fuller has selected his religious character to adorn "The Holy State." Some writers, notwithstanding, who never candidly studied the man, have not hesitated to ascribe to him the sordid motives of a freebooter. Let us cite one or two incidents to rebut this calumny. When laden with the spoils of "Our Lady Conception," and pursued by the Spanish ships sent in chase, Drake quickened no sail like a freebooter to escape with his booty, which to him was the spoil of the Amalekites. He suffered them to overhaul him, and fight if they dared, but they quailed before the Puritan's faith, though three to one, and sheered off without firing a shot. Nor could avarice be fairly imputed to Drake. On the other hand numerous instances are recorded of his prodigal liberality and self-denial. His private fortune was lavishly spent in enterprises for the public weal, and he used the golden bait freely to lure others to his purpose. A French captain (Tetu) presented him with a jewelled scimitar, which had been made for the King of France. The Indian auxiliary Pedro coveted this private property, and Drake generously gave it to him. Pedro, out of gratitude laid some wedges of gold at his feet. We should look long for another now to emulate the noble example of self-denial Drake set on that occasion.[8] The letter from Edmund Tremayne of Collacombe, to Walsingham, yields strong testimony in favour of Drake's disinterestedness. Froude

[7] Acts and Monuments, 9th edit. Lond. 1684.

[8] He threw the wedges into the common stock, remarking it was but just that those who had been induced to embark in the enterprise through his representation should have a share in all the advantages.—"Drake Revived," p. 85.

"So Drake his country filled with store and plenty,
And filling it, himself was almost empty."

Fitz Geff., *Stanza* 215.

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has quoted a portion, and we shall yet have to refer to the original.[9]

It remains on evidence that Drake sank more than 7000*l.*, in the last expedition,[1] and he did not bequeath the vast amount of wealth that many imagine, although it is true that her Majesty made him presents in money, and the writer has found among the National Archives in the Public Record Office, Letters Patent whereby she granted him manors and lands in the several counties of Devon, Bucks, Dorset, Northampton, York, and Durham.[2] We have not pursued the discovery far enough to trace the conveyance of these estates to other persons.

Drake's few detractors, like Sir William Monson, have been fond of alluding to his mean extraction, concerning which they knew little or nothing, but the modern opinion of his birth was scarcely shared by his contemporaries. His bitterest enemies, the Spaniards, conceded to him a gentleman's degree. From papers found in the Venetian archives (printed by Longmans, 1866), the ambassador, Hieronimo Lippomano, writes to the Signory from Madrid, on the 9th of May, 1587, relative to Sir Francis Drake :—

"I will tell you that this man was a very favourite page of King Philip's so long back as his Majesty was in England. Being afterwards sent to India, he served his Majesty honourably in those parts, filling a certain post, on account of which he returned to Spain with a credit of 9000 ducats, and after remaining a whole year at the court, without ever having been able to obtain these arrears, owing to the fault of the ministers, he sold the debt for 3000 ducats. On returning thus to England, he said he would revenge himself with his own hand, and having obtained leave from the Queen, he proceeded immediately to India with five armed ships, and in Magellan's Straits, amongst other prizes, he captured a vessel freighted with gold. Not content with this, he returned a second time last year in yet greater force, and then and there, and now in Spain, has done such great damage as is notorious, and yet worse may be expected, which may God avert."

[9] Sta. Pa. Dom., vol. cxliv., No. 17. 8th Nov., 1580.

[1] Chancery Proceedings, B. & A. Eliz., D. No. 42, b. 9.

[2] Originalia, 5 Pars. 24 Eliz., Ro. 52, m. 26.

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The Editor's note explains from dates the possibility of Drake's having held the post referred to, and that it would have been incompatible with meanness of birth, which the Spaniards would have been very glad to have alleged against him. Some have wondered how so much chivalry and other refined traits of the true gentleman could have sprung from an ungenial soil, while his admirers have deduced additional merit from this disadvantage of birth by holding him up as a stimulating beacon.

Contrary to the commonly acquired belief, the family held a very good position in the neighbourhood of Tavistock. It appears from deeds[3] that John Drake was Churchwarden of Tavistock in the 5th of Edward IV., and a John Drake was Port Reeve of the borough in the eleventh year of the same reign.[4] In the next reign, William Drake was associated with Richard Banham, the mitred Abbot of Tavistock, as executor of the will of Walter Fitz., *of South Tavistock*, gent.[5] In the 20th of Henry VIII., Richard Drake was overseer with Sir John Arscott and John Amadas, Serjeant-at-Arms, of the will of Richard Prideaux, of Tavistock, gent.[6] By the early subsidy of Henry VIII., we learn that Drake, Hawkins and Amadas were three of the only eight names returned for Tavistock as ratable under the highest assessment.[7]

In point of antiquity, the earliest mention of the name that we have yet been able to trace was that of one Reginald Le Drake, who owned land in Tiverton, temp. Henry III.;[8] and Sir W. Pole has cited one Roger Le Drake, who held half a knight's fee in Dartington, temp. Edward I.[9] We gather from Bishop Grandison's Register, and from the De Banco and Coram Rege Rolls that one Reginald Drake was a monk of Tavistock in the times of Edward II. and Edward III.[1] In the fourth year of Edward III., Ralph, the son of John Drake, was a landowner in Lamerton, a parish adjoining Tavistock.[2] In the 10th Edward III., John Drake held under the Duke of Cornwall in Calstock, near Croun-

[3] Deeds of Sir Charles P. B. Sawle, Bart., Penrice, Cornwall.

[4] Sir Chas. Sawle's Deeds. Walter Wrawlegh was Reeve of the Boro. of Tavistock, A.D. 1398.

[5] Prin. Co. Cant., Holgrave, 36.

[6] Prin. Co. Cant., 1529.

[7] Subs. Roll, 14 Henry VIII., Devon.

[8] Assize Rolls, M 1 32 { 1. a. m. 9, dors. } 22 Henry III., Devon.

[9] Pole's Devon MSS.

[1] Bp. Grandison, Reg. De Banco, 4 E. 3, Hill., m. 139. Coram Reg. 4 E. 3 Mich.

[2] Pat. Ro., pt. 1, m. 8, dors.

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dale.[3] In the 47th Edward III., Richard Drake's was the highest assessment in the Tavistock Hundred.[4] John Drake, senior, was Vicar of St. Stephen's on the Tamar, and resigned in favour of John Drake, junior, who in turn resigned in 1398,[5] in the time of Richard II.;[6] and Walter Drake, of Tavistock, appears on the Rolls of Henry IV.[7]

Several of the Tavistock, or west country, Drakes were clergymen about the time of Sir Francis; one William Drake stands in the "Valor" as Rector of Sydenham and Vicar of Whitechurch, in which parish lie some of the outskirts of the town of Tavistock, and a part of the Croundale estates. He was instituted to Whitechurch in 1524,[8] the patrons of which were the monks of Tavistock, of whose number he might have been one. He died in 1548, and we give a few extracts from his will.[9]

"I Wyllyam Drake, Vicar of Whytechurch, &c. &c. . my sole to Almyghty God . and my body to be buryed in the Chancell even before the dexte that standyth before the hye Aulter of the before named Chancel . . . . To my gode mayster Thomas Tremane,[1] I give and bequeath my best gelding my mare, my best salt, a dozen of my best sponys, my sylver Coupe, the new half garnysh of Pewter Vessell performed . . . To John Maynard, my cosen, I bequeath my sylver salt. To my servant Stephen Burley I bequeath iij Kee (Cows) &c. all the rest of my goods, not bequeathed, I will that Master Thomas Tremane shall have it, whom I make my Exor, he to dystrybute the same as he shall thynke moyst meyte and convenyant for the welthe of my sole."

The will proves an intimacy then subsisting between the Tremaynes and Drakes, and the relationship to Maynard affords one among several clues to family connections, which none but a Devonshire genealogist would have suspected and followed out. By way of illustration, Thomas Maynard wrote an account as an eye-witness of Sir Francis's last voyage, wherein Sir Nicholas Clifford was killed, together with Brute Brown, whom the author styles "my brother,"

[3] Orig. Ro.
[4] Lay. Subsidy Account.
[5] Bp. Stafford's Reg.
[6] De Banco. Roll, 20 Ric. II. Trin. m. 293, and Bp. Brantingham's Reg.
[7] Assize Roll. M 1 35 } 5, 13 H. IV., Devon.
[8] Bp. Vesey's Reg.
[9] Consist. Co. Exon., 1548.
[1] He was father of Edmund Tremayne, the great friend of Sir Francis Drake.

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and at whose death Sir Francis exclaimed, "I could grieve for thee, dear Brute, but I must not now let down my spirit." Brown was also connected with the Langdons of Keverell, with whom the Drakes had intermarried, and his brother bequeathed his estates to Harris, a name in Drake's will. Maynard was connected with both the Hawkinses and Langdons, Drake's kinsfolk. William Maynard was a witness to Sir Francis Drake's will, and another Maynard conducted a Chancery suit for Thomas Drake, the heir of Sir Francis. The Cliffords were related by marriage to Tremayne and Courteney, and these names are mixed up with a Tavistock Drake's in a suit in Chancery, when John Drake was the executor to the will of Madam Tremayne, née Courteney. The Thomas Tremayne above-named, married a daughter of Roger Grenville; their son, Edmund Tremayne, in the letter to Walsingham [2] already spoken of, thanks him for associating with him, Drake and Christopher Harris, whom he had "long time regarded as a son, and now Mr. Drake is also become of the same parentage, so as her Majesty shall in these matters have been committed to the father and to his two sons. * * * * * Mr. Drake will do as your honour findeth that I love him for sundry good respects." The inventory attached to the letter is signed by Ed. Tremayne, Francis Drake, and Christopher Harris. This Christopher Harris and Sir Anthony Rouse, patron of the Rev. Chas. Fitzgeffery, the poetical biographer of Drake, with Will. Strode, were the executors of Sir Francis's will. Harris's grandmother was a Grenville of Stowe, into which family Drake of Ash had married. His mother was a coheiress of Henry Esse or Ash, alias Trecarrell,[3] the owner of part of Croundale, and landlord of the Drakes. His wife was an Arscott and his uncle (according to some) had married a sister of Edmund Tremayne, and Edmund Tremayne

[2] Sta. Pa. Dom., vol. cxliv., 5th Nov., 1580. No. 17.

[3] Chancery Proceedings, A.D. 1584, Kelly *v.* Drake. Croundale, the birthplace of Sir Francis, in South Tavistock, is partly within the parish of Whitechurch. By a suit in Chancery, temp. Eliz., Kelly, the son of a co-heiress of Trecarrell, alias Ash, claims a part of Croundale then in the occupation of John Drake, yeoman, who answered that Henry Trecarrell had leased the same to one John Drake, then deceased, son of one Edmund Drake. The said John Drake, by will, ordained Julian Drake and John Drake, the defendant, his executors. He, the defendant, outlived Julian, and entered into possession of West Croundale in accordance with the will, but to South Croundale he asserted no title. The estate of Croundale remained with the Drakes till the early part of the last century, when a moiety passed to the Courtenays. There is an entry in the parish rate book for the year 1738. "Mr. Edm. Drake's men for killing two Fochs, 8d."

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had been, like Drake's father, a victim of religious persecution. Another co-heiress of Trecarrell married Kelly, who had a suit with a Drake about Croundale,[4] and Kelly again was connected with the Whitelocks, one of which name put the armour on Sir Francis before he died. Tooker married the widow of Trecarrell, and one Tooker was the last Abbot of Buckland Monachorum. Sir Francis interceded with Walsingham for his "cousin Tooker,"[5] and Sir Walter Raleigh the year before also pleaded for his own kinswoman Tooker, for whom Bernard Drake had become bondsman.[6]

The direct marriage connections of the Tavistock Drakes, appear from wills and parish registers, anterior to the year 1620, to have been among county families who entered themselves at the Visitation of that date, when the principal Drakes remaining were either indifferent, like many others, or partook of the Puritanical turn that looked down upon the herald's pomp as a worldly vanity. It may suffice to say that his parentage was not "mean" absolutely, but relatively rather to the exalted position that Sir Francis Drake afterwards attained. The documentary evidences fix his connections among the lesser gentry, and when population was sparse the gentle families of a district, by their constant intermarriages, were necessarily bound by common ties of blood. A scheme will be given exhibiting relationship between Hawkins and Drake of Tavistock,[7] with which we can connect the greater number of Sir Francis's captains, and the men who deemed it honour to place themselves under his command were of the best blood of the two counties, which would hardly have been the case had he been of the degree some represent him to have been.

> "Such were magnanimous Drake's accomplices,
> Not of the vulgar base inglorious sort,
> But such did follow wars as ruled in peace,
> Whose very names their fortune did import.
> Such rare adherents did to Drake resort,
> As he that but their ominous names once heard,
> Did either vanquished yield or fly afeard."
>
> *FitzGefferey. Stanza* 126.

[4] Chancery Proceedings, Kelly *v.* Drake, A.D. 1584.

[5] Sta. Pa. Dom., 16th Jan. 1589. Vol. ccxxii., No. 18.

[6] Sta. Pa. Dom. add., vol. xxx. 1858. No. 125.

[7] *See* p. 387.

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It is but fair to examine the authorities on which biographers have relied for their derogatory opinions.

Camden is accounted the standard authority, because he was personally acquainted with Drake, and declared he would relate nothing but what he had heard direct.[8] But his meaning has been misunderstood; he wrote in Latin, and to save trouble his copyists have referred to the English translations. His words were, "Sub id tempus in Angliam rediit Franciscus Dracus. Hic ut non alia referam, quam quæ ab ipso audivi natus est loco mediocri in comitatu Devoniæ, è sacro lavacro à Francisco Russellio, postea Bedfordiæ Comite, susceptus, qui prænomen pro more indidit, &c."

A modern would construe "natus est loco mediocri" into "He was of middle-class parentage," to which the older translator's words "of mean parentage" were fairly equivalent in their time. But words have suffered changes, and although the old meaning is retained in the phrases Arithmetic, Geometric or Harmonic, *mean* as the middle term between two extremes, or *the Golden Mean*, the epithet *mean*, when applied to persons, assumes quite a different character, and drives them from the middle status to the bottom of the social scale.

Then comes the inconsistency, that Francis Russell should have undertaken to stand sponsor, at the sacred font, for an infant of the class alleged, when the duties of the office were regarded more seriously than is imagined in these days of laxity. Camden, who lived close to the time, was able to judge, and would not have repeated the story had he thought it improbable, and moreover, being a Herald, could have decided the question of later controversy, whether it was competent for Francis Russell to have been the god-father.

John Stow, the "painefull writer of the English Chronicles," who "professed that his only paines and care was to write truth," states that "Francis Drake was son of Edmond Drake of Tavistock, Saylor;" that "he was the eldest of 12 brethren brought up under his kinsman Sir John Hawkins," and that "he was lawfully married unto two wives both young." Fuller (who had his information from his parishioner Henry Drake, the nephew of Sir Bernard, and companion of Sir Francis) says his father was a minister; and

[8] Annals of Q. Eliz., vol. ii. p. 351.

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a collection of notes at the Museum in Stow's handwriting has this passage, "for Fraunces Drake Knyght sone to Sir —— Drake vickar of Upchurche in Kent.[9] Hasted's list of Vicars commences with Edmund Drake's successor, but the character attributed to Stow encouraged us to follow his painstaking, and led to the discovery of the Institution among the Lambeth Registers [1] (Archbishop Parker's).

"Upchurch. Cant. dioc. vicar. 25 die mensis Jan. A.D. 1560, apud Lambehith. Dñs admisit Edmund Drake cleric' ad. v. pr. (*sic*) Eccl. p'och' de Upchurch[e] Cant. per mortem ultimi vicari ibidem vacant' ad present' Custodis et socior' collegii animar' omnium fidelium defunctor' de Oxonia veri &c." f. 347, b.

"Upchurch Cant. dioc. vicar' de 3 die mensis Mar. A.D. 1567, apud Lambehith Dñs admisit Will. Lutwiche Cleric' ad. v. pt. Eccl. p'och. de Upchurche Cant. per mort' ultimi vicarii ibidem vacant' ad present' custod'et socior' collegii omnium animarum fideliar. defunctor. Oxon. veri &c." f. 381, a.[2]

His will was proved at Canterbury, the 16th of January, 1566, and was written the day before his burial. It commences thus:—

"In the name of God amen. the xxvi of decesember in anno domini 1566. be it known unto all men Edmonde Drake vicare de [of] (sic) Upchurche in Kent make my last will and testament in manner and fforme ffowlueinge, ffirst I dowe beleve assured that I am Redeemed by the bloud of Christ as of a lambe undeffed[led] (undefiled) and wt[out] spote, therfor I comyt my sole in the handes of my mercyfull lord god, and my bodye to burrid in Upchurche by my sonne Edward Drake, by the graves of Bleshendons howshold." It is very quaint and rambling, and mentions his son Thomas the younger his executor, then with Mr. Baker in London. We presume he died a widower, from his affectionate tribute to his nurse and his instructions, "Remember my wyeff to be

[9] Harl. MSS. 540, fo. 93, vol. iv. Stow's MSS.

[1] Add. MSS. 6088. Plut. clxxii. H. Archbp. Parker's Reg.

[2] We gather from Ackerman's Hist. of the University of Oxford that J. Warner, M.D., Regius Professor of Physic, was elected Warden of All Souls in A.D. 1536, resigned in 1555, from a secret affection for the protestant religion, which might expose such a conspicuous person to the Marian persecution. Again appointed in 1583 A.D., he was instructed by Queen Elizabeth in 1559 to visit, with others, and cleanse the Universities of superstitious things, to reinstate such as had been expelled for their religion and to annul Cardinal Pole's statutes. The present Warden has kindly searched the books and found no record of Edmond Drake.

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new sett in the beginning of the Romaynes and so trem the bocke and kepe in bosom and fed upon. Remember make miche of the bible that I dowe here send the wth all the Rest of godly bocks." He requests Richard Sawle, one of the witnesses, "to stand his good friend." Sawle was then assessed at Upchurch,[3] and was probably a Tavistock admirer of Drake's, and he had many, for the number of communicants in his time exceeded any ever known in the parish. The Sawle family was then seated in Tavistock[4] and was connected with Drake, through Hawkins, and with Tremayne[5] (see Scheme). In 1552 Richard Sawle levied a fine of Thomas Drake and Margery his wife on lands in Beer Ferris, south of Tavistock.[6]

The circumstance of the wife's portrait, which was to be "new sett in the beginning of the Romaynes" is indicative of a certain degree of refinement, for few of the lower grade possessed such a thing in those days. The painter, by the way, might have been John Bossom (a Devonshire name); "that most rare english drawer in black and white, who, growing poorer, grew into love with God's divine service upon the liberty of the Gospel at the coming in of Queen Elizabeth, and became a *reading Minister!*"[7] and Strype mentions one Bosome's wife, who narrowly escaped martyrdom at Richmond in the time of Mary.

Stow's further evidence, that Sir John Hawkins was Drake's kinsman, should have kept the popular opinion of Drake's origin in check. On referring to the early part of Sir John's will we found this sentence, "To my very good Cosyn Sir Francis Drake, Knight, my best jewell which is a crosse of Emerode."[8] And before dismissing Stow, we may state here, that the wives of Sir Francis were Mary Newman, married 3rd July, 1569, and buried 25th January, 1582–3;[9] his second wife was Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Sir George Sydenham; she survived, and married Sir William Courtenay of Powderham.

Reverting to Camden, he relates that when Drake was of

[3] Lay Subsidy Roll.

[4] Lay Subsidy Roll.

[5] Thos. Sawle of Tavistock, had married Constance Tremayne, the aunt of Thos. Tremayne, the Executor of the Rev. Wm. Drake's will, before quoted.

[6] Rot. Fin. Easter, 6 Ed. VI.

[7] Walpole's Painters.

[8] "Prerogative Court of Canterbury." Drake 26 and 50.

[9] Parish Registers, St. Budeaux, and St. Andrews, Plymouth. The marriage settlement of the second wife is dated 10th Feb., 27th Eliz., and recited in the Inq. p. m. of Sir Francis Drake.

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tender years, his father, having embraced the Protestant religion, was called to account under the Six Articles Act of Henry VIII., and fled into Kent. After the death of Henry, he read prayers to the sailors in the Royal fleet, was ordained deacon, and made Vicar of Upnor Church by the Medway, where the fleet was stationed. That for "Upnor" should be read "Upchurch" has been already shown, and having rectified this error, we may consider whether we have been equally misled by an unintentional deviation of Camden's respecting the flight of Edmund Drake into Kent, especially as he contradicts himself in the Britannia by stating that Plymouth "gave being" to Sir Francis.

Let us recall, that in 1549, the new possessors of the Abbey lands had enclosed the commons for sheep farms; wool becoming more valuable, villages were demolished to get rid of the inhabitants, rents increased, and food became dearer; hence arose discontent throughout the nation. On Whit-Sunday, when the new Liturgy was introduced, the parish priest of Sampford Courtenay exhorted his people to rise in behalf of the Romish religion. The commotion spread. Humphrey Arundell put himself at the head of the Cornish insurgents, and Lord Russell was sent to oppose them. They marched to Exeter with the Host and Romish emblems borne before them. They demanded among other things the restoration of the "Six Articles," which drew forth the King's reply touching the Bloody Statute. "Know ye what ye require? They were laws made but quickly repented. Too bloody they were to be borne. O subjects, how are ye trapped by evil persons, we took them away because they were bloody, and ye ignorantly ask them again."[1]

Edmund Drake might have been of the number then dispossessed, and been thus compelled to seek a new home. Or perhaps, from being on too good terms with the family of his son's godfather, namely the Russells, who held the lands of the Abbey of Tavistock, he might have become a marked man, and been obliged on account of this "Six Articles" insurrection to fly into Kent, there to retaliate by instilling into his son's mind the sentiments destined to shatter the power of the persecution.[2]

[1] Carte, B. xvi., and Southey, "Book of the Church," p. 262.

[2] One branch of the Drakes held lands under Cranmer's family in Nottingham, near Leicestershire, and the Archbishop's grandfather, Edmund Cranmer, witnessed

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It is a remarkable coincidence that William Drake the pluralist, rector and vicar, whose influence in those parts might have protected Edmund, had died in the previous year; and if the above conjecture concerning the Six Articles prove correct, the discrepancies respecting Francis Russell would vanish.

The work next in favour for biographical reference, is Prince's "Worthies of Devon," and the charm investing his well-known anecdote, rendered it so exceedingly popular, that any attempt to confute it with mere contradictory traditions, would be hopeless, for the spell of romance is too fascinating to be readily broken, and the truth-seeker must keep even his probabilities in reserve behind an array of hard facts.

Prince was a *protégé* of the Drakes of Ash, and stated that his god-father, Sir John Drake of Trill, was his informant. His story is, that Sir Bernard Drake, meeting Sir Francis at court, gave him a box on the ear for assuming the red wyvern for his arms, and that the Queen, resenting the affront, bestowed on Sir Francis "a new coat of everlasting honour," and to add to the discomfiture of Sir Bernard, caused the red wyvern "to be hung up by the heels in the rigging of the ship" on Sir Francis' crest.[3] This story had gone the general round in print, till Barrow first discredited it,[4] while Miss Agnes Strickland has embellished it with fresh inventions, and not to be outdone by the fecundity of the "Black Crows," has transformed the solitary wyvern into three![5]

This attractive anecdote has probably misled more than one family of the name. The Drakes of Yorkshire, whose pedigree Watson, about one hundred years ago, asserted "is such as for antiquity and authenticity will not often in private families be exceeded" beginning "before surnames were introduced,"[6] and the ancient Drakes of Ireland, who once bore a dragon gules,[7] and were Sheriffs of Meath[8]

John Drake's will. Prob. Court, York, 1503. This branch had the name Edmund among them, and there are sufficient independent grounds for belief, that an intercourse was maintained between the woolstaplers of Leicester, and Tavistock; but to enlarge here would be out of place.

[3] Prince's Worthies. Life of Sir Bernard Drake, p. 245.

[4] Barrow's Life of Sir Francis Drake.

[5] Queens of England, by Agnes Strickland, vol. iv., p. 451.

[6] History of Halifax, by the Rev. John Watson, M.A., F.S.A., printed 1775, p. 251.

[7] Carew MSS., vol. 635.

[8] Rot. Pat., Irish.

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before the settlement in Ash, both re-import their arms from Devon, as if through Ash. Another Irish branch, who, when in England, bore the red wyvern, has abandoned it for the arms in the new grant to Sir Francis.

Sir John Drake was not born till after the death of his great-grandfather, Sir Bernard,[9] and Prince wrote more than thirty years after Sir John's death.[1] The story might have been told to amuse Prince as a boy. One part is known to be incorrect, which leads us to distrust the remainder. There is no mention of the hanging up of the wyvern by the heels in the original grant to Sir Francis, nor did we ever see it so ignominiously treated, but it repeatedly occurs standing upright on the bulwark of the ship, like the red eagle in the arms of Maconnel of Cantire,[2] and is so placed in the arms on Drake's portrait belonging to the Plymouth Corporation, also over Drake's bust in the Great Hall at Buckland Abbey, and likewise in the vignette of the rare edition of Drake's voyages, printed in 1628, for Nicholas Bourne. In each and every particular it is an honourable charge: more than this Sir Francis used it, with the eagle crest, conceding to it the first quarter, and it is to be seen in his engraved portrait,[3] which (for reasons not necessary to be given here,) we believe to be the best resemblance of the man. It was also quartered by him on his seal till the time of his death,[4] and in one of our exploring trips, when at Buckland Abbey, we discovered high up on the left flank of a chimney-piece, in an old part of the house, a shield similar to that on the

[9] Sir Bern. Inq. p. m., 1586. Admon., 1587, Doc. Com.

[1] Sir John Drake died 1669. Will. (P. C. C., 159, Coke.)

[2] Carew MSS., vol. 635.

[3] Print room, B. Mus., and Bethnal Green Mus.

[4] Lansdown MSS., vol. 70, and Harl. MSS., 4762, fo. 132. The latter document is as follows:—"1595. xxiij die Julii anno R. Elizabeth xxxvij. "The same day and yeare We Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkyns, Knights, do acknowledge by theis presents that Sr Thomas Baskervile, Knight, shall have the adventure of ffive hundred Pounds of current English money, in this voiadg. To be (by God's permission) performed into forrayn parts, with sixe of her Mats Shippes and soundrie other marchants Shipps latelie comytted to our chardges. And according to the same some, the said Sr Thomas Baskervile his Executors or Assigns shall receave the profyte of suche comodities as shall be returned in the same voiadg, ratablie and as farre fourth as her Matie or any other adventurer shall have in the like case.

"Given under our handes, the daie and yeare first above wrytten.

"Fra: Drake. John Hawkins.

Seal. Seal.

See fig. 1. on plate of Illustrations at end.

"Sir Francis Drake, Sir John Hawkins, and Sir Thomas Baskerville were men for their valour and experience as eminent as England had any."—Sir Walter Raleigh's Apology for the Voyage to Guiana.

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seal and portrait, with the charges in alto-relievo, a discovery now first made public.[5]

This shield is also given with the quarterings in reverse order, in a copy of the Herald's Visitation, A.D. 1620,[6] and other MSS. at the British Museum.

The wyvern is set up in Reigate church to the memory of Henry Drake before-named, who died in 1609, and is on a seal attached to a Lay Subsidy roll of the time of Henry VII., for the Hundred of Tavistock, when the Drakes were of good standing, and the Commissioners, John Harris, Thomas Tremayne, Humphrey Prydaux, John Arscott, and John Charles, were all of Drake connection.

A sagacious man like Sir Francis would not have stultified himself and risked the Queen's displeasure, by restoring a coat if she had put it down, or by giving it precedence over her mark of favour, unless warranted by antiquity and right, and he would rather have consigned to oblivion such an incident as Prince narrates, than have revived its remembrance.

A manuscript of Devonshire evidences, written by Le Neve, and now in the library of Charles Prideaux Brune, Esq. of Padstow, to which Sir John Maclean kindly called my attention, contains sketches of the eagle displayed, and the wyvern, taken from seals attached to muniments of the Drake family of a date[7] anterior to the period first assigned to family heraldry, wherein the Christian names Roger and Ralph appear. These were very common names in the Tavistock family, and continued to be borne by them till comparatively recent times. One Roger was the third Governor of India, then styled Administrator; he died in 1758. We possess copies of wills, state records, and parish registers, showing an unbroken continuance of these names—and prevailing names always afford good presumptive family evidence—Roger le Drak, temp. Ed. I., was the first of the name that Sir William Pole could quote, and it

[5] That Sir Francis possessed some ancestral pride is manifested by his placing the ancient wyvern or dragon in the first quarter of his shield, and by his substituting the old eagle for the questionable heraldry of Robert Cook, Clarencieux. A globe, a ship, an arm, a cloud, and a motto, could not easily have been crowded together on a helm, and Sir Francis seems to have been fully alive to the absurdity.

[6] Harl. MSS. 1080.

[7] Probably of the time of Henry II. Dr. Roger Drake was a celebrated divine and ejected nonconformist.

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should be noted that neither name, Ralph nor Roger, is ever found in the Ash family. In point of antiquity, it may be said of the Tavistock line, that before Ash began—

"Their primeval race was run."

But the strangest thing is that the Drakes of Ash never bore the wyvern themselves before the time of Sir Bernard, and no evidence of its use by them has been produced earlier than the Herald's Visitation of 1620, a quarter of a century after the death of Sir Francis! Their arms were *Argent, a chevron purple, or gules, between three halberts sable*, and of this fact the following evidence exists:—

First. In the MSS. Devonshire Collection[8] of Cotgrave the Herald, deceased about 1584, whose work came successively into the keeping of other heralds,[9] and was much prized. It describes father and son, respectively, thus—"John Drake is of Ash in Denshir, Barnard Drake of Mount Drake in Denshir." The arms above given being with difficulty legible in the original, some interpolator has reproduced them in a more modern hand, and over the name of Sir Bernard he has inserted "Drake of Mount Drake, A. a wyvern G."

Secondly. The Cottonian MSS., Claud. C. II., fol. 156.[1]

Thirdly. In a copy of the Visitation of Devon by William Harvey, Clarencieux, in 1565, the above coat is tricked out, followed by all the Ash quarterings in proper order (see fig. 2A at end), and no other coat exists in the College of Arms prior to the year 1620, for Drake of Ash.

Fourthly. This coat was taken by Joseph Holland in 1579, from Shute House, near Ash, the residence of Sir William Pole, whose grandmother was a Drake of Ash.[2]

Enough has perhaps been said, without citing family traditions, in refutation of Prince's story. If there ever was any altercation, however, about the arms borne by the Drakes, then surely Sir Francis had the best of it, unless, indeed, he had aspired to the halberts, of which Sir Bernard preserved a memento, by placing one in the grasp of a hand on his crest.[3] But we have evidence that the families of Sir Ber-

[8] Harl. MSS., 3967.

[9] Brooke and Segar.

[1] Ireland Drakes. Ar. a dragon g. Devon Drakes. Ar. chevron p. 3 (halberts) s.

[2] Harl. MSS., 5871.

[3] Coll. of Arms. Visit. Dev., 1620. See also fig. 2A, at the end for the crest retained by Drake of Ash in 1620.

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nard and Sir Francis were on most friendly footing. The court influence of the latter was worth cultivating, and Richard Drake, the brother of Sir Bernard, was made Equerry to the Queen. He was doubtless under pecuniary obligation to Sir Francis respecting the manor of Yarcomb, which Sir Francis by his will[4] desired should be restored to him on payment of 2000*l.* to Thomas Drake, and what is more extraordinary Sir Bernard was bound by gratitude for the forbearance of his creditor, having mortgaged Ash mansion house and lands to Sir Francis, who, before setting out on his last voyage, had pledged Sir Bernard's son and heir, John Drake, that should the voyage prove "a saving" one, the estate of Ash should be surrendered "to him free, and without paying anything."[5]

Richard failed, through lapse of time, to recover Yarcomb, and angry feeling arose in consequence.[6] He appears to have been a favourite with Sir Francis, who styles him cousin, and entrusted him with the keeping of Don Pedro de Valdez, the Armada captive, for two years.[7] Richard's son was named Francis, and was ancestor of the Drakes of Amersham. The estate of Ash subsequently gave rise to a suit in chancery[8] between John Drake, the heir of Sir Bernard, and Thomas, the heir of Sir Francis, and the Bill and Answer bear internal evidence of the friendly intercourse between the two families in Sir Francis' lifetime. Very probably there was an estrangement after his death, for Thomas Drake quarrelled with everyone,[9] and the bitter feeling engendered by the lawsuit may have rankled in the descendant of John Drake, when he framed the narrative for young Prince, who repeated it after a lapse of thirty years, perhaps out of jealous zeal for the distinction of the house of Ash, and possibly not in the original form.[1] Still the house of Ash could well hold its own. It recorded better alliances, and quartered more coats than its western cousin, for they were originally of the same stock, and if Tavistock blood produced its unmatched admiral,

[4] Prerog., Co. Cant. (Drake, 1.)

[5] Chancery Proceedings, B. & A., Eliz. D. d. b. 9. No. 42, 30th May, 1597.

[6] Sta. Pa., Dom., 1597, and Chan. Proc.

[7] Dep. Excheq., 2 Ja. 1., Mich. 19.

[8] B. & A. Eliz., D. d., B. 9. No. 42.

[9] Chan. Pro., Drake *v.* Bodenham, and Whitelock, Lib. Fam., p. 12.

[1] "Personal rancour wonderfully enlivens the style * * * Memoirs are often dictated by its fiercest spirit; and then histories are composed from memoirs. Where is *Truth?* Not always in histories and memoirs!"—D'Israeli, Curiosities of Literature. Art. Edward IV.

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the blood of Ash could set off another Devonshire hero, the consummate general "who never fought a battle without winning it, nor besieged a town without taking it"—John Churchill, the great Duke of Marlborough.[2]

Sir Bernard Drake's wife was a Fortescue, and his mother was a Grenville.[3] Two of the Grenvilles were captains under Sir Francis. One was slain in the voyage of 1585,[4] and also a Captain George Fortescue, whose autograph is on the inventory attached to Tremayne's letter before spoken of[5] (p. 368).

Francis, the son of Richard Drake, and nephew of Sir Bernard, was, in his time intimately associated with the chief men of Sir Francis' school of religion.[6] His wife was the subject of that remarkable memoir, "The Firebrand plucked," or "Trodden-down strength," and their son was one of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the conduct of the clergy in 1647.[7]

Henry Drake, another nephew of Sir Bernard's,[8] we conclude to have been of the same stamp, from the expressions of affectionate remembrance of Thomas Fuller,[9] whose evidence and summary are so much the more valuable because this Henry was with Sir Francis in the last voyage. He married the widow of Sir Arthur Champernown,[1] and Gawen Champernown of Dartington in his will bequeathed a ring to Sir Francis to be inscribed with the poesie, "The remembrance of a friend!"[2] Such notes, trifling in themselves, are important testimony to a truth-seeker, and on this consideration the mention of them may be excused.

Sir Bernard's brother Richard was one overseer of Sir Francis' will. The other overseer, Archdeacon Barrett, of Exeter, son-in-law of Bishop Woolton, "insisted on the clean defacement of superstitious things in churches." Dr. Oliver, the Roman Catholic historian of Exeter, ironically describes him as "credulous in witchcraft and sorcery." The puritanical antipathy to Romish ceremonies was very violent, and Sir Francis and his father were staunch Puritans, as indeed were

[2] John Churchill was born at Ash and christened at Axminster, his mother was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Drake of Ash, who, on account of his son-in-law's straitened circumstances, gave up Ash to the young couple, and retired himself to Trill House.

[3] Her. Visit, 1620, Dev. Drake of Ash.

[4] Lipscombe's Bucks, vol i., p. 600.

[5] Sta. Pa., Dom., 8th Nov. 1580.

[6] See Will. Prerog. Co. Cant. (43 Seager.)

[7] Manning's Surrey.

[8] Henry Drake of Childhay. Admon. Doc. Com. 1640. Son of Robt. D. of Wiscomb. The brother of Sir Bernard.

[9] Holy State, p. 129.

[1] Westcot's MSS. and Hutchins' Dorset, and Proc. in Chancery.

[2] Prerog. Co. Cant., prob., 1592.

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most of that family,[3] which very fact might have served as an additional recommendation to Elizabeth, whose policy was to unite all sects, and prevent schism in the Protestant camp. The Puritans had the countenance of Leicester, Knollys, Cecil, Walsingham, the Earl of Bedford, and others.[4] Cadets of the houses of Knollys, Cecil, and Walshingham, served under Sir Francis, and some lost their lives in the service.

Sir Francis Drake left an Uncle John, who was mentioned in Thomas Drake's will, and was buried at Buckland Monachorum, 1610.[5] Of his eleven brothers, all we can trace with certainty so far, are Thomas, the youngest, his heir; John, slain while too recklessly boarding a Spanish frigate;[6] Joseph, who died at sea shortly after John[6] and Edward, buried at Upchurch. Some investigators have insisted that he had a second brother John, which may not be improbable, for the Drakes of Ash yield an instance of two brothers John living at the same time. The second is supposed to be identical with the Mr. John Drake, who obtained the chain of gold promised by Sir Francis to the man who should first sight the rich Spanish ship "Our Lady Conception,"[7] and who was kept for fifteen months in captivity by the savages on the River Plate.[8]

Before entering into the family connections, we will take leave of our hero. These supplementary gatherings would explain that the misconception of his social degree is due to

[3] Wm. Drake, clerk, was presented by Q. Eliz., 4 Ap. 1581, to the vicarage of St. Just, (in Penw. Cornwall) [Bp. Bradbridge Reg.] followed by Wm. Drake, B.A., who was presented by K. James, 2nd Feb. 1621 [Bp. Hall's Reg.]. *Tobias, Thomas, and John Drake, sons and exors. of the last Wm. Drake* [Will. prob., Exon. 1636], signed an agreement to raise and join a company of horse under Sir Francis Arundel, for the Protector's service, 1st May, 1658 [Paroc. Hist. of Cornw. and Buller's St. Just]. The original document is at Castle Hornek, Penzance. A William Drake was minister of Feock, Cornw., in 1601, as appears from the register of the burial of his son *Francis* in that parish. Another Wm. Drake was minister of Gwennap, Cornw., during the Protectorate. He was succeeded by William Crymes, and the Christian names of these several Drake families preserved in their parish registers, with other circumstances, prove them to have been originally from Whitechurch and the neighbourhood of Tavistock. The more immediate connections and successors of Sir Francis were of the Puritan type. His nephew, Sir Francis Drake, 2nd Bart., was "Colonel of a regiment of horse for the Parliament, called ye Plymouth Regiment." Thomas Drake, brother of the last-named baronet, "was some tyme Major of horse for ye Parliament." He married Sarah Crymes, whose brother Ellis Crymes, married his sister Mary Drake, and was Lieut-Colonel of the garrison of Plymouth for the Parliament [Somaster MSS., Harl. MS., 6861, Brit. Mus.].

[4] Neale's Hist. of the Puritans.

[5] Par. Reg. 17 Jan. 1610-1.

[6] "Drake Revived," pp. 45, 46, and "English Hero," p. 29.

[7] Hakluyt Soc. World Encom. App.; Thos. Wright, Fam. Voyage of Sir. F. D.

[8] Purchas, Pilgrims, fol. 1186, 1441. Styled Mr. John Drake by Wright. He was entertained at the Spanish captain's own table after his escape.

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our retaining an obsolete meaning of a word, just as a host of other misapprehensions of history arises from our inability to identify ourselves with the spirit of the time.

That Prince's anecdote was a delusion, for the house of Ash could only claim the wyvern as a branch of the ancient Drakes of Devon, and should rather be called the house of Otterton, for they did not obtain Ash till the time of John Drake of Exmouth, Sir Bernard's grandfather.[9]

That so far from being a greedy freebooter, a strong religious sentiment prevailed over all the actions of Sir Francis Drake, and pervaded his letters, which remain as memorials to this day. In addressing the Queen from Plymouth, while awaiting the Armada, he wrote, "Never was a force so strong as this, but the Lord of strength is stronger, and will defend the truth of His word for His own namesake,"[1] and his despatches to Walsingham, after the first encounter, continued to breathe the same firm reliance.

A fervid worship of the God of Justice begat an irrepressible hatred of injustice, and taught Drake that it was criminal tamely to submit to wrong done to himself or to others. Forgetting that the same Creator also made the Spaniard, his puritanical zeal may have led him to expect the right hand of his Maker to undo on demand the work previously done with the left, and disappointment may, or may not, have thrown his mind off the balance at the last; still his conduct throughout life proves that he was influenced first by zeal for God's service, next by devotion to his country and Queen, then by concern for the interest of his co-adventurers, and *last* and *least* of all by consideration for himself.

To say that no other has a greater claim on the gratitude of his country, is only to propound what every reflecting mind must admit.[2]

[9] Sir Wm. Pole, Devon., p. 123.

[1] Sta. Pa., Dom., 13 Apr. 1588, vol. ccix., No. 89.

[2] He opened our trade to the East and West Indies, introduced the potato and tobacco, and founded our naval supremacy.

"His (Sir F. Drake's) notions were free and noble, and the nation stands indebted to his memory for advantages infinitely greater than are commonly imagined."—Biog. Brit., vol. iii., p. 1739.

"The zeal and activity which these great seamen exerted at this important crisis will always endear their memory to the nation."—Misc. Sta. Pa. Earl of Hardwick, vol. i., p. 579; Introduction to Drake's letters.

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SUPPLEMENTAL NOTES IN ILLUSTRATION OF THE ABOVE.

Copy of the Bishop of Exeter's Letter sent to the four Archdeacons.

The Archbishop of Canterbury to the Bishop of Exeter.

"Salutem in Christo. your Lordshipp is not ignorant of the great and Worthie enterprise of Sr John Norris and Sr Francis Drake now in action the good success whereof must needes tend to the glorie of God, and to the singular benefitt of his Church, and forasmuch as all goodnes cometh from above and that God only giveth the victorie, I thought it good by these my lres to move yor Lordshipp to take diligent care that in every Parish Church wthin yor Dioces publicke prayers be had according to the order of the booke, and according to former orders so sett forth by authoritie at the leaste thrise in every weeke, wch although I doo not doubt you have of yrself remembered to performe, Yet I thought it not amisse to put you in mynde of the same at this tyme And so wth my harty comendacons I comitt youe to the tuition of Almighty God.

"ffrom Lambeth the 2nd of Maye 1589."

"These are therefore to will and require you that yr self and yor officers doe wth all convenient speede fulfill and put in Execution the tenor of my Lord Archbisshopps Graces lres wthin yor jurisdiction and hereof faill youe not as you will answer at yor perill to the Contrarie. Exeter this 10 Maye, 1589.

"Yr loving ffrinde in Christ,
"John Exon."[3]

Since these notes were read at Exeter, an article has appeared in the "Herald and Genealogist,"[4] the subject of which we have anticipated and rather fully discussed. We prize tradition too highly to dismiss Prince without trying to sift his anecdote, although his recollection was at fault. Frequently the generation to which a tradition relates is mistaken. We have evidence that Sir Francis was on good terms with his kin, but Thomas Drake, his successor, was deeply embroiled with Sir Bernard's son, and brother Richard, who says, "Sir Fra's Drake by his will gave my son Francis the manor of Yarcomb in Devonshire, and to Thomas Drake his brother 2000£ within two years of the Testator's death. For this £2000 Thomas agreed with me before witnesses for £1500 ready money, which accordingly I provided within three days." Thomas it appears repudiated.[5] Richard retaliated by bringing charges of concealment and embezzlement affecting Thomas Drake.[6] After this, Thomas, perhaps vain of the lustre acquired for his own line, might have dropped the wyvern in disdain, and vaunted Queen Elizabeth's grant in a manner to call forth such a retort as is described by Prince, but, what is significant, is that the Drakes of Ash subsequently *nowed* the tail of their wyvern.

We cannot suppose that a conspiracy existed among the early writers

[3] Book of Acts, Exon, Vol. A. 1.
[4] Part XLVI. Jan. 1874.
[5] Cal. Sta. Pa., Dom., vol. cclxv. No. 72, 1597.
[6] Cal. Sta. Pa., Dom., vol. cclxxvi. No. 20.

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to mislead; therefore, it must be admitted that Sir Bernard Drake changed the coat of Ash.

The Hamptons resided in Marystow,[7] about six miles north of Tavistock. The daughter and co-heiress of Warren Hampton carried Ash by marriage to Billet, whose daughter and heiress married John Drake, a wealthy merchant of Axmouth. Whence did he come? The Lay Subsidy Rolls and other documents show the name of Drake connected with the country, extending from Tavistock beyond Marystow. It is common for merchants to settle in a convenient trading port, and several of the Ash family were of a seafaring turn.

Sir Francis Drake styled Richard Drake, the brother of Sir Bernard, "cousin," and perhaps with some reason known to themselves; for we have conversed with a man who, in middle age, was intimate with our ancestor born in the reign of Charles II., or nearly two hundred years ago.

The Drakes of Devon, Dorset and Somerset are all one. An enterprising race, they dotted the coast line round to Norfolk, and then spread inland. We do not despair of bringing all under one head, or of reducing them to two main branches, Devon and York, the unity of whose source is at present obscured.

"Grant of Arms to Sir Francis Drake.[8]

"Whereas it hath pleased the Queen's most excellent Ma^ty graciously to regard the prayseworthy deserte of Sir ffrancis Drake· Knight and to remunerate the same in him not only with the hono^ble order of Knighthood, and by sundry other demonstrations of her highnes especiall favour, but alsoe further desirous that the impressions of her princely affection toward him might be as it were immortally devised and conveyed to his offspring and posterity for ever, hath assigned and given unto him Armes and tokens of virtue and honor answerable to the greatness of his deserts and meete for his place and calling, That is to say, of Sable a fess wavy betwene two Starres argent, the helm adorned with a globe terrestrial upon the height whereof is a shippe under sayle trained about the same with golden haulsers by the direction of a hand appearing out of the cloudes all in proper colour, with these wordes, Auxilio Divino, The said Armes with all other the partes and ornaments thereof heere in the margent depicted. I Robert Cooke Esqr al's Clarenceux King of Armes of the East West and South partes of the Realme of England, according as the duties of myne office binde me, have caused to be registered entred and recorded for perpetuall memory with the Armes and other honorable and heroicall monuments of the nobility and gentry within my said province and marches. In witness whereof I have hereunto subscribed my name the twentieth day of June in the yeare of our Lord God 1581, and in the xxiij^th of the prosperous Raigne of our most gracious Souveraigne Lady Queen Elizabeth etc.

"Robert Cooke al's Clarencreux
"Roy D'Armes."

We are indebted to the courtesy of the gentlemen at the Herald's College for their valuable assistance in discovering the following notes in the Volume

[7] Risdon, Survey of Devon, p. 280.

[8] Harl. MSS. 1422. fo. 4.

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F. 12 fo. 162-163, which contains another draft of the grant with certain passages cancelled by a pen line drawn through them after they were written. Following the name of Sir Francis Drake, as in the above, there originally stood "who of an exceeding great love and zeal to her highnes and his country, hath not spared to adventure and hazard his lyf and to weare his body with longe and paynfull travell into dyvers and sondry partes of the world never hitherto founde owte by any of this nation, whereby through the favourable permission of Almightie God there is greate hope of the wynninge of new heathen nations from infidelitie to the knowledge of God and of his Sonne Jesus Christ our redimer, and therefore no small hon^r renowne and comoditie like to redound to this our countrey."

For "deserts" in the Harleian grant stood "navigations and enterprizes." There are also other variations, viz., after the words "cloudes all in proper colour" stood "a read dragon volant sheweth itselfe regardinge the said direction with these wordes Auxilio divino to notifie the divyne providence; the sayd in manner here above depicted (*sic*) which is always wont to guyde and direct all godly enterprize." Towards the close stood, "and have further thought meete in this maner to blazon and describe the same in their true metalles and colours to be by him the sayd Sir Francys Drake Knight and his posterity rightly und^rstoode and comodiously used to his and their estimacion and worshippe at all tyme for ever hereafter at his and their libertie and pleasure."

On folio 164 appears the following important memorandum, which should be conclusive :—

"Barnard Drake of in the County of Devon Esqr (the word "yet" erased) notwithstanding the sayd Sr Fraunces Drake may by prerogative of his birth and by right descent from his auncestor bear the arms of his surname and family to wit, Argent, a Waver Dragon geules, with the difference of a third brother, as I am credibly informed by the testimony of Barnard Drake of in the County of Devon Esquier Chief of that Cotarmure, and sondry others of that family of worship and good credit."

The Diagrams Fig. 2. A B and C in the accompanying illustration are reduced. A in facsimile. B and C are designs in the College of Arms, in honour of Sir Francis Drake, drawn probably by Vincent.

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FIG. 1.

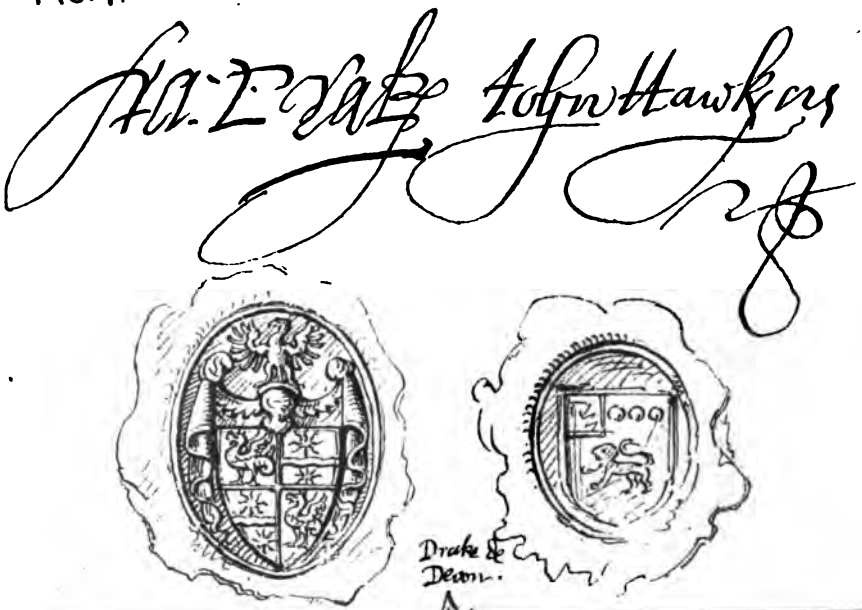
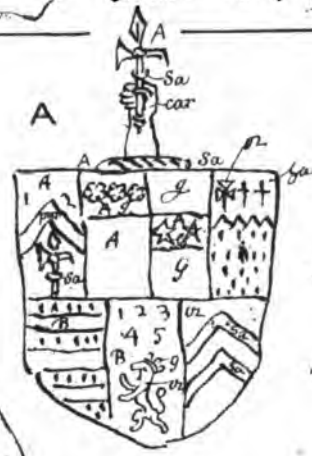


FIG. 2

Drake . 1
Bellett . 2
Hampton . 3
Orway . 4
Owoll . 5
Delafow . 6
Epe . 7



B

NON SINE NUMINE.

C

H.H. DRAKE.

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Whitmore & Bass, Photo-Litho to the Queen, 239, Fr. h Holborn.

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LIST OF VESSELS, WITH NAMES OF CAPTAINS, SERVING UNDER SIR F. DRAKE, FROM THE ROYAL MSS. (14. B. XIII.—18. C. XXI.) AND MSS. HARL. 366, FOL. 146, IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED NOTES SHOWING HOW THEY WERE SEVERALLY CONNECTED WITH DRAKE.

Names of Captains serving under Sir Francis Drake.	Name of Ships.	How connected with Drake or the Counties of Devon and Cornwall.
Thomas Drake	Harfuage al's Thomas	Brother of Sir Francis.
Giles Vaughan	Weymon	Brother-in-law of Sir John Hawkins, the cousin of Sir Francis (*v.* Tho. Maynard, voy. Sir F. D.).
John Greenefield or Grenville	Virgin, God's Mother	Thomas Tremayne (the father of Drake's friend, Edmund Tremayne, and mentioned in the Rev. Wm. Drake's will). John Fitz of South Tavistock, before-mentioned, and John Drake, the father of Sir Bernard, had each married a daughter of Roger Grenville of Stowe. Sir Richard Grenfield was slain commanding Sir Francis Drake's favourite ship, the "Revenge," fighting against great odds.
George Fortescue	Bonner	Sir Bernard Drake mar. Gertrude Fortescue, dau. of Bartholomew F. of Filley.
William Hawkins	Griffin	Related to Drake.
Will. Winter	Minion	One Will. Winter married Alice Langdon (sister-in-law of Drake of Tavistock), and named his son Francis Winter. Ric. Winter, of Truro, has a legacy by the will of Henry Drake, prob. Archd. Court of Convo., 1603.
Edw. Winter	Tyde	
John Sellinger or St. Leger	Sellinger	Ric. Grenville, above, married the daughter of Sir John St. Leger, of Annery, Devon. Edmund Tremayne (Drake's warm friend) married another daughter of the same St. Leger.
James Erisey, a Cornishman	Dudley	His grandmother, Christiana, was a daughter of Roger Grenville, and sister of Anne Grenville, wife of John Drake. His aunt Honor, married Tucker, related to Drake (State Papers).
Ambrose Mannington	Mannington	His great-grandmother was a Trecarrel *alias* Esse (*i. e.* Ash). His grandmother, a Tremayne, and his brother married the grand-daughter of Sir John Hawkins, all connected with Drake. (Mannington's lands were in Calstock, not far from Croundale, Drake's birth place.)
Edw. Grenville	Thomas and Swallow	Died at Carthagena (Lipscombe, "Hist. of Bucks," vol. i., p. 600).
Humphry Sidnam	Unitie	Sir Francis' second wife was Elizabeth Sidnam or Sydenham.

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Names of Captains serving under Sir Francis Drake.	Name of Ships.	How connected with Drake or the Counties of Devon and Cornwall.
Geo. Fenner Tho. Fenner	Leicester, Galleon Eliz. Bonaventure and Dreadnought	There were four of the name Captains against the Armada. Rebecca Fenner was god-daughter of Richard Drake of Eshur, *see* will. Fenner was of a Puritanical sect, *see* his letter to Walsingham. Fenner family was also in Devonshire, and one married Hawkins of Crewkerne.
Henry White	Bark, Talbot and *Sea Dragon*	Letters of Administration were granted to one White to effects of Ralph Drake of Peter Tavy, by Tavistock. Francis Drake of Eshur (cousin of Sir Francis), names his cousin John White in his will. (White of Plymouth, Heralds' Visit. 1620). The will of John Drake of Coleridge, 1724, is sealed with the arms of Sir Thomas White, knt, who died in 1566, *see* portrait, Exeter Council Chamber.
Thos. Mone or Mohun	Bark, Francis	Mohun of Tavistock married a daughter of Amidas, hence connected with Hawkins (per scheme). Ric. Edgcombe of Tavistock, married a daughter of Mohun, and his sister married John Hawkins of Tavistock. Roger Drake of Peter Tavy, near Tavistock, in his will, 1621, names his daughters, Charity and Florence Edgcumb.
Jacob Whitton or Whiddon	Roobuck	Wm. Whiddon married Mary Langdon, the sister-in-law of Drake of Tavistock (see Scheme annexed). The Francis Whiddons, father and son, were Puritan divines, and one was ejected for nonconformity.
—— Pridiox	Hawkins	Pridiox' name was in Tavistock, and the Drakes witnessed the will. Robert Drake of Wiscomb married Eliz. Prideaux: there are several intermarriages of Drakes and Prideauxs. Will. Prideaux of Langford in South Tavistock, married Ethelred Fortescue.
—— Wylford	Gardelin	Willford of Tavistock, (Pedigree in Heralds' Visitation).
—— Vivian		The name was in Tavistock. Ric. Prideaux, Mich. Vivian, and Walter Langdon of Keverell, married three sisters, daughters of Nanspian.
A. Seigar	Golden Noble	Devonshire family, seated at Highweek.
Wm. Sparke	Sparke	A Plymouth name. Connected by marriage with Rashleigh of Fowey, Cornwall.
John Rashleye	The Francis of Fowey	A Devonshire and Cornish family.
Tho. Seeley	Eliz. Drake	Family seated in Plymouth.
—— Martyn	Benjamin	Tavistock and Devon name. Connected with Sir Bernard and Sir Francis' mortgage.
—— Giles		Devonshire. Connected through Blackall with Fortescue, hence with Drake.
—— Pole —— Rivers —— Holland	Bond Plymouth. Hope of Diamond Drake	Devonshire names.

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John Young	Beare	Samuel Young was an ejected nonconformist minister.
—— Langford	Buggins	Devonshire. Connected with Fitz and Cole, therefore with Drake.
James Fownes	Chance	Tho. Fones married Prudence Nicholls of Tavistock. Samuel Fownes was an ejected nonconformist minister in Devon.
Capt. Cock	Privateer	The only English Captain killed in the fight with the Armada. He was of Plymouth. John Cock married a daughter of Langdon of Keverell, a sister-in-law of Drake of Tavistock.
John Pentyre	The Bonaventura	Cornish name.
Christopher Carlyle	Tiger	Cornishman. Son-in-law of Walsingham.
Lieut. Tucker ,, Escot		Devonshire names. Slain, 1585. Edm. Tucker, born near Tavistock, an ejected nonconformist minister.
Under Lord Howard :—		
John Harris	Advise	Devon names. Connected with Drake.
Alex. Clifford	Moone	Ditto do. do.
Thos. Chichester	Lark	Ditto do. do.
John Roberts	Charles	Cornish name.
Christopher Baker	Forsight	The name Baker appears on the wills of both Sir Francis and his father Edmund. Christopher Baker has a legacy by will of John Drake, 1629, (90 Ridley), Proc. gen. of the Arches, London, and of Dorset.
John Thomas	Marigold	In the voyage round the world. Thomas, of Cornwall, married daughter of Godolphin. Godolphins were doubly connected with Langdon of Keverell.
Capt. Prowse	(Conducted the) Fire Ships against the Armada	A Prowse married a daughter of Harris of Lanrest, and connects with Grenville, Trecarrell, Arscot, and Tremayne.
—— Young	do. do.	Devonshire name.
Capt. Sir George Beeston æt 89 temp. Armada, ob. æt. 105 (Ormerod's Chesh.)	Dreadnought	The Drakes of Sir Francis' branch and the Beestons were long connected. John Drake married Mary Beeston in London in 1686, and in 1750, Beeston Long, Samuel Long of Cornwall, Roger Drake, and Nathaniel Cole, appear on a Close Roll in a family arrangement of property in Cornwall. Beeston Drake was buried at Croydon in 1764. John Drake's licence to marry Mary Beeston, Faculty Office, London, 1686.
Capt. Yorke Vice-Admiral in Drake's last voyage of 1595, died of sickness.	Hopkins	Devonshire family. Crediton and Exeter.

Note.—This is not a complete list. The following Devonshire men are added from a list of captains in the Sta. Pa. Dom. Vol. 186, No. 1585—Bernard Drake, esquier; Hugh Drake, gent.; Richard Drake, gent.; —— Drake, gent.; Carewe Rawleyghe, esquier, brother of Sir Walter Raleigh, whose father by his first wife Joan or Alice Drake, aunt of Sir Bernard, had issue John and George, the former married the sister of Sir Bernard Drake's wife; John Rawleyghe, gent; George Rawleyghe, gent. (his wife was a Drake); James More, gent.; Henry Spert (? Spreat or Speat), gent.; Edw. Moone; Robert Jolley; Tho. Bucke; Powle Kempe.

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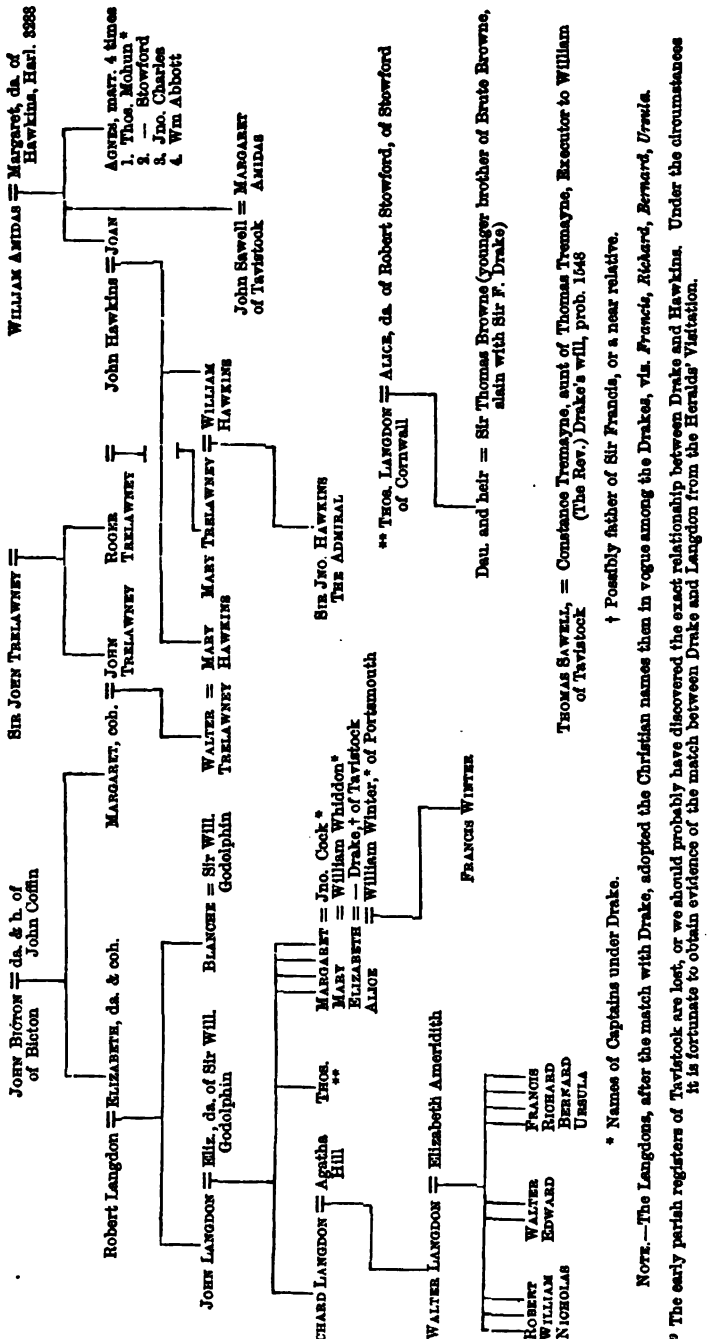
SCHEME, REFERRED TO IN THE TEXT, SHOWING CONNEXION OF TAVISTOCK FAMILIES.[9]



* Names of Captains under Drake.

† Possibly father of Sir Francis, or a near relative.

NOTE.—The Langdons, after the match with Drake, adopted the Christian names them in vogue among the Drakes, viz. *Francis*, *Richard*, *Bernard*, *Ursula*.

[9] The early parish registers of Tavistock are lost, or we should probably have discovered the exact relationship between Drake and Hawkins. Under the circumstances it is fortunate to obtain evidence of the match between Drake and Langdon from the Heralds' Visitation.

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MR. ALBERT WAY.

SINCE the publication of our last number the Archæological Institute has sustained the loss of one of its earliest, most industrious, and most valuable members, in the person of Mr. Albert Way, who died at Cannes on the 22nd of March at the ripe age of sixty-eight years. Mr. Way was, it may fairly be said, the founder of our Society. He was the leader of those by whose exertions it was formed, the "Introduction" to the first volume of its Journal bears his signature, and to it he contributed from time to time a large number of valuable memoirs, a list of which is subjoined, and materially aided in the completion of many to which his name is not affixed. Under his care as its Editor the Journal grew up and took form and position, and his labours in that capacity have contributed largely to the accuracy of the various papers that passed under his notice, and for the contents of which he considered himself in some sense responsible. There must be but very few of our principal contributors who have not experienced the value of his suggestions and corrections, or who have not discovered that while corresponding with an editor they have gained a friend.

The annual field-meeting of the Institute, its very popular and most important observance, and which has contributed so largely to its life and vigour, was originally projected, and for many years arranged wholly by Mr. Way, and at it he was, so long as his health permitted, a constant attendant. His very considerable social influence was largely employed in securing the presence and support of men of both local and general eminence, and much as he enjoyed the actual field work of the excursions, which were an important part of each Annual Meeting, he was wont very commonly to deprive himself of that pleasure, and to attend to the less attractive

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but most necessary duties of what may be called the office work of the Institute, and to the labours consequent upon the formation of the temporary museums. In this work he was greatly assisted by a chosen band of able men, who seemed to gather round him as the centre of the system. Some of these have preceded him in the conclusion of their labours, and some have withdrawn from their more active avocations in connection with the Institute. All cordially recognized the energy, industry, and tact with which these very various duties voluntarily undertaken by Mr. Way were carried on, and none could be insensible to the charm of manner and courtesy of demeanour with which the simplest of such duties was performed.

As his strength failed he no longer attended the Annual Meetings, and he retired from the active editorship of the Journal, but he contributed a memoir to its pages as late as last year, and his assistance and advice in carrying it on was often sought and always afforded. His archæological knowledge was both extensive and accurate, and his sound good sense enabled him, and through him the Journal, to steer clear of the baseless theories and inaccurate descriptions which, at the commencement of his career, had made the name of Antiquary a laughing-stock, and had not long before led the parent society to avoid a ludicrous suggestion by changing from Latin to English the initial letters declaring its membership.

Mr. Way's natural character, his education, means, and position, gave him advantages of which he fully availed himself in the pursuit of his favourite study. He was educated at Trinity College Cambridge, inherited a considerable fortune, lived within a convenient distance from London, and had many relations and connections. Soon after taking his degree in 1829 he became a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, and was an early contributor to their Transactions. In 1843 he accepted the office of their Director, in which capacity he promoted the Catalogue of the Museum. He resigned in 1846, becoming occupied rather fully in the conduct of the Archæological Institute, which was established in 1845. Besides his contributions to these and other societies, he arranged and edited an edition of Sir S. Meyrick's book on Ancient Armour, and contributed one of the most valuable to the long and interesting series of the publi-

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cations of the Camden Society, the "Promptorium Parvulorum."

Mr. Way's desire to unravel the past did not lead him to neglect the future. He held with another eminent Archæologist, that it is "the business of a good antiquary to be also a good man, and to set death always before him," and a strong religious principle, alike removed from either extreme of the opinions held within the Church of England, underlay his whole life and guided his conduct. He was a man of remarkable modesty and freedom from assumption—by no means seeking his own—very kind and affable, and a good specimen of the breeding of an old and excellent school of manners. No man did more than he to soften the asperities to which even antiquaries are liable, and to keep or restore harmony in the councils of the Institute. He was emphatically a lover and a maker of peace.

His qualities were not of a striking or commanding character, nor was his power of a rough or unbending character; its secret lay in his sound sense and moderation, in the sunny and genial influence which he exerted on those among whom he lived or with whom he had to do. It was an influence apparent mainly in its effects, which showed itself in a thousand little acts of kindness and humanity, and which caused him to be as much respected and beloved in life as he is lamented in death. It is to be hoped that the members of the Institute which he served so long, so faithfully, and so well, will in some permanent form place on record their sense of those services.

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[1] This list does not include the many "Notes" supplied by Mr. Way, either independently or in aid of some exhibitor, upon objects contributed to the monthly meetings of the Institute.

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Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR 1872.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.
To Balance at the Bank, 1st January, 1872	223	16	1
,, ,, in the House	43	6	4
,, ,, in Petty Cash	0	13	5
,, Annual Subscriptions, including arrears and payments in advance for 1873	569	2	0
,, Entrance Fees	25	4	0
,, Life Compositions	10	10	0
,, Sale of Publications, &c.	44	11	6
,, Interest on Investments	6	9	4
,, Miscellaneous Receipts	14	11	6
,, Receipts on Southampton Meeting Account	72	5	6
,, ,, on Cardiff Meeting Account	4	2	0
,, Investment Account	209	5	0
	£1228	16	8

EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By Publication Account:						
To Bradbury & Co (printing Journal)	227	12	6			
,, Engravers, &c.	65	19	0			
				293	11	6
,, House Expenses Account:						
Rent of Apartments	155	0	0			
Secretary's Salary	100	0	0			
Stationery	12	18	6			
Insurance	2	5	0			
Office Printing, &c.	26	3	6			
Contribution to Mr. Burtt	105	0	0			
Coals and draft stamps	1	11	0			
				402	18	0
,, Library Account:						
Paid to Binders, and for Purchase of Books				3	5	0
,, Petty Cash Account:						
Messengers, Attendance, &c.	53	1	9½			
Postage, and delivery of Journal	37	13	6			
Cleaning, Repairs, and sundries	2	1	7			
Coals, Gas, &c.	2	11	0			
Cabs, omnibus and porterage	0	18	10			
Carriage of parcels, booking, &c.	10	6	7			
				106	13	3½
,, Investment Account, valued at				209	5	0
,, Balance in the Bank, 31st Dec. 1872	173	14	11			
,, ,, in Hand, including Petty Cash	34	8	1½			
				208	3	0½
				£1223	16	8

Audited and found correct, 18 July, 1873. { R. H. SODEN SMITH, WALTER D. JEREMY. } *Auditors.*

Presented to the General Meeting held in London, July 22, 1873, approved and passed.

(*Signed*) CHAS. S. GREAVES, *Chairman.*

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Original Documents.

CONTEMPORANEOUS COPY OF THE CONVENTION FOR THE SURRENDER OF RENNES, THE CAPITAL OF BRITTANY, TO THE ARMY OF HENRY, DUKE OF LANCASTER AND EARL OF LINCOLN, 1 JULY, 1357.

From the Muniments of the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln.

THIS very remarkable document was recently discovered at Lincoln by Mr. Burtt among the records of the Dean and Chapter, in a box of miscellaneous documents labelled "Useless Papers." It is written upon a sheet of paper 11 in. by 7 in., without margin, and though not the original document, is doubtless a contemporaneous copy. The handwriting is clear, the ink good, and the whole, with the exception of the space of an inch in one of the folds, and two names that are somewhat uncertain, is perfectly legible. Nothing is known of the original Convention itself, which must have carried the seals of Guy de Laval, &c., in any public collection. The paper bears a plain bold ribbed wiremark of the 14th century, in which is to be seen the watermark of a stag, with horns displayed, courant to the sinister. This device does not appear to have been noticed in the collection of early watermarks in a paper contributed to the Archæologia[1] by the late Rev. J. Hunter, from the collection now in the Public Record Office.[2] The document has been folded neatly into a billet 4¼ in. by 3½ in., and closed by a paper band passed through it in three places and sealed—evidently that it might be transmitted by a messenger, and very probably to Lincoln, where it was found. Remains of the band, which was of stout paper, exist in one of the openings through which it passed.

Rennes, the capital city of the Duchy of Brittany, and long celebrated for its Parliament, was a place of much importance, civil and military, in the wars between France and England in the 14th century. The war, of which the siege of Rennes was an incident, was everywhere conducted with much cruelty, and was especially severe in Brittany, where the succession was contested, and the rival claimants were supported by two powerful Kings.

John, surnamed the Good, Duke of Brittany, died childless in 1341. His next brother, already dead, had left a daughter, married to Charles of

[1] Vol. xxxvii. p. 447.

[2] Two of those brought forward by Mr. Hunter, a ram's head and a bell, are earlier than the date of the Rennes Convention. There are no watermarks on the letters relating to the Duchy of Guienne, temp. Edw. II. in the Public Record Office. Some of these, however, are pierced through for bands to fasten them when folded (as in the Rennes document), and one has a portion of a similar band remaining in it.

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Blois, maternal nephew to the French King, and who claimed the Duchy as her right as well as by Duke John's Will. There survived, however, also a younger half-brother of Duke John, John Count de Montfort, who claimed as the male heir. Philip of France was in arms for one candidate and Edward of England for the other. The French peers had decided, as was to be expected, against De Montfort, who seized the Duchy and did homage to Edward. In the course of the war De Montfort was taken prisoner, but his cause was carried on by his Countess, Joan of Flanders, a lion-hearted woman, who with their infant son, threw herself into Hennebon, and there stood a very severe siege, which was at last raised in 1343 by Sir Walter Manny and a force from England. The account of the siege, and the tardy relief of the place, is well known to all readers of Froissart.

In 1345 De Montfort died, and Edward became the guardian of John his infant son. In 1346 the battle of Crecy was fought, and soon afterwards Charles of Blois was taken prisoner. In 1350 King Philip of France was succeeded by John his son, who was taken prisoner at Poitiers 19th September, 1357. In the preceding month Henry Duke of Lancaster and Earl of Lincoln had been constituted captain of the Duchy of Brittany in the names of Edward and the infant Duke.

Later in that year Lancaster marched into the Duchy with the army that had triumphed at Poitiers, and on the 3rd October appeared before Rennes. The city at that time was well garrisoned, containing among other leaders the Viscount de Rohan, the Sire de Laval, and the Chevalier de Dinan. The Duke, probably from fear of an attack from without upon his rear, was for some time inactive, and suffered from the scarcity of provisions and the assaults of the garrison, and was much harassed by Bertrand Du Guesclin, who threatened his camp from the rear. This renowned patriotic leader and famous Breton knight had already figured conspicuously in the celebrated combat of the Thirty,[3] and achieved much distinction in his attempts to force the English army to raise the siege of Rennes. He burned a large *beffroi* or wooden tower which they had made to command the walls; he fought several single combats with distinguished English knights in view both of besiegers and besieged, and was victorious in them all; he then threw himself into the place with a small but chosen band of followers, and headed its defenders. Hard pressed as Rennes was by the English army, it had also another foe to contend with, which proved to be irresistible, and that was *famine*: A late historian of Brittany tells an amusing story how the English tried to draw out the garrison so as to attack them at advantage, and how the French defeated the scheme. A herd of 2000 pigs was suffered to approach the walls to provoke a sally, when suddenly the drawbridge was lowered, and the piteous cries of a living sow, hung up within a safe distance, so attracted the porkers that they burst from the swineherds and rushed tumultuously into the place. So the town was re-victualled for a time; "And thus," says the writer, "arose the proverb 'Un tel nous a donné du lard.'" But all was in vain, and want prevailed. The English were invited to send six knights into the town to treat with the besieged, and when they entered, they were astonished to see an abundance of victuals everywhere displayed. This was a ruse on the part of Du Guesclin to obtain better terms. There

[3] *See* remarks on the "Sire de Biaumenouer," p. 401.

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is a chronicle of Du Guesclin, written very soon after his death, and which has been published more than once, in which are recorded many of his remarkable achievements in connection with the siege of Rennes.

Meantime King John and his captor had discussed and settled terms of a Peace between the two kingdoms, which was completed at Bordeaux, the 23rd March,[4] and in consequence Lancaster was ordered by the King to raise the siege.[5] This first order seems to have been made on the 2nd April, 1357, and refers distinctly to the Peace which had then been made. But the mandate must have been entirely neglected by the Duke, and indeed the execution of the Treaty would seem to have been quite unknown to those who drew up the Convention now brought to notice. The English leader appears to have sworn not to retire until his banner had floated over the walls. "Le Duc de l'Encloistre," says the rhyming chronicle of Du Guesclin, had sworn :—

> "Que son seremont et sa foi créantée
> Il ne s'en partiroit tant qu'il e'ust durée,
> Se l'enseigne du roi d'Engleterre la lée
> N'estoit sur les creneaux tout contremont montée."

The Bishop of Rennes, who had passed through the Duke's camp under a safe conduct, brought the news of the Peace, saying that he wondered the Duke had not received it. There is no doubt that the siege continued in all its severity to the date of the document now brought to notice—the 1st of July in that year. At that time such was the condition of the gallant defenders of Rennes that they entered into the convention for its surrender, which is to the following effect :—

[Epitome of conditions for the Surrender of Rennes.]

We, Guy, Sire de Laval, &c., in the name and on behalf of the noble Prince Charles Duke of Bretagne, make known that as regards the siege of Rennes by the Lord Henry Duke of Lancaster, &c., Lieutenant of the King of England, and for John de Bretagne Earl of Montfort, we have (for the honour of God and to avoid the great perils that may ensue) agreed with the said Lord as follows. In honour and reverence of the said Lord the town shall be surrendered to him, its keys be delivered to him, and his banners put upon the walls, with all the honour and reverence due to such a Lord, and the guard of the said town shall be a captain that we shall put there, who shall swear to keep the same well and truly, and to give it up to the person appointed to receive the same by the final peace between the Kings of France and England. Sir Oliver de Cliczon, Sir Michael Delapole, Hugh de Calvelegh, Henry Rose, John of Monmouth, John de Vzelbourne, and Peter de Creting, shall be given up to him.

For the ransom of the men and goods of the town 100,000 crowns shall be paid to the said Lord :—20,000 at once ; 20,000 within the next five weeks ; 20,000 at Whitsuntide next ; and the other 40,000 at the end of the following year ; which being done the town shall be at the disposal of the parties to the Convention, and shall remain for [the settlement of] the final peace between the said Kings.

And so the present siege shall be raised at all points at once, without continuing during the performance of the matters aforesaid. And for the keeping and accomplishing of the same conditions well and loyally in every respect without hindrance by any one, We, the persons aforesaid and Morice

[4] Fœdera, vol. iii. pars 1, p. 348. [5] Ibid. p. 353.

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de Park, Peter Hericzon, and Guillemont Levesque, bind ourselves and our heirs to the said Lord or his deputies, and each of us for all of us bind all our goods and heritages wherever they may be; that the same may be sold and distributed by the said Lord or his deputies, attornies, or executors. And to keep all and every one of these things by us, our heirs, and successors, We have sworn by the faith of our bodies and knighthood, the holy Evangelists being touched by us. Except that we are not bound to surrender the said Sir Oliver de Cliczon for five weeks to come, and from such obligation to surrender the said Oliver the Sire de Beaumanoir and Silvester de la Fueille are released. And we pledge ourselves to the said Lord that we will keep all the things aforesaid in everything touching him. In witness whereof we have given to the said Lord these letters sealed with our own seals the first day of July, 1357.

On the 4th July, 1357,[6] appeared a second and very positive order from the King to Lancaster, dated at London, expressing his great displeasure at the continuance of the siege in violation of the terms agreed upon in the Peace between England and France, and ordering instant obedience. This second order could not have arrived at Rennes till long after the conditions of the present Convention had been put into execution. The historian already referred to allows that the English were admitted into the town out of regard to the oath of their leader; but one might be disposed to maintain that such terms of surrender expressed in the language of the document now presented to notice cannot be explained away by such a colourable representation of the circumstances. De Marteville sums up his account by saying—"Tel fut l'issue du siége de Rennes, siége fameux par les grandes actions qui s'y firent, la longueur, le nombre et l'intrépidité des combattants. L'histoire nous en offre peu de plus memorables, et par une contradiction assez étrange, peu de moins connus."[7] In the paucity of such existing information the document now before us is of special value.

Of the persons named Guy, Sire de Laval et de Chasteaubriant, was the head of the house of Montmorency-Laval, the elder cadets of that eminent family. He descended from Matthew de Montmorency, Constable of France, and Emma his second wife, only child of Guy Lord of Laval. Writing of the race of Laval, Duchesne observes, "laquelle, puis que les familles ont leurs periodes, comme toutes les autres choses du monde, ne pouvoit desirer une plus glorieuse cheute qu'en celle de Montmorency." This "glorious" absorption took place about 1222. Guy, XIth of the name, Sire de Laval et de Chateaubriant, was eldest son of Guy the Xth by Beatrice de Bretagne, second daughter of Duke Arthur by Yolande de Dreux Countess of Montfort, and therefore a princess of the blood of France. The elder Guy was slain at the battle of Roche-Derrien in 1347, fighting for Charles of Blois, the French claimant of the Breton Duchy. His eldest son, Guy, was there taken prisoner, and though ransomed for a large sum by his mother, died childless in 1348. He was succeeded by his brother, also named Guy, the Guy of the present document, who married, as his first wife, Louise, sister and heiress of Geoffrey de Chateaubriant, who also fell at Roche-Derrien. She died in 1383. It was this match, which is shewn by this present record to have taken place before 1357, which gave to her husband the title of De Chateaubriant.

[6] Fœdera, vol. iii. pars 1, p. 359.

[7] De Marteville, "Rennes, ancien et moderne," p. 115.

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John de Laval, Sire de Chasteillon et de Tintiniac, a hostage under the treaty of Evran, also a Montmorency, was second cousin to Guy of Chateaubriant. He was son of Andrew de Chastillon, a younger son of Guy VIII. de Laval. He was a well-known soldier, and a combatant in the famous combat of the Thirty, afterwards noticed. He married, the record shows before 1357, Isabel, heiress of Tintiniac, whence his designation. Chastillon came into the family with Philippe, wife of Guy VII. de Laval in 1231. Jeanne, sister to John, married Sir William Felton, so renowned in the wars of the Black Prince.

John de Laval, Sire de Pacy, was uncle to Guy de Chateaubriant. Pacy-sur-Marne was a family lordship held by his uncle William, who died childless, and was probably granted to John by his elder brother Guy X. de Laval. John had an elder brother, Peter, Bishop of Rennes, who died in 1357. His attempt to save the city of Rennes by bringing news of the peace has been already noticed. The last Lord of Tintiniac was slain at the combat of Mauron in 1351.

Finally, Guy de Laval, Sire de Loue, was second son of Andrew de Chastillon. Louè was also a family barony held by Thibault, Guy's uncle, who was slain s.p. at Poitiers in 1356, and then no doubt inherited by him. The family of Montmorency-Laval was very powerful in Brittany, and, as became them, much opposed to the English.

John de Chateaugiron was probably the head of the considerable Breton family of that name, and no doubt the same who is mentioned in the rhyming chronicle of le 'Libvre du bon Jehan' as present at the siege of Rennes in 1340.

> "La estoit l'evesque de Rennes
> Et si estoit celui de Vennes
> Laval, Rohan, et Rocheffort,
> La Roche, Lohéac et Montfort,
> Et Monsieur Charles de Dinan
>
> . . . .
>
> Acerac et Chateaugiron
> Et pluseurs aultres d'environ," [L. 3654].

A Sire de Malestroit, as mentioned in Barnes's history in 1352, was a hostage at Evran. The place is in "Breton bretonnant" or Lower Britanny. The "Sire de Biaumenouer" was Marshal Beaumanoir. He was the leader of the Breton party in the combat of the Thirty, fought by arrangement with the English with thirty men-at-arms on each side, between Josselin and Ploermel, the 27th March, 1351. After a long and bloody encounter, in which many on each side were killed, and very few unhurt, the Bretons were victorious. The spot is still marked by a cross, on which is an inscription recording the event. Several of the combatants afterwards took part in the siege of Rennes.

The Sire de Montauban was an adherent of the French party. He was made prisoner at Auray in 1364, where Charles of Blois was slain and Du Guesclin taken prisoner, and in consequence of which John de Montfort was acknowledged by France. Raoul de Montfort was present at Chisey, and also taken at Auray. Another Sire de Montfort fell at Roche-Derrien. La Fueille, and St. Pere are amongst the

> "Maint bon chevaliers que nommer ne savons."

Robert de St. Pere was a Breton gentleman, who with the Chevalier de

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Penhoet, made his way into Rennes after the siege had begun. Morice de Park was present at the battle of Chisey. [*Chron. de B. du Guesclin*, II. pp. 293—541.]

Of those who were to be surrendered, and who were probably English prisoners, Oliver de Cliczon is doubtless Oliver de Clisson, whose father was beheaded without form of law by Philip of France, on suspicion of having favoured the English, and whose son in consequence became a strong partizan of the Countess Joan, and therefore might, at this time, have been acting with the English. At a later period his French instincts prevailed, and he rose to be Constable of France. Michael de la Pole may well have been he who was afterwards Earl of Suffolk. He was probably of age in 1339-40, and in 1369-78 he accompanied the Duke of Lancaster beyond sea. Hugh de Calverley of Lea in Cheshire, was a well-known soldier in the wars of France. He was one of the combatants in the fight of the Thirty. In 1364 his life was saved by Du Guesclin, but he probably was made prisoner. He was buried in Bromley Church, Cheshire, where his monument still exists.

Who Henry Rose was is doubtful. Henry was not a name in the family of Ros. The Monmouths were a baronial family connected with the town of that name. John, the last baron, died s.p.m. 41 Hen. III, but this John de Monmouth must have been a kinsman. In 1365 he was ordered to send miners from Dere Forest to the Prince of Wales in Gascony. Vzelbourne is probably not the real spelling. Pere or Peter de Creting may have belonged to the family of John de Creting, summoned to Parliament 6 Ed. III. Edmund and Henry de Creting occur in public documents in the reign of Ed. III.

Brogerac or Bergerac was the Duke's lordship in Aquitaine. It was the scene of a most gallant exploit by Sir Walter Manny in the 18 Ed. III.

G. T. C.

Nous, Guy, Sire de Laval et de Chasteaubriant, Johan de Laval, Sire de Chasteillon et de Tintiniac, Johan de Chasteaugiron, Sire de Malestroit, Jehan, Sire de Biaumenouer, Oliver, Sire de Montabon, Raoul, Sire de Montford, Johan de Laval, Sire de Pacy, Guy de Laval, Sire de Loue, Sevestre de la Fueille, et Robert de Saynt Pere, troutours au nom et pour tres noble prince Monsieur Monsieur Charles Duc de Bretaigne, en son absens, fesons savoir que sur le fait de sege estant devant la ville de Rennes par tres honore Seigneur Monsieur Henry, Duc de Lancastre, Counte de Derby, de Nicole, de Laycestre, Seneschal Dengleterre, Seigneur de Brogerac, lieu tenant es parties de Bretaigne pour tres noble et tres excellent prince le Roy Dengleterre, et pour Monsieur Johan de Bretaigne, Conte de Montfort, Avons en honour de dieu et pour eschuier plusiours grans perils que puent ensuier, traite o[8] le dit tres honore Seigneur en la manere qe ensuit. Cestassavoir que pour honours et reverences de dit treshonore Seigneur li serra la ville rendue, et les cleffs baillez, et ces banieres mises sur les murs, o tout honours et reverences, come dit est et come a tiel Seigneur appertient. Et serra et demorra la garde de la dite ville a un capitain que nous on[9] dit nom y metterons, le quele jurra a bien et loialment la garder, et la rendre la ou serra ordeyne par la finale pais des Roys de France et Dengleterre, et de lours royaumes. Item lui serront renduz Monsieur Oliver de Cliczon, Monsieur Michel de la Poule, Hugh de Calvelegh, Henry Rose, Jehan de

[8] *Avec.* [9] *En.*

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Mynmoth, Johan de Vzelbourne, et Pere de Creting. Item pour la ranzon des gens et biens de la dite ville, serront paiez par le dit traitte a dit treshonore Seigneur cent mille escuz ; assavoir est vint mille a present, vint mille escuz dedenz cinq septimes proschain ensuantz, et altres vint mille escuz Pentecoste proschain ensuant, et les altres quarante mille dedenz la fin de lan proschain ensuant, qe fait, la dite ville ordeinee demorra a la partie des ditz traictours . . . . . et demorroit pour la finale pais des dessus ditz Roys et royaumes. Et ainsui est a present oste la dite sege de toutz pointz, sanz mettere sege devant la dite ville, les ditz temps durante, fornissant et acomplissant les choses dessus dites. Et quant a ce tenir fornir et acomplir de point en point, bien et loialment a noz pouairs sanz ascun enpeschement, et de non venir encontre par nous ne par altres, Nous dessuz ditz traittours, et nous Morice de Park, Pere Hericzon, et Guillemont Levesque, et chescun de nous pour le tout, nous obligeons au dit treshonore Seigneur ou a ces desputez atournors ou executours, et chescun de nous pour le tout, sanz division de biens ne de partie, noz heirs et touz nos biens, meubles et heritages, presens et aveners, quele part qils soient trovez, a prendre vendre et distribuer par le dit treshonore Seigneur ou ces desputez atornez ou executours. Et tout ces choses et chescun tenir sanz fraude ou mal engin, avons jurre par la foy de noz corps et de chivalerie, et sur saintz evaungelles corporelment tochees, tant pour nous que pour noz heirs et successours. Sauffe que nous ne suismes tenuz rendre le dit Sire Oliver de Cliczon jesques a cinq septimes proschain avenir, et en celle obligacion de rendre le dit Monsieur Oliver de Cliczon nous Sire de Biaumenouer et Sevestre de la Fueille ne suismes point obliges. Et nous appruoms le dit treshonore Seigneur en bone foy les dites chosez et chescune tenir et acomplir en tant come li touche. En tesmoignance des choses dessuz dictes avons donee a dit treshonoree Seigneur ces presentes lettres seelles de nos propres scaux le primer jour de Juillet lan de grace Mill ccclvii.

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Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

July 4, 1873.

LORD TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

SIR JOHN MACLEAN, F.S.A., stated that the Mayor of Exeter had intended to have been present that day, to assure the Members of the Institute of the welcome that awaited them in the "ever faithful city" at the Annual Meeting which was now approaching. The Mayor had unfortunately been prevented coming to town as he had hoped. He (Sir John) could, however, speak with some confidence upon the subject, as he had taken some part in the preliminary arrangements; he knew the very great archæological interest of the district, and he was very certain that the visit of the Institute was anticipated with feelings of great satisfaction and pleasure.

Mr. BURTT (*Hon. Sec.*) announced that the excursion to Berkhamsted would be made on Tuesday, July 8.

In the absence of the author, Mr. BURTT then read "Notes on the Coptic Dayrs of the Wady Natrûn, and on Dayr Antonios, in the Eastern Desert," by the Rev. Greville J. Chester. (This Memoir is printed at p. 105.) Thanks having been voted to the author,

Mr. J. H. PARKER, C.B. gave a discourse upon "Recent Excavations in Rome," which was illustrated by plans, photographs, &c. At the conclusion of his discourse Mr. Parker urged the importance of continuing the work, which was now at a standstill for lack of funds.

The CHAIRMAN, in suggesting a vote of thanks to Mr. Parker, remarked at some length upon the great interest of the subject. It was very satisfactory indeed that, after so many changes in Rome, so much of what was ancient and valuable should still be left. He had never sympathised with Niebuhr; it seemed a paradox that Roman writers should know nothing of their own city, and he was glad to find that recent archæological investigations had confirmed the ancient records of Rome. Livy and Dion of Halicarnassus appealed to documents in support of their histories, and he thought they were right.

Professor BUNNELL LEWIS added some remarks upon a piece of sculpture showing the abolition of debt, which had been adverted to by Mr. Parker; after which a cordial vote of thanks was given to the lecturer.

The Rev. F. SPURRELL, M.A., read "Notice of the stone coffin of Ingelrica, Foundress of the priory of Hatfield Peverell, Essex." During the summer of 1873 the church of Hatfield Peverell has been in course of restoration by Mr. Street. During the progress of the works "a flue-pipe had to be removed from the north wall of the nave aisle, and in cutting away the rubble work to effect this purpose there was a sudden falling in of part of the wall, and a long narrow cavity within the wall was accord-

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ingly exposed. It was discovered that the open space was a very small chamber over a stone coffin, and in the coffin were found plainly enough the decaying bones of humanity, which were carefully selected from the stones and dust and treated with becoming care and reverence. On a careful examination of these remains they have been pronounced to be those of two human skeletons, of which one is male and the other female; and that of the male was of an adult of full age, and that of the female was of a person considerably more advanced in years." Owing to its position it was found difficult to obtain the exact dimensions of the coffin, but they were considered to be 6 ft. 6 in. by about 2 ft., inside measurement. It was laid with the foot to the east, and somewhat below the level of the floor. It appeared not to have been arched over, but to have had a lid close down upon it, leaving a hollow space in the wall above it. From the character of the work it would appear to be of the transitional Norman period, *i. e.*, early in the reign of Henry I. In the superincumbent wall there is a thin coating of plaster, indicating that at a period not long after the first interment the lid was removed, possibly for the second burial, and not put back again, but the niche filled up with similar material to the rest of the wall. The church is not the original parish church of Hatfield, but that of the priory, which was appropriated to the vicarage at the Dissolution. On the sill of one of the windows of the north aisle is the effigy of a lady on a slab. It is of early character, probably of the twelfth century. That the priory was founded by Ingelrica, daughter of a noble Saxon, there is no doubt; and also that she was buried in the place of honour, the north wall of the chapel itself. This wall had been pulled down when an aisle of "Decorated" work was added—when the priory was enlarged in the fourteenth century, and the coffin removed to its present site, the slab with the female figure being placed upon the window sill, and the niche which covered the coffin built over. Mr. Spurrell suggested that the discovery of the male and female bones together most probably showed that the husband of the Foundress was subsequently buried in the same coffin.

The CHAIRMAN, in thanking the contributor of these particulars, expressed a doubt as to the remains so found being those of the husband and wife—a doubt which appeared to be shared by many present.

Mr. C. ROACH SMITH, F.S.A., sent the following "Notes" upon an *oppidum* of Hayling Island, of which we are able to present the accompanying sketch:—"On the S. E. of Hayling Island, opposite Chichester Harbour, is a small British or Celtic oppidum, called Tournabury, which being but little known, deserves mention where it may be appreciated. It is remarkable from its situation on low land, nearly all, if not all, the Celtic works with with which I am acquainted, or can record from memory, being on elevated sites. Of course there was here a necessity for this peculiar situation; and great protection was afforded by the insular position. All the numerous earthworks of this kind mentioned in Mr. Warne's 'Ancient Dorset,' the last published work on the subject, are upon sites more or less raised. The Hayling Island oppidum is in figure somewhat circular, contains seven acres (now wooded), and is surrounded by a vallum of about 15 ft., which originally was probably deeper. I see that in 'Lewis's Topographical Dictionary,' where this earthwork is briefly named, it is called 'Roman.' It is very usual to see such remains so designated. Its small extent is the only feature that could lead an archæologist into such an error; but it would

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be easy to show, as I have years ago shown, that most of the earthworks called Roman, especially those of large extent, are in reality British *oppida*. The remains of one in Cobham Park (almost in sight of which I am writing this note) were discovered by me and the author of the excellent work I have named above, a few years ago; and in the county of Kent are others, particularly that at Wrotham, continually called 'Roman;' and Lingfield, in Surrey, one of the most extensive and important British *oppida*, equally misunderstood. My visit to Hayling Island a few days since with some friends was rendered still more pleasurable from the attention and hospitality shown us by Mr. Thomas Harris, upon whose property this interesting earthwork is situated."

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. Octavius Morgan, M.P., F.S.A., and V.P.—A pedometer, sixteenth century.—A nocturnal dial, with calendar of months and days, and vane to show the direction of the wind, compass, and small telescope; by N. Hager, of Arnstadt, Upper Saxony;—By the same maker, a pedometer and counting machine, with calendar showing the year, month, days of month and week, and rising and setting of the sun; date, 1690;—A pedometer, compass, and sun-dial, by John Melchior Landeck of Nuremberg, seventeenth century.

By Mr. J. Henderson, F.S.A.—A Persian perforated vase of elaborate workmanship, probably of the present century, of a class chiefly used for decorative purposes.—A dagger of Stamboul make, with name of owner, and with passages from the Koran in Early Arabic character, of the sixteenth or seventeenth century. The jade handle is of Indian, probably Agra work.—An Indian dagger in enameled sheath, presented to Sir Hector Monro by Hyder Aly. Purchased 4th Sept., 1809, of his son, Sir Hugh Monro, by Allen Davison, and given to his son, Captain Wm. Davison.

By the Earl of Harrington.—An original painting of the Madonna and Child, attributed to Raphael. It was presented by Philip V. of Spain to William Stanhope, afterwards Earl of Harrington, in 1729; in which year the treaty of Seville was entered into between England and Spain, and which was the result of Stanhope's mission to that Court.

By Mr. G. T. Clark.—Original Charter of the borough of Llantrissaint, 3 Henry VI. (printed vol. xxix., p. 351).

By Mr. C. Golding.—A common-place book, sixteenth century;—Sketches of the rood screen in the church of Eye, Suffolk.

By Mrs. Bever (through the Rev. H. Clissold, of Brighton).—An original deed of feofment relating to land at Stratfield Mortimer, Hants, temp. Henry III., in very good condition.

By Mr. J. E. Nightingale.—A piece of finely-woven linen damask, in the form of a table-cloth, probably once belonging to Queen Elizabeth. It measures 4 ft. 6 in. by 3 ft. 6 in. The patterns, woven into the cloth, consist, in the first place of St. George and the Dragon; then the arms of the Queen impaling the arms of Anne Boleyn, with supporters and crown; then the badge of Anne Boleyn, a crowned falcon holding a sceptre, rising from the root of a tree; this is followed by the words, "Qvene Elisabeth." A portrait of the Queen follows, between a Tudor rose, crowned, and "God Save the Qvene." The arms of the Queen correspond with those given by Shaw (Arch. Journ., vol. x., p. 90); the features of the por-

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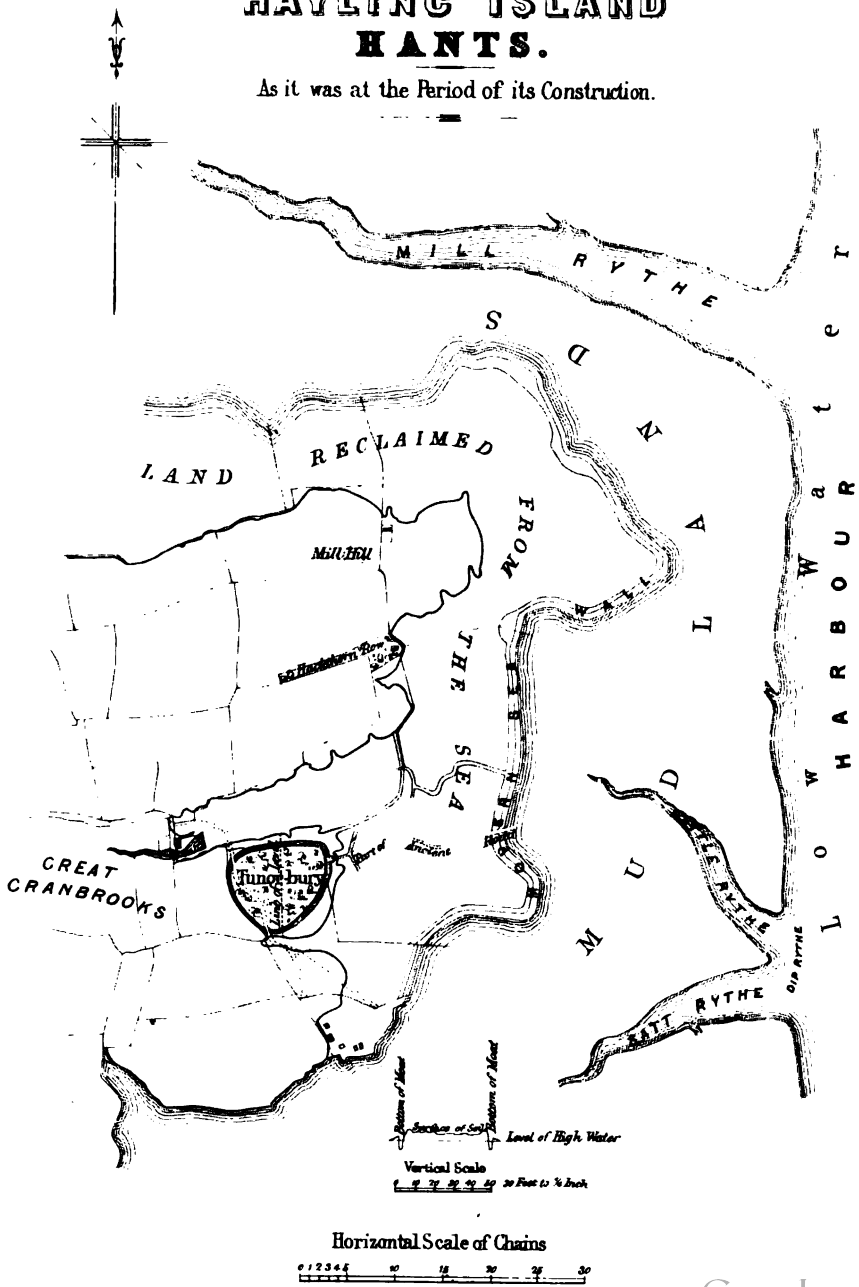
TUNOR-BURY
HAYLING ISLAND
HANTS.

As it was at the Period of its Construction.



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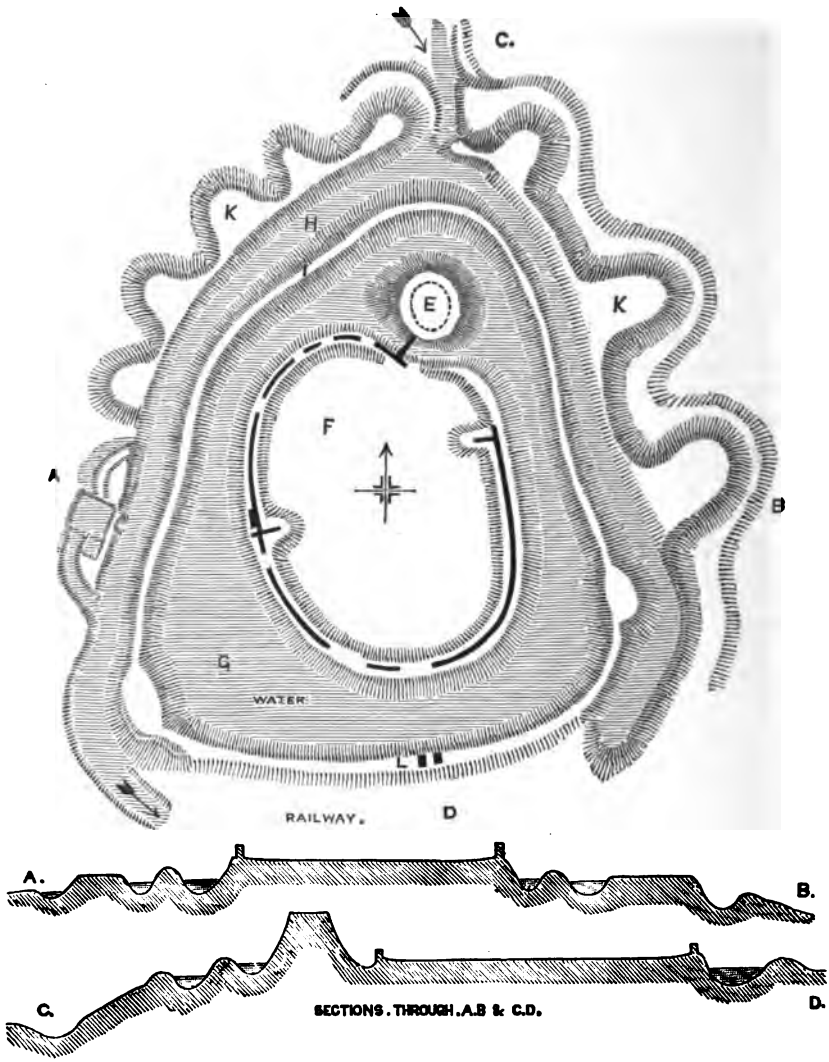

E. Keep. F. Inner Ward. G. Inner Ditch. H. Outer Ditch. I. Middle Bank.
K. Bastions. L. Gateway.

BERKHAMSTED CASTLE.

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trait (?) are not good, and the head-dress resembles that usually associated with Mary Queen of Scots. The border of the cloth is of point-lace, and marked "E. R."

By Mr. J. James.—A selection of mediæval spurs, among which were remarkable specimens of the early form of rowel, including some specially interesting examples which had been lately acquired by the exhibitor. (*See* Memoir on "The Early Rowel," by Mr. James, in vol. iii. of the Journal of the British Archæological Association.)

SPECIAL EXCURSION TO BERKHAMSTED.

Tuesday, July 8, 1873.

During the Excursion made to Guildford in the preceding summer (*See* Arch. Journ., vol. xxix., p. 366), in the course of which reference was made to Berkhamsted as another example of the series of defences in the gaps of the chalk hills of the Metropolitan district, a visit was proposed to that place, and subsequently arranged for this day. The party, which was small in number, proceeded from the Euston Station of the North Western Railway by the ordinary train at 10.15 A.M., and arrived at Berkhamsted at about 11.15. Here they were joined by Mr. Clark and Mr. J. H. Parker, C.B., who had preceded the party, and they were met at the castle by the Earl of Brownlow, the Marquis (M.P.) and the Marchioness of Hamilton, the Rev. J. W. Cobb, Rector of Berkhamsted, Capt. Hamilton, Capt. Towers, the Rev. C. G. Lane, Rev. E. T. Drake, Rev. E. Bartrum, and other ladies and gentlemen of the neighbourhood.

Mr. Clark undertook to explain the castle, and having led the party along the various earthworks composing the outer defences, and beneath the fragments of wall that encircled the inner ward, he ascended the Mount, and taking post within the area of the ancient Keep, he passed in review the position of the fortress as regarded the defence of London, and its relation to Wallingford, Windsor, Farnham, and Guildford, English fortresses of its own age, upon the banks of the Thames or its immediate tributaries, and which, like it, had been occupied by the Normans immediately upon their invasion, and had played parts more or less important in the subsequent history of the country. He touched also upon Grimsdyke, the reputed British bank and ditch still remaining upon the high ground south and west of the castle, and upon the chain of earthworks and entrenchments which crown the steep escarpments of the chalk to the north from Harborough Banks and Willbury by Pirton and Ravensburgh to Wawluds Bank, Maiden Bower, and Totternhoe, and which are repeated upon lower ground and further to the south at Kimble, Cholsbury, Hawridge, and Bush Wood. After a brief and rapid survey, such as he gave at Guildford in the previous year, showing the place of Berkhamsted among the military works of the district, Mr. Clark passed on to the description and history of the castle itself, and of his discourse we give the leading features.

Berkhamsted stands within a gorge of the chalk, less sharply defined than that of Guildford, but not less important in a military point of view, and traversed, like it, by a stream tributary to the Thames. The stream here is the Bullbourne, a tributary of the Coln, which falls into the Thames

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at Colnbrook, about 26 miles below the castle. Hamstead, indicating a dwelling-place, is not an unfrequent English name. In this case it is distinguished by the prefix of "Berk" or "Burg," referring to the burgh or fortress which it contains. The position is well chosen. The castle stands at the point at which a small lateral combe, descending from the north and east, opens upon the main valley, and contributes to it a small brook, the waters of which have reduced the low ground to what must have been a deep marsh, in the midst of which, about a low tump of gravel, the defences are arranged. North and south the ground rises rapidly to considerable elevations; on the south or south-east runs the main stream, about 400 yards from, and a few feet below, the castle. The river, the Grand Junction Canal, and the Birmingham railway lie close together in the bottom, the latter encroaching somewhat upon the outer ditch of the fortress. The high road, the Roman Akeman Street, traverses the little town of Berkhamsted about a furlong away upon the slope of the opposite hill. Thus the road, always an important highway, was effectually watched, and the castle covered from an attack on that side. The castle is composed of an inner ward, a mound, an inner ditch, a middle bank, a second ditch, and an outer bank and works.

The Inner Ward is an oval area, about 500 ft. north and south by 300 east and west. It is level, dry, and surrounded by the remains of a wall, which stands on the line of what perhaps may be regarded as the trace of a light bank. This ward is no doubt a natural tump, levelled and scarped all round. It is rather higher than the outer defences. Towards the north-east quarter the outline of this ward is indented to make room for the mound. The Mound is a truncated cone, about 60 ft. high, and 40 ft. diameter on the top. The sides are very steep. It is wholly artificial. On its outer two-thirds it rises out of the ditch of the place, which includes it and the inner ward. The ditch, however, formerly also encircled the whole mound, a loop, now partially filled up, as at Tonbridge, dividing it from the ward. What remains of the ditch is deep and wet. The *inner ditch*, which thus surrounds the inner ward and the mound, and by a loop divides the two, is somewhat triangular in plan, a figure produced by the very considerable widening of it at the south-east and south-west points, as well as, in some degree, of the intervening base. This ditch is for the most part full of water, the overflow of which escapes by a modern culvert in the south-eastern quarter. It is deep, and at its narrowest part 50 or 60 feet broad, and must have proved a very formidable defence. Outside of, and forming the counterscarp of this ditch, and dividing it from the second ditch, is a steep narrow bank, of irregular outline, and variable breadth. This is the *middle bank*. It is, generally, about 8 ft. broad at the top, but it makes two angles towards the south-west and south-east, and at these it expands into two mounds or cavaliers, the one about 20 ft. diameter at the top and the other about 30 ft., and each about 20 ft. higher than the ordinary bank. These mounds are so placed as to flank the base of the triangle, that is, the front facing the open valley and the Roman road. This bank is succeeded by the *outer ditch*, which also seems to have surrounded the whole work, though now filled up upon the south point, where it is encroached upon by the railway and a diverted accommodation road. The lateral brook flowed into this ditch, and continues to do so along its western part, running off at the south-west angle. This also is a formidable

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defence. There is besides a partial line of defence beyond this second ditch, forming the *outer bank*. This is a broken and complex line of earthworks, covering the two sides of the triangle, but ceasing at the base, where probably the low ground about the Bullbourne afforded a sufficient defence. It is broken at the north end or apex of the figure by a deep cross cut, through which the stream from the combe enters the outer ditch. To the east of this gap the bank is strengthened by three bold rounded bastions of earth, about 150 ft. apart, and measuring about 30 ft. at the gorge by 40 ft. projection. West of the gap are five of these bastions, from 80 to 120 ft. apart, and of unequal size; and beyond them, towards the south-west angle, is a kind of half-moon work or ravelin in advance of the outer ditch, and with a ditch of its own, and connected with it a sort of rectangular tank or pool, through which a part of the water of the ditches flows into the main stream. These bastions have no parapets, and are connected with no masonry, but they are high and with steep slopes, and along their front is a ditch, which may have been wet, as in places it still is.

The full exterior dimension of the whole work is in length about 330 yards, and in breadth about 220 yards. Of masonry there remains but little. The inner ward was contained within a wall about 7 ft. thick, and from 20 to 25 ft. high, of which a good deal still remains. It stood about 7 ft. within the edge of the slope of the ward, leaving a path between its base and the crest of the ditch. There are traces of the battlements here and there. There is a fragment of a mural tower on the west face, much mutilated, but apparently rectangular. In the east face are two openings, of which one may have been a postern. In the north-east quarter there remains a fragment of a cross wall, probably a part of the domestic buildings. The gap for the main gateway is at the south end, near the middle of that front. There are no traces of gate-house or gate towers, nor do there appear to have been any. There were also some buildings on the west side, and probably a bye-gate at the north-west corner, leading to the outer defences in that direction. The mound has been crowned by a circular or multangular shell Keep, of which only traces of the foundations remain. Much remains of a strong curtain or spur wall, 8 ft. thick, which projected from the wall of the inner ward and ascended the mound, connecting the Keep with the inner *enceinte*. Possibly there was a second wall a few yards to the east; but it is pretty clear that the northern three-quarters of the Keep stood outside the inner area, and formed a part of its defences. It is remarkable that here, as at Tickhill and Tamworth, the battlements of the connecting wall do not seem to have risen much higher than the top of the mound or base of the Keep, as though the object was to detach the Keep, and to prevent it being assailed advantageously by those who, having taken the inner ward, might proceed along the curtain towards the citadel. Upon the inner bank, and therefore on the counterscarp of the inner ditch, near the middle of the southern face, are two parallel walls, 12 ft. apart, which represent the exterior main entrance. There are no traces of towers, and probably these walls stood nearly alone, as at Coningsborough. There is no other trace of masonry, and the banks are far too slight to have supported a regular curtain wall, and had such been built it would have been liable to be mined and brought down with but little labour. Probably there was a third or outer gateway on the outer edge of the ditch, now obliterated by the railway. An early survey mentions the

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"derngate" leading to the park, no doubt a postern at the north-west corner of the inner ward; and three drawbridges, of which the outer had "allures" and galleries. Probably these were all of timber, for the slender earthworks show no trace of masonry. There were also a painted chamber or hall, a great chapel, and two others. Leland speaks of "divers towers in the middle ward," but he does not seem to have entered it. By the middle ward he means the ward in the midst. That is the "inner ward."

Berkhamsted is a very peculiar fortification. The mound was clearly the original Keep, having, as was usual, its own proper defences. The inner ward, though its earth bank is now slight, is of course also original, and intended to be defended by palisades and the ditch. There probably the original works stopped, and within them may have been held the Council of A.D. 697. The outer works are appparently much later. The outermost bank may, from its bastions, be as late as the reign of Charles I., though works not altogether unlike these seem to be sometimes thrown up in the fourteenth century. The middle bank is too slight, and too sharp in its profile, too well preserved, to be of very high antiquity. It is evidently later than the Conquest, and probably the work of the Earl of Moreton, or some early Norman lord. It is curious that though there are concentric lines of defence there is no middle ward. The lines of defence include only ditches, and nothing of the space which was usually left between the walls of concentred castles to allow the defenders to be drawn up. Here there is barely room for a single line of troops to be extended in the rear of the stockade. The rectangular pool on the south-west front may be a modern fish-stew, excavated by some of the grantees of the place. The masonry that remains is all of chalk, flint rubble, bathed or grouted in a pure white mortar, and was probably faced with picked and coursed flints, no doubt with quoins and dressings of ashlar. The work may be Norman, or it may be later, but probably not much. The absence of towers, with one exception, and of ashlar, is remarkable. No doubt what there was, was removed when Berkhamsted Place was built.

Berkhamsted was an early seat of the Kings of Mercia. Here Wihtræd, King of Kent, held, according to Spelman, a great council in 697, at which the rights of the Church were defined and established, and other laws agreed upon. In the time of the Confessor the manor was held by Edmar, a thane of Earl Harold. It came by confiscation to the Conqueror. William, in his flank march up the right bank of the Thames, came to Wallingford, and there, crossing unopposed, marched by the old English battle-field of Bensington, upon Berkhamsted, where he paused, no doubt at the fortress, late in the year of the Conquest, and there received the submission of London.

William granted the manor to his half-brother, Earl Moreton, to be held with the Earldom of Cornwall. There was at that time among the vassals "a fossarius," whose duty it must have been to keep clean the ditches of the castle, which, however, is not mentioned in Domesday, though the manor has a place there. Robert is said to have added a double ditch to the existing works. Under his sway the castle became the *caput* of a very important Honour. This Honour, with the Earldom, was taken from William, Earl Robert's son, in 1104, by King Henry, who is said to have destroyed the castle. In 1140 the Earldom of Cornwall was granted by King Stephen to Reginald de Dunstanville, a natural son of

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Henry I. Prince John obtained the castle, with the Earldom, in about 1189, and afterwards settled it upon Isabel his Queen, who seems to have conveyed it, with her Earldom of Gloucester, to her second husband, Geoffrey de Magnaville, Earl of Essex, in 1213. Upon his death, two years later, in 1215, John seems to have farmed out the Earldom to Richard Fitz Count, natural son to the former Reginald, who is said to have rebuilt or restored the castle, which had suffered in the preceding wars. Henry III. confirmed Richard in the Earldom, which he resigned in 1220. In 1217, the 6th December, the Dauphin Louis laid siege to the castle, encamping on the north or dry side. The castle was strongly garrisoned, and in a sally the banner of Magnaville, who was with the French, was captured, and displayed triumphantly in a second sally. Louis, however, took the castle. Henry III. gave the castle and the Earldom of Cornwall to Richard, his brother, whose wife, the beautiful Isabel Mareschal, died here in childbirth on the 15th January, 1239. Hence also he dates a letter to his brother in 1261, and here he himself died 2nd April, 1277. His son Edmund succeeded to the castle, town, and halimote, but died childless in 1300, having founded the adjacent college at Ashridge. The castle then returned no rental, but in the Inquisition mention is made of a mill-pool with a ditch round the castle, the fishery of which was worth 20*s.* per annum. Also there were three mills, "Synebemulle," worth 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; "Castle Mill," worth 8*l.*; and "North Mill." The water was thus turned to good account. Edward I. settled the castle upon his Queen, Margaret of France, who died in 1317. Gaveston held the custody of the castle, with the Earldom, for a short time, but it was usually in the blood royal, and was held by the Black Prince as Duke of Cornwall. When King John of France was a prisoner in England, it was ordered to be prepared for his residence, and here Froissart was entertained in the suite of Queen Philippa. Richard II. allowed his favourite, De Vere, Marquis of Dublin, to reside at the castle. It continued to be kept up as a royal residence with an extensive park, and here, in 1496, died Cicely Nevile, the mother of Edward IV. Finally Queen Elizabeth leased the manor, for the quit-rent of a red rose, to Sir Edward Cary, by whose grandson Berkhamsted Place was built, and who probably for that purpose pulled down the castle. The lease was finally purchased by the Egertons in 1807, and the castle is now held under the Duchy of Lancaster by Earl Brownlow, as their heir.

Mr. Parker made a few remarks supplementary to what Mr. Clark had said, and a hearty vote of thanks was then given to that gentleman. The Rev. Mr. Cobb said the Marquis of Hamilton, occupant of the "Place," had invited the party to visit the Place, which had been erected out of the ruins of the old castle at the latter part of the reign of Elizabeth. Here the visitors were kindly received, and, after a ramble over this interesting residence, they assembled in the hall, where the Rev. Mr. Cobb read an account of the house from his work "The Antiquities of Berkhamsted," and Mr. Parker added some general remarks upon the structure. The company thence repaired to the King's Arms Hotel, where an excellent luncheon was prepared for them. After this, and a hearty expression of welcome to the Institute from the Rev. Mr. Cobb, those present were invited to visit the Rectory, famous as the birth-place of the poet Cowper, though the actual building has been destroyed. After a pleasant ramble through the grounds, the church was visited, under

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the guidance of Mr. Parker. By this time many additional visitors had arrived, and the company was conducted round the church by Mr. Parker, and its architectural history explained to them. The oldest visible portions were of the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century, and the church to which they belonged was probably long and narrow, without aisles, as was then usual. To this church, about the middle of the twelfth century, additions were rapidly made for family Chantry Chapels, one of which formed a north transept. Another was added about thirty years afterwards on the eastern side of that transept. Others of later period formed the north and south aisles of the Nave. In most of these chapels were preserved the tombs of their founders, and the parclose screens of some of them remained till the recent alterations in the church. Unfortunately, when, a few years ago, the church was "restored," but little attention was paid to its original arrangements. The tombs were moved, the brasses lifted, and the fine carved screens cut away and mutilated. Considerable alteration was at the same time made in the level of the floor, which was raised, as was the roof. Also at the west end of the south aisle a fine porch with a *parvise* or upper chamber had been gutted and thrown into the aisle. Mr. Parker, in pointing out these and some other examples of what had been done, commented very severely upon the utter want of taste and feeling which had been displayed by the architect. His explanations and comments were followed by some observations from the Vicar, who is the author of an excellent history of the church,[1] from which he cited several passages in illustration of his remarks.

On the invitation of the Rev. E. Bartrum, the grammar school, founded by Dean Lucent in the reign of Henry VIII., was visited, Mr. Bartrum kindly pointing out the special features of the building. The party then separated, having spent a very interesting day.

ANNUAL MEETING AT EXETER, 1873.

July 29 to August 5.

Exeter presented an unusually bright appearance at the opening of the Meeting of the Institute. At the desire of the Right Worshipful the Mayor (C. J. Follett, Esq.) a great display of flags of all kinds was made in the principal thoroughfares of the city, and the frequent passage of troops towards the camp then formed upon Dartmoor contributed much to enliven the scene. The bells of the Cathedral rang continuously during the day in honour of the visit. The opening meeting was held in the Guildhall. The President of the Institute, accompanied by Mr. Beresford-Hope, M.P., Mr. G. T. Clark, Sir Stephen Glynne, Bart., Archdeacon Stanton, and other members of the Council and of the Institute, assembled in the Council Chamber, where they were met by the chief members of the Local Committee. At 12 o'clock the President, supported by the Council and officers of the Institute, entered the Guildhall, where they were received by the

[1] Two lectures on the History and Antiquities of Berkhamsted, by John Wolstenholme Cobb, M.A.

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Right Worshipful the Mayor of Exeter, the Sheriff and Common Councillors, who, accompanied by the President Elect of the Meeting, and other distinguished visitors, conducted them to the daïs. Here the Mayor, having taken his official seat, called upon the Town Clerk to read the Address, which had been voted to the Institute by the Corporation.

The following Address was then read by the Town Clerk (W. D. Moore, Esq.) as follows :—

"To the President and Members of the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

"Lords and Gentlemen,—We, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the City and County of the City of Exeter in Council assembled, desire, as well for ourselves as for those whom we represent, to assure you of a most cordial welcome on the occasion of this your visit to our ancient and loyal city.

"The Invitation given you to visit us, spontaneously sent, and so readily accepted, was of itself sufficient to assure us that a meeting between the City of Exeter and a Society of Learning and Research would be an appropriate and happy occasion.

"But there is something more than usually appropriate in an event which brings together on one hand a body of gentlemen who have been able to give their time to the study of History and the deeds of past ages, and, on the other hand, the inhabitants of a city rich in ancient structures, and whose history dates back into the earliest annals of our country, and dates back not without a fame, commemorated by no one more graphically than by a distinguished member of your own body.

"We believe that not only in the City of Exeter, but throughout the wide and beautiful county of Devon, itself so distinguished as the birthplace of the chief founders of England's greatness, you will meet with a fund of interesting materials bearing on your peculiar studies, and we cannot doubt that out of those materials you will collect and impart to others no mean addition to the learning of Archæology.

"We venture to hope that in the intellectual results of this Meeting, and not only in these, but also in the social and actual pleasure of the Meeting itself, you will have cause for satisfaction that you have trusted yourselves to the hearty welcome of the capital of Western England.

"Given under our Common Seal this 29th day of July, 1873."

The Address was written on vellum, with illuminated letters, and was surmounted by the arms of Exeter, bearing the motto of the city, under which were representations of the ancient sword and Cap of Maintenance. The Address, a good specimen of art, was the work of Mr. Frank Walker, who has gained reputation for his execution of this kind of caligraphy.

The Mayor, in handing the Address to the President of the Institute, assured his Lordship of his great pleasure in doing so, and spoke at some length of the claims of the district upon the attention of the members of the Institute, and the gratification felt by the inhabitants at the selection of Exeter as their place of meeting. He then surrendered his seat to Lord Talbot de Malahide.

Lord Talbot de Malahide said he felt much flattered, as did the members of the Institute, to hear the sentiments of the Mayor and Corporation of Exeter. He had heard many such Addresses, but he did not

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remember one which entered more thoroughly into the matter, or placed it in so clear a light as the Address they had just heard. He thought the Institute had done a good deal in the way of illustrating English history, and had brought to light many an interesting treasure which would otherwise have been unknown. The position of President of the Meeting would be occupied by one far better qualified than himself to dilate upon the claims of the West of England to their attention and to the advantages to be derived from archæological studies. That duty was last year performed by one whom they had all revered, and whose loss they all now deplored, his friend the late Bishop of Winchester. He would not be performing his duty if he had not alluded in some way to the great loss which the Institute, and he might say the whole of England, had sustained by the sudden decease of that highly-gifted personage. And no man had performed his duty more diligently and more efficiently than the nobleman who was about to preside over their deliberations.

The Earl of Devon expressed his thanks for the honour done him on being placed in the position of President, and stated that the Address he proposed making upon the occasion would be given in the course of the afternoon.

Sir Stafford Northcote, Bart., M.P., welcomed the Institute to the County of Devon, which, equally with the City of Exeter, appreciated highly the honour of their visit. Devonshire men were, indeed, proud of their County, and they were also proud to be represented in the congress of the Institute by his noble friend the Earl of Devon. There was no County richer in old associations from pre-historic times to the present, and it was the true mission of such a society as that then gathered together fully to work out and illustrate their bearing and value. "Knights of the Shire" were, he feared, only archæological relics of the past; but, as a "County member," and on behalf of the County, he bade the Institute welcome to Devonshire.

Mr. G. T. Clark, F.S.A., Vice President of the Institute, in acknowledging the cordial welcome expressed by Sir Stafford Northcote, said he had visited many Cities and Counties with the Institute, and had never to complain of a want of cordiality. But sometimes it was not equally offered by both City and County. He was not at all surprised that such was not the case in Devonshire, as the West had always been famous for being united. After referring to the reception accorded to the Institute by the Corporation of Exeter, he referred to the great interest taken in the County by the Earl of Devon and other noblemen in it. There was no other County that could boast of a family descending in the male line, coming on the one side from the House of Valois, and on the other from the Imperial House of Constantine. There were but few families in the male line which had matched with the Plantagenets, the Veres, and the Mohuns. Devonshire was especially great in "worthies," as he hoped to show in the course of the afternoon. And the County still continued to put forth blossoms worthy of itself, for there were not wanting men living who were quite equal to those who had passed from the scene.

The Lord Bishop of Exeter said he did not think there was any profession which had more reason to welcome such a Society than the profession to which he belonged, and he was sure an universal feeling of goodwill towards the Royal Archæological Institute pervaded the clergy of the County. After speaking of the wide and general nature of the studies of

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the clerical profession, his Lordship adverted to those specially pursued by the Institute as affording great help to all men of intelligence, and concluded by expressing a hearty welcome to the Institute.

Mr. J. J. Beresford-Hope, M.P., said, having attended many of these Congresses from the beginning, he never remembered one with so typical an opening as this. The President of the Institute had referred, in touching language, to their most dear and renowned fellow-member who was President of their Meeting last year. He (Mr. Hope) could not help recollecting that this Society first became known as the Archæological Institute when holding a meeting in that city of which afterwards, and at the last, he was the Bishop, and that at the first meeting of the Institute he, as Dean of Westminster, read a paper on the true value of Archæology, of which no one who heard it would ever forget the high value. On this occasion, when they had to mourn his loss, he could not do better than recall to them how Bishop Wilberforce spoke with the voice of an Englishman and with the voice of a Churchman. He could assure the Lord Bishop of Exeter, and those in whose name he had spoken, that the Institute received the welcome given to them as cordially as it was offered. They were there in the spirit of noble liberty, as freemen to enjoy themselves, and they had "freemen" to lead them, for had they not two old friends of his of that name, under whose guidance they could safely place themselves? (Applause). In the name of the Archæological Institute he thanked them for the reception accorded to them.

Mr. J. C. Bowring said, that although the County was not so fully represented at the gathering as the City, he was sure its welcome was equally warm. And in the excursions proposed to be made, he was sure the Institute would visit objects of the highest interest that might advantageously compare even with the attractions of the City of Exeter. In the behalf of the gentry of the County he cordially welcomed the Institute to Devonshire.

Col. Pinney acknowledged the compliment on behalf of the Institute.

The Right Hon. Stephen Cave, M.P., as President for the year of a county Society, the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature, and Art, tendered a hearty welcome to the Royal Archæological Institute. The Devonshire Association had just held its meeting in Sidmouth, a place which could no more be compared with Exeter than Mantua with Imperial Rome; still the little watering-place did its duty by the Association. The objects of the Association and of the Archæological Institute were very similar in many respects. Literature and Art still depended on the great works of antiquity for their models, and reverence for antiquity was evidence of a highly cultivated state of society. And he would remind the assembly that, as regarded objects of antiquity, they were trustees not only for themselves, but for others.

Mr. E. A. Freeman said the Institute had long been wanting to come to Exeter, and they were heartily glad to find themselves there that day. They had never been better received anywhere, and, judging from the programme which he had in his hand, he anticipated a most successful meeting in every respect. On that day, when the municipality, the prelacy, and the hereditary nobility were sitting side by side in that hall, he could not help thinking of the olden days, when Mayor and Bishop were not the best of friends, when the Mayor's mace was found to be weightier than the Bishop's crozier,—and there was a time when they were not on such agree-

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able terms with the Earl, or rather the Countess. The Institute was glad to take an interest in local societies, and he thanked the President of the Devonshire Association for his kind welcome to the Institute.

The company then sat down to a most excellent and bountiful luncheon, after which the usual loyal toasts were drunk, and then the Mayor of Exeter proposed, in suitable terms, "Prosperity to the Royal Archæological Institute." This was responded to by Lord Talbot de Malahide, who concluded by proposing the health of "his Worship the Mayor of Exeter." This was acknowledged by his Worship, and the company separated after an announcement of the further arrangements for the day by Mr. Burtt.

At half past two a large company of ladies and gentlemen assembled at the Royal Public Rooms. Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE occupied the chair on the occasion, and introduced the noble President of the Meeting, to whom he resigned the chair, and who then delivered his Inaugural Address. (This has been printed at p. 205.) Lord Talbot expressed the gratification with which he had listened to the interesting and instructive Address of the noble President, to whom he moved a vote of thanks. This was most cordially assented to, and having been acknowledged by the Earl of Devon, Mr. G. T. Clark read a memoir on the "Worthies of Devon." This was an elaborate composition, in which the writer brought together a much larger assemblage of names of celebrated persons associated with the West of England than had ever before been made. It was received with great favour, and a cordial vote of thanks was passed to the author. It will be given in a future portion of the Journal. The President then introduced to the Meeting the Presidents, Vice-Presidents, and Secretaries of Sections. ANTIQUITIES: *Vice-President*, Mr. G. T. Clark, F.S.A. (the President, Mr. Octavius Morgan, M.P., F.S.A., being absent); *Secretary*, Mr. W. H. Tregellas. ARCHITECTURE: *President*, the Ven. Archdeacon Freeman; *Vice-President*, Mr. A. J. B. Beresford-Hope, M.P. HISTORY: *Vice-President*, Sir John Maclean, F.S.A. (the President, Sir John St. Aubyn, Bart., M.P., being absent); *Secretary*, the Rev. C. W. Bingham. Mr. Burtt (*Hon. Sec.*) then announced the further arrangements for the day. The company then visited the Castle, under the guidance of Mr. Clark. Passing through Northernhay, they entered the Castle precincts and perambulated the walls, &c. Halting at the great gateway, Mr. Clark briefly referred to the characteristics of the structure, and then led the party to the mound at the foot of the outer wall in the grounds of Mrs. Gard, which, by the courteous kindness of that lady, were thrown open to them. Here, with the large party scattered over the fine turf which now covers the once formidable fosse and glacis of Rougemont, Mr. Clark displayed several plans of the fortifications of Exeter, upon which he made these observations:—

THE CASTLE OF EXETER.

The Castle of Exeter is not only a fortress of high antiquity, but is in many respects peculiar. It occupies the northern angle of the city, forming a part of its *enceinte*, and it crowns the summit of a natural knoll formed by an upburst of Plutonic rock, of a red colour, whence it derived its Norman appellation of Rougemont.[1] The knoll rises steeply on the north-

[1] *See* Memoir on the Castle of Exeter, by the late Dr. Oliver, Arch. Journ. vol. vii. p. 128, in which is a ground plan from a survey temp. Hen. VIII. in the British Museum.

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east and north-west from a deep valley, but on the other two sides the slope, though still considerable, is more gradual. The sides of the knoll have been scarped, and at the foot of its upper part a deep and broad ditch has been excavated, beyond which, to the north, a second scarp descends to the bottom of the valley. Towards the south, where the ground allowed of and required it, there was a second and outer ditch. The contents of the inner ditch were carried upwards and inwards to form a high bank round the original summit of the knoll, the central part of which was thus converted into a pit, and became the inner, and indeed the only, ward of the castle. In figure this ward, taken at the level of the circumscribing bank, is something between a square and a circle. Probably its outline was governed by the natural figure of the ground, and such angles as it now has are due to later modifications of the works.

Originally, then, the fortress was a hill camp, composed of a bank about 30 ft. high, cresting the edge of the knoll, and outside scarped down about 60 to 80 feet deep to the bottom of a broad ditch, which again was reinforced on the less steep side by a second ditch. The main ditch towards the north-east and north-west has been filled up and converted into a broad public walk and garden, but the outer or second scarp still remains, and descends to the valley now occupied by the station of the London and South-Western Railway. Towards the south-east and south the ditch remains unaltered, and is a very fine example of an ancient earthwork. Towards the east it seems to have been filled up.

The camp thus described is probably older than the city, and was an ordinary earthwork, constructed in the usual fashion of the Britons, with one main ditch, reinforced with parts of others where needed. The main entrance was probably always on the south-eastern face, where the ground is less steep than elsewhere. Here, no doubt, a cut traversed the bank, and the ditches were crossed by narrow causeways, as at Old Sarum and elsewhere. These original works were probably British, and were no doubt occupied and slightly modified by the Romans. When the city, if such there was, of Caerwisc, was founded by the Britons, they probably made it an appendage to the south side of the camp, on the site of the present city, the spot being indicated by nature for such a purpose. The city occupies an oblong, elevated platform, contained between the Exe on the south-west, and its tributary streams, with their valleys, on the north-west and south-east, and connected with the higher and distant ground to the north-east by a long narrow isthmus, pierced recently by the tunnel of the London and South-Western Railway.

The Isca Damnoniorum of the Romans was certainly this enclosure, though no doubt they gave their *enceinte* more of a rectangular figure than it afterwards maintained, and laid out the cruciform roads which are occupied by the two main streets of the present city. The camp was their citadel, and they would of course continue the defences of the city up its faces, so as to make it a part of the general *enceinte*. The Saxons, on their arrival, no doubt contented themselves with these previous arrangements, and made the best of them against the Danes in 876 and 894. Rather later Æthelstan walled in the city and the castle, and, amidst the varieties of ancient masonry still to be traced round the town, Mr. Freeman thinks it just possible that some of this great King's work may be seen. These were the walls which enabled the citizens to hold at bay Swend of Denmark in 1001, when he threw up the earthworks at Penhow

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to the north of the city, and won a victory in the open field. When the Norman Conqueror appeared before Exeter in 1068, he approached from the north-east, and summoned the city at the east gate, just below the castle. Æthelstan's walls were then in good order, and it was in them that the breach was effected. Probably, however, neither the city walls nor the defences of the castle were up to the Norman standard, for Baldwin of Okehampton was left in command with the usual instructions to build a castle, as the Normans understood that formidable structure. How long Baldwin contented himself with repairing the existing defences, and in what order he replaced them, is unknown, but enough Norman work remains to show the general plan upon which he or his immediate successor proceeded. A strong retaining wall was built against the face of the upper bank. This wall rested, and does still rest, upon the natural edge of the hill, and it supports, as a revetment, the made ground behind it, being about 30 ft. high, and having carried a parapet of about 4 ft. more. Probably this wall was carried on slowly, the old outer defences being tenable.

The earliest masonry now seen, earlier probably than the wall, is the gate-house, which may safely be attributed to the latter part of the eleventh century. At the western angle, where the city wall joined the castle, was built a rectangular tower, the base of which still remains, and it is said at the north angle was a similar tower, the two thus flanking the north-west face. The wall had a high base or plinth, battering somewhat, and carrying the superstructure, which is vertical. There remain upon it two half-round solid bastions; one at the north end of the south-west face has three flat pilasters rising from the plinth, and is evidently pure Norman; the other, near the centre of the north-east face, is similar in pattern, but the pilasters are rather narrower and chamfered, and probably very late, or transition Norman. Most of the wall is rubble, but a portion of the north-eastern front, near the site of the Castle Chapel, is composed of good blocks of ashlar, possibly of the age of Richard II. The bank and wall have been removed in the centre of the north-west front, to make room for the Sessions House, an ungainly structure, ugly anywhere, but here especially out of place. The chapel stood in the court, near the western corner.

The gate-house is decidedly original, and a good example of a rude Norman gate-house. It is about 30 ft. square, with walls 6 ft. thick. At each end is a full-centred archway, of 12 ft. opening, very plain, having a square rib 2 ft. broad, with deep recesses or "nooks," of 2 ft. on each side. The southern capital of the inner archway shows traces of Norman carving. There was no portcullis, each portal having doors; the space between the portals was covered with timber. On each of the two outer sides are two broad flat pilasters. The superstructure is lofty, and seems to have contained two stories. Above each portal are two windows, of 2 ft. 6 in. opening, divided by a space of about 2 ft. The jambs are square, with a plain Norman cap or abacus. The present covering of each is formed of two inclined stones or lintels, which may be original, but are more probably late insertions. Above each pair is a larger single window. The inner portal opens at the level of the court. Outside, the ground is about 10 ft. below that level. No doubt there was a drawbridge falling upon a detached pier, whence a causeway, probably with one or two bridges, crossed the ditches and carried the approach. The *enceinte* wall abuts against the gate-

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way flush with its inner face, so that it has a projection outward of about 24 feet, flanking the adjacent curtain. In later days, probably during the time of Richard II., two buttresses, or rather pilasters, 4 ft. broad by 5 ft. deep, have been built against the inner face, one on each side of the portal; and at the other end are a similar pair, but of 14 ft. projection. These latter, at the battlement level, outside, are connected by a flat segmental arch; and the sort of barbican or forebuilding thus formed contained the drawbridge, covered the gateway, and above had a flat roof, where archers could be posted to protect the approach. The old entrance is walled up, and pierced with two loops, which look early, but can scarcely be so. In the east side of the gate-house a small doorway, in the decorated style, has been pierced, possibly as a postern, for any lodge connected with it would have been outside the castle. The present entrance is, and for very many years has been, close west of, and outside the main gate-house. This evidently was due to a wish to preserve the gate-house, but to avoid the inconvenience of entering at so high a level. Probably when the new entrance was made the ditch at this point was filled up, all but a narrow gut, across which fell the drawbridge shown in the later drawings of the castle. When this was dispensed with the whole was made smooth, and Castle Street took its present aspect.

There is no evidence as to what buildings, save the chapel, were contained within the court of the castle. There must of necessity have been a hall, kitchen, lodgings, stabling, and barracks; and probably most of these buildings stood near or on the site of the Sessions House, where there seems to have been a postern gate. There is no evidence of a Keep, nor, at so great a height, was any needed. Rectangular Keeps, though found at Corfe, Sherborne, and Taunton, were not common in the west. A shell Keep, as at Trematon, Launceston, Dunster, Restormel, or Truro, would, in such a position, have been the usual structure; but the previous earthworks had converted the only site for a shell Keep into a pit so deep that it would have been commanded from the ramparts. Probably the Normans regarded the whole court as a shell Keep.

Whether the city walls were built concurrently with the castle is unknown. Probably they were, for the water-gate, removed in 1815, had certainly a Norman arch, as had, though later, and in the transition style, Broad Gate, of which also Lysons gives a view. These walls crossed the ditches, and abutted upon that of the castle. That from the east gate, seen in the Club Garden, has been rebuilt; but the north-west wall is very perfect, and though the buttresses on its outside are of Decorated date, as were most of the gates of the city, the substance of the wall is original, and very strong. In its base, where it crosses the ditch, it contains a hollow place, much enlarged, and said to have been a dungeon, which is absurd. It probably was a culvert or sluice-gate, to allow the ditch to be drained and cleared out, for though these ditches could scarcely have permanently contained water, a wet season would have converted them into a pond.

Mr. J. H. Parker, C.B., made some supplementary remarks, directing attention to the points in which many mediæval castles bore resemblance to ancient Roman citadels. Several questions having been put to Mr. Clark in reference to some parts of his discourse, and answered by him, Lord Talbot commented upon the skill and knowledge shown in the discourse they had heard, for which he expressed the thanks of the company.

In the evening a Reception by the Mayor and Mayoress took place in

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the handsome suite of rooms of the Royal Albert Museum. On this occasion the Gallery of Portraits of Deceased Worthies, a distinctive and highly interesting feature of the meeting at Exeter, was thrown open to the large party which attended, and which comprised a considerable number of the nobility and gentry of the neighbourhood. The rooms were appropriately decorated with plants, &c.; one of them was set apart for a microscopic exhibition; a concert was given in another; and general gratification was experienced at the very enjoyable and refined entertainment offered, and the hearty hospitality of the Mayor and Mayoress. The company did not separate till a late hour.

Wednesday, July 30.

The Historical Section met in the Lecture Room of the Athenæum at 9.30 A.M. In the absence of the President of the Section the chair was taken by the Vice-President, Sir JOHN MACLEAN, F.S.A. There was a large attendance of ladies and gentlemen, including the President of the Meeting and the President of the Institute. The following Address was delivered by the Chairman:—

"I am sorry that Sir John St. Aubyn cannot be present this morning to open the meeting. When he consented to accept the office of President of this Section, he had no doubt of being able to attend; and if it were in his power to be present, I am sure he has the will, for no one could possibly give a more cordial support to the meeting than he has done. Since, however, the arrangements were made, the Dartmoor Manœuvres have been determined upon, and he is obliged to be in the camp with his regiment. This and some important Parliamentary business have so taken up his time, and rendered his presence here so uncertain, that on Thursday last he requested me to make my arrangements upon the supposition that I should have to fill his place. This, I am conscious, I am very unequal to, but must do my best, relying on your indulgence to my shortcomings and on your kind support. Nevertheless, I hope we may see the President here during our sitting.

"I shall not presume to trespass upon your time by attempting even to sketch the history of this most interesting and important district of England, or of this ancient and loyal city, which, from some unaccountable cause the Institute has been so tardy in visiting, and in which, at length, it has received so warm and hospitable a welcome. The leading features of the history of Exeter are as well known to you as to me, for I have not had an opportunity of making it a special study. Moreover, the place which it occupies in history will be treated of by one far better qualified than I am to deal with the subject. I have no doubt that, like myself, you all look forward to an intellectual treat in the paper on our agenda sheet, by that vigorous historian of the Norman Conquest, our able and learned friend, Mr. E. A. Freeman. I venture, however, to say a few words upon what I conceive to be the scope of history in general, and upon the materials for history which exist, more especially in the district intended to be covered by our present Congress.

"The value of History as a science is an axiom which may be taken for granted in a Society like ours. Its scope, however, is so wide and so deep, that even, were I competent to deal with it, the time allowed for such remarks as I have to make would not admit of my doing justice to the subject. The first and greatest requisite is to obtain an accurate know-

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ledge of the *facts* of history. This is essential, but it is not all. Facts inform the organ of sense, and then come into action those higher and more rare faculties and qualifications necessary in an historian, which will enable him to represent these facts to the reader as a living reality. He must have the power of abstracting himself from the trammels and political proclivities of the present day, and of throwing himself into the spirit of the period of which he writes. How difficult it is to do this is shown by the works of some of our most eminent writers, which, though designated Histories, are so disfigured by personal prejudices and predilections that they cannot be regarded, by a dispassionate student, as any better than historical romances. A relation of facts, then, is not all. These would be but dry bones, unless the historian has the power to re-animate, and put life and soul into them. He must be able to live the lives, and fight the battles, of the great actors in the scenes which he depicts. He must, with a careful and impartial spirit, philosophically examine their principles and motives, the hidden springs of action, and the complicated machinery (sometimes, indeed, turned out of its course by mere accidental circumstances) which have led to great events, and not unfrequently changed the world's history. As the biographer, in recording the life of a great man, must be able to impress upon the reader's mind a vivid individuality and definite life-like portrait, so must the writer of a nation's history be able to show the leading characteristics of that nation's life, and the moving spirit which led to the events which he records.

"Great allowances, however, must be made for the English historical writers of the last, and the early part of the present century, on account of the difficulties, I may say the impossibility, of obtaining accurate historical data. They could have recourse only to the old chronicles and to the Vitæ Sanctorum, and to some extent they were obliged to draw upon their imagination for their facts. Many years ago, when, with the permission of the Secretary of State, I was in the habit of visiting the State Paper Office for purposes of research, an anecdote respecting Hume the historian, was related to me by Mr. Lechmere, at that time head of the department. When Hume began to write his History of England, he was desirous of consulting the public correspondence, and, having obtained the requisite authority, went to the State Paper Office and stated the object of his visit. He was requested to mention the class of papers, and the period to which he wished to refer, and having done so was asked to call again a few days afterwards, by which time, he was promised, the papers should be got ready for him. He came at the time appointed, and was shown into a room in which had been collected a large quantity of papers relating to the period he had mentioned, and was told that *these were some of the documents* he wished to see. He was left in the room for some two or three hours, when he went away saying, in his broad Scotch dialect, that if he did not write his history until he had read these papers, he should never write it at all; and was seen no more.

"There is no country so rich in National Records as England, though we have to deplore great losses, and, in times past, most culpable neglect. In Hume's days the public archives were in a most disgraceful condition, stowed away in garrets and cellars, exposed to the ravages of vermin, and rotting with wet and damp. Matters have since greatly changed. The Records have been brought together in a fine fire-proof building erected for the purpose, and to a great extent have been arranged and calendared;

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and, what is more, through the wise liberality of Lord Romilly, the late Master of the Rolls, seconded by his learned and able assistant, Sir Thomas Hardy, the present Deputy Keeper, they are, under certain very liberal regulations, rendered accessible to all who desire to use them, whilst nothing can exceed the courtesy and attention shown to searchers by the Assistant Keepers and others in charge.

"These facilities, however, do not lighten the labours of the historian. Rather do they enhance his toil and responsibility. It is much more easy to write from imagination, especially for those whose imagination is fertile, of which we have some notable examples, than it is to obtain facts from a careful, laborious, and critical examination of a great mass of partially decayed, and, in many instances, almost illegible, parchments and papers. Such a search now, however, is indispensable. There is no excuse for inaccuracy as to facts, and our histories are gradually becoming re-formed. The State Records are very freely used by historical students, and by no one more fully than by that very eminent historian of our age, Mr. Froude, a native of this county, who, but for his absence abroad, would now probably have been filling the chair which I unworthily occupy.

"Important, however, as the Public Records are as the veritable sources of general and national history, a careful study of them is equally indispensable for the elucidation of family and topographical antiquities, a subject scarcely less important. There is not a city, a town, a manor, or even an important farm, which may not be traced thereby with more or less distinctness, from the time of the great Survey under William of Normandy to the present day; whilst the evidences of the descent of every family of distinction are to be found only in these priceless Archives; and this is not all, they illustrate, in a remarkable manner, the daily life, the customs, the feelings, and the passions of all classes of the community at any and every period during many centuries.

"Having said thus much regarding the value of the National Muniments, I will draw your attention to those with which, to a greater or less extent, you daily come into contact. They are scarcely of less value to the historical student than the former. The visit of the Institute to the capital of ancient Damnonia is to promote a knowledge of the value of, and cultivate a taste for, local historical monuments, with a view to preserve them and those valuable records and materials for history, which, though too often grievously neglected, are to be found in every parish.

"It is not our function in this section of the meeting to deal with those remains of the primæval races which crown the summits of the hills of Cornwall and Devon, and those evidences of the footsteps of our forefathers to be found in the ancient trackways which, like a net-work, cover our less cultivated lands. They are, however, of the greatest interest to the historical inquirer. Upon careful comparisons of the contents of our barrows, these remains of a very remote period afford evidences of tribal distinctions, and other characteristics of the early inhabitants of the country of which we possess no other record. In this section, however, we have, on this occasion, rather to deal with the period of *exact* history, in which speculation should find no place.

"To come, then, to local materials for history, I may mention that in them Exeter itself is peculiarly rich. Perhaps the most important depository is the muniment-room of the Dean and Chapter, inasmuch as it contains that valuable record known as the 'Exon Domesday.' The Domes-

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day Survey, as is doubtless familiar to most of you, was executed by Norman Commissioners sent by the king into the different counties. They were directed to make their inquiries upon view and upon the oaths of a jury consisting of the various grades of freemen, impannelled in each Hundred. The information generally demanded was the number of hides or carucates the land was gelded or taxed at, whose it was at the death of King Edward, who the then owner and sub-tenants; how much arable land, meadow, pasture. and wood there was; how much in demesne; how much in tenancy; and what number of ploughs it would keep; what mills and fishings there were; how many freemen there were, and how many of the various grades of the un-free. In some instances, for the inquiries varied in different districts, it was required to be shown what number of cattle, sheep, working horses, &c., were upon the land, what land was waste, what the whole was worth in the time of King Edward, and what was the then value; and, in some cases, if it was capable of improvement. Those who are acquainted with Mr. Freeman's works will be pleased to learn that he has promised at a future time to treat on the nature of this valuable record, and the light which it throws upon the manners of the time. This great work, marvellous in itself, is still more marvellous for the short time its preparation occupied. The date of its commencement has been variously stated; but Mr. Freeman, in his invaluable work, to which I have already alluded, has shown, from the Saxon Chronicle, that the order for its execution was given at the session of the Witan held at Gloucester in the midwinter of 1085-6, whilst the colophon at the end of the second volume of the Domesday Survey proves it to have been completed A.D. 1086, and in the 20th year of the King, so that, if the Saxon Chronicle can be relied upon, it was ordered, begun, and completed within one year.

"The Exchequer Domesday, so far as it relates to Devon and Cornwall, is very meagre; but the Exeter Book, which consists of the transcripts of the original returns made by the Commissioners for the Counties of Devon, Cornwall, Dorset, Somerset, and Wilts enters into fuller details, and gives the various kinds of stock upon the several manors. It was printed by the Record Commissioners in 1816, when it was discovered that one of the folios of the MS. was missing; and it is very singular that, eleven years afterwards, Sir Walter Calverly Trevelyan, in arranging some family papers, found the missing leaf, and returned it to the Dean and Chapter. It is not known how this fragment came into the possession of the Trevelyan family; but it was found, together with a charter of King Athelstan, and other documents which probably were once in the muniment-room of the Dean and Chapter of Exeter, among charters and papers acquired in the latter part of the seventeenth century, by the marriage of George Trevelyan with Mary, daughter and heir of John Willoughby of Leahill, in this county. The Exon Domesday will be kindly exhibited to us by the Dean and Chapter on our visit to the Cathedral. Besides various interesting inventories of church goods and MSS., the Dean and Chapter also possess a most valuable series of Fabric Rolls, extending from the year 1279 down to the middle of the fifteenth century, if not later. Much of the work done in the Cathedral therein charged for may still be identified. These documents are also singularly curious, as showing the cost of materials and the rates of wages paid to artificers during this long period; and also the cost of particular parts of fitments of the church; *e.g.*, I may mention that the Bishop's Throne was erected from 1316–20, at an expense

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exceeding 12*l.* or 14*l.*[2] A well-known contractor has recently stated that he would not undertake to make such another for 2000*l.* Mr. Stuart Moore, who has been arranging the Chapter Records, will give us some account of them.

"Perhaps the next class of records within the district most generally useful is the valuable series of registers in the Bishop's Registry Office. By the obliging permission of the late and of the present Deputy Registrars I have had, for several years, free access to these books, and have extensively used them; perhaps no one has done so as fully except the late Dr. Oliver of this city, whose valuable works on the Ecclesiastical History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Exeter are, of course, well known to you. These registers are indispensable to the parochial historian. They were commenced by that able prelate, Bishop Walter Bronescombe, in 1257, and have been continued down to the present time. I may here mention that Bishop Walter Stapeldon, another eminent prelate of this diocese, may be considered the founder of the Public Record Office. As he himself tells us,—at the time that he was Lord High Treasurer, the muniments relating to the rights and dominions of the Crown, as well as those affecting the interests of private persons, were from time to time removed from place to place—from the Wardrobe to the Chancery, and from the Chancery to the Exchequer, and from thence to the Receipt or Treasury—and often by incompetent persons; consequently many inconveniences arose both to the Crown and the subject, inasmuch as, for want of proper calendars and registers, the documents when required could not be found. Upon the special motion of the Treasurer, the King ordered that all the documents and instruments in question should be properly digested and arranged, so that recourse could be had to them readily when required, which was accordingly done.[3] This Bishop, you will remember, fell a victim to the violence of the populace in the streets of London on 15th October, 1326, and after his death Bishop Bronescombe's Register was long missing, but was ultimately recovered. The series is now complete, with the exception of two volumes (viz., Vol. III., of the period of Bishop Brentingham, 1370–94, and Vol. I., of Bishop Lacy, which contains the record of Collation and Institution to Benefices between 1420 and 1429), down to the time of the overthrow of the Church in the rebellion of the seventeenth century. These volumes contain notices of all collations and institutions, as alluded to above, and also, sometimes mixed with such entries, but usually in separate volumes, many original charters, some of them of ante-Norman date, and copies of bulls, inquisitions, interdictions, sequestrations, licences for chapels and oratories, marriage licences, dispensations for disabilities, non-residence, &c., and lists of persons admitted to holy orders, &c. There are, also, a few Wills of early dates, chiefly of ecclesiastics. It is interesting to observe that in ancient times it was not unusual to admit persons, in minor orders

[2]

Materials . . .	£4	0	0
Labour . . .	6	10	0
	10	10	0
Carving, painting, &c., exterior, say	3	0	0
	£13	10	0

A cow in those days cost 5*s.* in Devonshire, and a sheep 1*s.* 1*d.*, so that money has decreased in value 30 or 40 times. According to the present value of money, the cost would amount to some £400 or £500. Even so it was a marvel of cheapness.

[3] "Ancient Kalendars and Inventories of the Exchequer." By Sir Francis Palgrave, K.H. Vol. I. p. 2.

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only, to ecclesiastical benefices having cure of souls; even acolytes were so admitted. Of course, the actual cure of souls was administered by their priestly vicars, the incumbents enjoying the temporalities. In such cases licenses of non-residence for purposes of study were usually granted, and occasionally dispensations for admission to the priesthood, without passing through some of these minor orders. After the time of Henry VIII., however, the registers contain nothing more than records of collations and institutions; and after the Restoration a new series of registers was commenced in 1568, called 'Act Books,' in which are noted collations and institutions, and sequestrations, licences to marry, to practise medicine and surgery, to keep school, &c. There are perambulations, inventories, and other documents of a minor character in this office, of which it is unnecessary here to make further mention.

"I may here refer to the Will Offices, which, you will remember, until the establishment of the Court of Probate, a few years ago, were under the charge of the Registrar of the Diocese. There are two Probate Offices now in the diocese. One in this city, which, in addition to what is known as the 'Principal Registry,' has had transferred to it all the 'Peculiars,' or special jurisdictions, except those of the Archdeaconry of Cornwall and of the Deanery of St. Burian in Cornwall, which now form a separate Probate Court at Bodmin. The peculiar jurisdiction of the Deanery of St. Burian, embracing the three most western parishes in England, viz., St. Burian, St. Sevan, and Sennen, has, very recently, been annexed to the Bodmin Court.

"The importance of Wills for genealogical purposes is too obvious to need remark, and it is to be greatly regretted that, with the exception of the early Wills of which copies are preserved in the Bishop's Registers, to which allusion has been made, and which are there entered on account of their containing some bequests to the Church, Wills of a late date only are now in existence. There are very few in the Principal Registry at Exeter earlier than the seventeenth century, and at Bodmin there are not many before the Restoration. The negligence which has led to their loss, or destruction, cannot be too strongly reprehended, but it is a consolation to feel that the preservation of those which remain is now a matter of great care. Easy access to this important class of documents is a matter of great moment to the conscientious historian and genealogist, and the difficulties placed in his way by the authorities are most vexatious and detrimental to the cause of true history. In the Principal Court of Probate in London, under certain regulations to which no exception can be taken, searchers for literary purposes have free access to the *copies* of all wills proved before the year 1700; but this liberal rule does not apply to the Provincial Probate Courts. Even the personal courtesy which was formerly shown to literary inquirers by some of the local registrars has been forbidden by circular, and few, except those who have experienced it, can estimate the hindrance this is to the historian. I am unable to see any sufficient reason why, like all other public records, the Wills should not be accessible to those who are *bonâ fide* engaged in literary work, say down to 100 years before the current date; and I venture to allude to the subject here because it is not unlikely that the question may soon again be raised, and I would wish to enlist, in support of the extension of the privileges now granted in London, the good-will and hearty support of all who are desirous of encouraging accurate historical knowledge.

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"The City of Exeter possesses in its municipal archives another class of valuable historical documents. Of course, these apply, primarily, to the City itself—its franchises and liberties, its trade and commerce, its wealth, its religious and social condition, and internal life; and beyond these interesting subjects, these records throw considerable light on the general history of the country. The records of the City Court are, perhaps, more complete than any other similar class of documents in the kingdom. They extend from the reign of King Henry III., in almost an unbroken series, down to the present time, and contain pleas of all kinds, inrolments of deeds and wills, &c., gild ordinances, &c., and further, which is very interesting, and moreover of considerable historical and statistical value, they show the prices of wheat, from week to week, throughout the whole period. Charters are very numerous, and seals abound. These very valuable archives have recently been carefully classified under the able superintendence of Mr. Stuart Moore, and as that gentleman has kindly undertaken to give you some account of them, it is not necessary I should here allude to them further.

"Another class of documents of value to the historian and genealogist to which I will presume to direct your attention is one which, until lately, has been grossly neglected by those to whose trust the documents have been confided. I allude to the Parochial Records, primarily to the registers of Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials. Not only are these registers of inestimable value to the local historian, and to the families to which they severally apply, especially to those of the middle and lower classes, of whose descent, in numerous instances, they form the only evidence; but if they had been correctly kept, and carefully preserved, they would have afforded data of great value for statistical purposes.

"These Records were first instituted by Thomas Cromwell, whom King Henry VIII., after he had cast off the authority of the Pope, had appointed his Vicegerent for Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction. The first order for keeping parish registers is contained in Cromwell's Injunctions to the Clergy, printed by Burnet in his 'History of the Reformation' (Vol. I. Appendix, p. 178), the 12th clause of which enjoins that 'every parson, vicar, or curate shall, for every church, keep one book or register, wherein he shall write the day and year of every wedding, christening, and burying within his parish, and shall insert every person's name who shall be so wedded, christened, or buried;' and it provides that 'the book shall be kept in one sure coffer with two locks and keys,' one to be kept by the clergyman, and the other by the churchwardens; that the entries shall be made every Sunday by the minister in the presence of one of the churchwardens; and for every default a fine of 3*s*. 4*d*. was imposed—no inconsiderable fine at that period. The issue of this order in a reign of great innovation and severity was the cause of much alarm, discontent, and suspicion among the people. Nowhere did this more prevail than in the counties of Devon and Cornwall. This is shown by an autograph letter from Sir Piers Edgcombe, the direct ancestor of the present Earl of Mount Edgcombe, to Cromwell, wherein, after alluding to the fact, he says:—'Ther mystrust ys that somme charges more than hath byn in tymys past schall growe to theym by this occacyon of regesstrynge of thes thyngges.'

"Cromwell's Injunction for keeping Parish Registers is said to have been issued in 1538; nevertheless, we find many registers scattered throughout England of an earlier date. In respect to this diocese we may mention

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those of Blisland, 1537; Bradford, 1500; St. Michael Penkevil, 1516; East Down, 1535; Ponghill, 1537. These are supposed to have been compiled from private memoranda made by individuals, and given to the clergyman afterwards. Notwithstanding the great care which has been shown by the State for keeping these registers, and that from time to time orders have been renewed upon the subject, great laxity, from the commencement, has been displayed by the clergy. The Injunction was repeated in the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth, and hence we find many registers to commence from her accession, or from the year 1560. Still there was so much irregularity that in the Canons agreed upon by the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury in 1603, is one (Canon 70) enforcing the keeping of these registers, and directing that a parchment book should be provided at the charge of the parish, wherein should be written the day and year of every christening, wedding, and burial which had been in the parish since the law was first made in that behalf, so far as the ancient books thereof can be procured, but especially since the reign of the late Queen; and, having regard to the safe perpetuation of this evidence, it was directed that a true copy of the registers, attested by the minister and churchwardens, should, every year, be sent by the churchwardens to be preserved in the Registry of the Bishop of the diocese. Alas! notwithstanding all this care shown both by Church and State, these important registers have been grossly neglected, especially during the general clerical laxity of the eighteenth century. In most parishes they were handed over to illiterate parish clerks. In many the old books have been altogether lost, and the existing registers, very loosely and badly kept, commence only about the middle of the century. In many other parishes, though the old books remain in existence, they are in a deplorable condition from neglect and damp; whilst, what is still more reprehensible, the transcripts sent to the Bishop's Registry, with the view of safe-keeping, and of supplying the accidental loss of the originals by fire or otherwise, are in a condition infinitely worse.

"A question has arisen as to the future custody of the old registers, I presume those prior to the Act of 1812, establishing new forms. Last year a Bill was brought into Parliament for transferring them to the 'Master of the Rolls.' This would be very convenient to literary men living in London, as they would have free access to them, but it would not be just to the parochial clergy, who are entitled to certain fees for certificates, nor fair to the parishioners, who should have the greatest interest in them, as they are especially their own records, and they are entitled by law to inspect them at their pleasure. There appears to me to be one way of securing all these advantages, viz., that the originals should be placed in the custody of the Master of the Rolls, as proposed, and that every parish should be supplied by Government with a certified copy of its own registers, which should have all the authority of the original, and should be treated in the same manner. This would secure the preservation of the originals, and, inasmuch as comparatively few clergymen, and still fewer parishioners, can read the writing in the early registers, the certified copies would, practically, be more useful to them.

"It may be as well here to mention, as much misunderstanding exists upon the subject, what are the legal rights of the parochial clergyman and of the public with respect to parish registers. It was decided in the Court of Exchequer in 1853, in the case of Steele *v.* Williams, that any one has

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a perfect right to search and make himself master of the contents of the registers. For one shilling he is entitled to look at all the entries in a particular year. If he wishes to take a copy he may do so; the Statute only provides for a certificate, for which, if he desires it, he must pay the regulated price. For the examination of the entries of each subsequent year he must pay 1*s.* 6*d.*

"Before concluding this branch of my remarks, I will briefly glance at the valuable materials for history contained in the archives of the cities and towns, castles and mansions, throughout the counties of Devon and Cornwall. Through the means of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS., appointed in 1869, a great mass of valuable documents has been brought to light, and rendered available for the historian. Among the documents noticed in the Appendix to the first Report of the Commission, relating to this district, are those at Port Eliot (the Earl of St. German's) and Trelawne (Sir John Salusbury Trelawny). Mr. Horwood, who inspected those Collections for the Commissioners, has not noticed in his Schedules any documents of an earlier date than the seventeenth century, except a few unimportant papers at Trelawne of the end of the sixteenth. The Port Eliot papers have been largely used by Mr. Foster in his 'Life of Sir John Eliot.' The Trelawne papers are of considerable historical interest, especially the correspondence of Bishop Trelawny, one of the seven imprisoned bishops, which does not, as yet, appear to have been fully examined. In addition to these modern papers, Sir John Trelawny possesses a large collection of ancient charters, and other documents, which I have had the privilege of using to some extent, and which are now being classified and arranged.

"In the Appendix to the second Report of the Commissioners, Mr. Horwood gives schedules of some of the papers at Mount Edgcombe, and some of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries belonging to Mr. John Jope Rogers of Penrose in Cornwall. He says with respect to the former:—'There are letters full of interesting and amusing accounts of passages in the Civil War, and other events in the reigns of Charles I. and Charles II.'

"In the third Report Mr. Horwood mentions a few ancient charters at Powderham Castle (the Earl of Devon's) and Castle Hill (Lord Fortescue's), and alludes to the beautifully emblazoned pedigree of the illustrious family of Courtenay. From Lord Fortescue's collection at Castle Hill, Mr. Horwood cites some peculiarly interesting correspondence of the last century. The best portion, however, of the report, so far as it relates to this district, is Mr. Riley's Schedule of the Municipal Records of the ancient Borough of Totnes. After referring to the various charters, from the time of King John, granting liberties and franchises to the town, he gives some account of the very extensive rolls relating to the ancient gild of merchants there. These records commence as early as 1260, and are exceedingly curious, though he does not mention any schedules of gild ordinances, though doubtless such exist. The study of the principles of the ancient gilds, which were at once religious and social, even the trading gilds being based upon religious principles, is not only of exceeding great interest as illustrative of the manners and customs, the habits and feelings, the daily life of the people of this country in the mediæval period, but as affording also, to some extent, the key to solve the greatest problem of the age in which we live—the relations which should exist between CAPITAL and LABOUR. Mr. Riley mentions this merchants' gild only, but it is more than probable

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that there were a great many other gilds of a social nature in the town, seeing that the little town of Bodmin, with its 2000 or 3000 inhabitants in the time of King Edward IV., had no fewer than forty-five gilds of which we can trace the names. I may mention that almost the entire population seems to have been embraced in one or other of the gilds, for these bodies were extremely active in the rebuilding of the church in 1469—1472, and contributed largely to the funds; and in the accounts, which are still preserved, after the sums received from the wardens of the several gilds, is the entry: 'Item of the that be yn no Ilde, of the Mair, 7*s.* 2*d.*' The collections already inspected by the Commissioners form but a small portion of the treasures which exist in private hands in the two counties. The greater number of old mansions have not been visited, and these will doubtless prove equally rich in historical records, as will also some of the ancient boroughs. As an example of the use which may be made of such documents, I may refer to a valuable and charming little book recently published by Mr. William Cotton, of this city, on the Company of Merchant Adventurers of Exeter, incorporated by Queen Elizabeth. The records of this great company (for it can scarcely be called a gild), which exercised an influence in the city equal to that of the Mayor and Corporation, are now in the possession of the Company of Weavers, Fullers, and Shearmen, through the courtesy of the Masters and Wardens of which Company Mr. Cotton has been enabled to throw much light on the social condition of Exeter, and on the state of commerce generally during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I.

"In addition to these documentary sources of historical information we have very valuable materials for history in ancient buildings, both ecclesiastical and civil—churches, castles, and old manor houses. The monumental and heraldic remains still to be found in some of our old churches and elsewhere where the hand of the spoiler has not reached, are of the greatest value to the genealogist, and also to the historian, for, very often, they form the only evidence of alliances which afford a key to some of the greatest events of history. The havoc made in what may, not inaptly, be termed our 'petrified historical monuments' in the recent so-called 'restoration' of churches, has been very great. I tremble when I hear that an ancient and interesting church is about to be 'restored,' for I am convinced that our old churches have suffered more within the last thirty years from the process called 'restoration' than they suffered from neglect and violence in the previous three centuries. The churches and other buildings in Exeter are peculiarly rich in heraldry, and it will be gratifying to you to know that they have been carefully examined and the arms put upon record by our friend the Rev. F. T. Colby, the accomplished Editor for the Harleian Society of the Herald's last Visitation of Devon, who will favour us with a memoir upon the subject.

"Moreover, I must not omit to notice what has been done for local history in the nomenclature of Cornwall by our learned friend Dr. Bannister.

"In conclusion I beg to draw your attention to the Gallery of Portraits of eminent and historical personages, and other remarkable men, connected with Devon and Cornwall, now for the first time brought together. This collection is of the highest interest, and may be regarded as the illustration of history. Our friend Mr. Scharf, the Keeper of the National Portrait Gallery, than whom there is no higher authority in Europe on

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portraits, has kindly consented to give us, this evening, a discourse on the chief pictures in our gallery, to which we shall all look forward with much pleasure."

Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE proposed a vote of thanks to Sir John Maclean for his able and instructive Address, which was passed with approbation.

The CHAIRMAN then called upon Mr. Freeman for his memoir on "The Place of Exeter in the History of England" (printed at p. 297). At the conclusion of his discourse the lecturer was much applauded, and in accordance with the proposal of Mr. G. T. Clark, a cordial vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Freeman.

The Section of Antiquities met in the Vicar's College Hall at 10 A.M. The Chair was taken by Mr. W. PENGELLY.

Mr. J. R. CHANTER read an account of a ring which had been found on the site of the Priory of St. Mary, Pilton, near Barnstaple. It was of gold, weighing 131 grains, in which was set a large egg-shaped sapphire. The stone had a hole drilled through the lower edge, through which a gold stud was passed. Several such holes had been drilled in it. On the outside was a Hebrew inscription, on the inside one in Saxon characters. It was a thumb ring, and was thought to be ecclesiastical, of the twelfth century. It was found in a ball of clay, under the root of a tree, where, it was suggested, it was hidden by a thief. A conversation ensued upon several points raised by the description of the object.

Mr. TREGELLAS (Secretary of the Section), in the absence of the writer, read an Account of an Exeter Standard Weight, which had been found among some old metal in a marine-store dealer's shop in Exeter. It was written by the Warden of the Standards, Mr. H. W. Chisholm :—

"This standard 14 lb. weight, which has kindly been lent to me for inspection by the Council of the Devon and Exeter Albert Memorial Museum, is undoubtedly one of the series of standard weights referred to in the Act II. Henry VII. cap. 4, which declares 'the names of the cities and towns limited for the keeping of weights and measures.' Amongst these names appears 'the city of Exeter,' as having the 'custody of weights and measures, according to the King's standard,' for the shire of 'Devon.'

"In a MS. which I have recently found amongst the Harleian Collection of the British Museum, in a report of a jury appointed by Queen Elizabeth in the seventeenth year of her reign (1574) to inquire into the standards of weights and measures, the jury found that the most authoritative standard of avoirdupois weight was the Exchequer 56 lb. weight. 'This semeth to be of the tyme of Edward the Thirde, for it hathe an E crowned.' It was from this avoirdupois standard that the Elizabethan standard avoirdupois weights were made, which were the legal standards until 1824, and with which the existing standards are as nearly as possible identical. This Exchequer 56 lb. of Edward the Third has long been lost. The Exchequer standard 14 lb. in 1574 was one of a series made in the early part of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and was much heavier than its proportional part of the 56 lb. weight. In fact, it is more than probable that it never was properly adjusted. It is still in existence. and in my custody, and weighs 2726 *grains* more than 14 avoirdupois lbs. of the existing standard.

"The Jury of 1574 compared the City of London avoirdupois standards, all of which are stated to be 'broken,' with the Exchequer standards, and with the City of Exeter standards, both the London and Exeter standards

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being of the time of Henry VII., the results as regards the two largest weights being as follows :—

Exeter . .	56 lb.	'juste with London.'	
London . .	56 lb.	= Exchequer	+ 3 oz. (or + 1312 gr.)
Exeter . .	14 lb.	= London	+ $\frac{3}{4}$ oz. (or + 328 gr.)
London . .	14 lb.	= Exchequer	— $5\frac{7}{8}$ oz. (or — 2570 gr.)

whence it follows :

Exeter 14 lb. = Exchequer 14lb. of 1574 — 2242 gr.

And as Exchequer 14 lb. of 1574 = { the present Imperial standard + 2727 gr.

∴ Exeter 14 lb. in 1574 = do. + 485 gr.

"But the weight of the Exeter 14 lb. in its existing condition, minus part of the staple and the ring, is :

	gr.	lb.	gr.
Broken Exeter 14 lb. weight = Imperial standard	— 3890	or 13 :	3110
Estimated weight of lost portion (of the pieces now supplied) . . .. =			2800
		13 :	5910

"The size of the portion of staple now added has been estimated from the piece that is left. The iron ring is the same size very nearly as that of the 14 lb. of Queen Elizabeth. It is, of course, not improbable that the original ring may have been much larger ; but it is difficult to reconcile what appears to have been an excess in the Exeter 14 lb. of 485 grains in 1574, with the estimated deficiency of 1090 grains in 1873. Is there any satisfactory evidence to identify the 14 lbs. weight as the one supplied to the City of Exeter? Or may it not have been one of the set supplied to some other city or town mentioned in the Act II. Henry VII. cap. 4, for example, Salisbury, Ilchester, Dorchester, Lostwithiel, &c. ?"

Mr. G. W. Ormerod, M.A., F.G.S., then read the first portion of a memoir of some length, entitled "Notes on Rude Stone Remains on the eastern side of Dartmoor."

The reading of this memoir occasioned some discussion, after which thanks were voted to the several contributors of papers, and the meeting was adjourned.

At 12.10 P.M. a large party left St. David's Station for Collumpton, where carriages were in waiting to convey them to Bradfield Hall, the seat of Mr. J. W. Walrond, who had kindly invited them to accept his hospitality, after inspecting his most interesting mansion. This is a structure chiefly of the Elizabethan period, which has been carefully restored ; but the plan of the house was altered, by destroying the old kitchen and offices, to make a carriage drive up to it. The Hall is late Tudor work, with a good timber roof, and the arms of Edward VI. in plaster on the wall at one end. The dining-room and drawing-room are very fine, full of rich work of the Jacobean period. There is an inner porch or screen to the drawing-room, with curious sculptures in wood, and a remarkable chimney-piece, probably German, all abounding with colour and gilding. Displayed in cases in the Hall were a considerable number of the family muniments from the twelfth to the present century. Mr. J. H. Parker, C.B.

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discoursed from the minstrel's gallery upon the special features of the house. After a pleasant wandering over the beautiful demesne and its winding walks, in which many of the fantastic features of the old decorations are retained, the company left with very gratifying recollections of Bradfield House. An agreeable drive or a quiet stroll through the lanes teeming with wild flowers brought the party to Collumpton. Proceeding at once to the church, which is a good specimen of the late Perpendicular period, Mr. Parker kindly acted as *cicerone*, conducting the party first round the exterior of the structure. There are many points in which it resembles the usual Somersetshire type, and these were duly discussed by several of the visitors. In the interior are some very good screens, a rood loft in good condition, and a very rich late chantry chapel of the Lane family, wool-merchants of the time of Henry VIII., with an inscription (on the exterior) in English, giving the date of 1527. The chapel has a fine vault of fan-tracery, which seems to have been added, and merchants'-marks in great variety are used as ornaments. The fine cradle-roof with its rich colouring; the remains of the base and socket for the rood; the roughly carved work of the "Calvary," lying just within the western door, attracted much notice. After inspecting the spacious grounds of the vicarage, and some good timbered houses in the village, the party returned to Exeter.

In the evening a *Conversazione* was held in the Portrait Gallery in the Royal Albert Museum, which was crowded with visitors to hear the lecture of Mr. G. Scharf, F.S.A., upon the Portraits of Deceased Worthies. He congratulated the Meeting upon the excellent and large collection of portraits which had been brought together within a very short space of time, and gave a most interesting and critical discourse, which will be given in a future portion of the "Journal."

Thursday, July 31.

At 9 A.M. the general meeting of Members was held in the Council Chamber, Guildhall, Mr. F. H. Dickinson in the Chair. Mr. Burtt (*Hon. Sec.*) read the balance sheet for the year 1872 (see p. 395), and the Annual Report for the past year as follows:—

Report of the Central Committee for the Year 1872–73.

"Your Committee have the satisfaction of being able to speak in gratifying terms of the general condition and progress of the Institute.

"While they are unable to refer in any very glowing terms to their last Annual Meeting held at Southampton, they feel bound to express themselves in terms of kind appreciation to those who aided them in carrying out that Meeting. Although the success of that Congress was, financially, considerably below the average, your Committee feel that such a result was mainly owing to the very untoward circumstances of the weather, and not to any default in the archæological attractions of the objects presented to the consideration and study of its members and of the visitors, or to the substantive value of the Memoirs and Addresses presented to them on the occasion. The pages of the 'Journal,' which have recorded the careful and elaborate historical essay upon the 'Alien Priories of the Isle of Wight,' by the Rev. E. Venables, the remarkable results of the studious and pains-taking investigations of the site of one of the grandest centres of the Roman power in South-Western England by the Rev. J. G. Joyce,

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aided by the valuable patronage of his Grace the Duke of Wellington; the pleasant *resumé* of the conditions of the history of that portion of our country by Lord Henry Scott, and the thorough and able examination of the defences of the important mediæval seaport in which their Meeting was held, by Mr. G. T. Clark, furnish ample evidence that the discriminating pursuit and progress of the science of archæology has lost no ground whatever in the hands of their members during the past year. And if the financial results of the Meeting at Southampton were not so good as could have been desired, it is a subject of great congratulation to your Committee that it, nevertheless, afforded opportunities of most pleasant and intellectual converse and inter-communication to a very large number of the members of the Institute who were gathered together on the occasion from the furthest parts of the Island. The great success of the Meeting of the Institute held in the previous year at Cardiff, under somewhat exceptionally favourable circumstances, tended much to cast into the shade any which should follow that Meeting; but it is with great satisfaction that your Committee are able to report that the number of the members of the Institute who were collected together at Southampton was very little below that at Cardiff.

"Your Committee beg leave most frankly to bring to the notice of the members of the Institute the circumstance of the progress of the 'General Index' to the 'Journal' of the Institute referred to in their last annual report in very satisfactory terms, as not having quite carried out the hopes then expressed. Kindly undertaken as the arduous task has been by the voluntary labours of many of the members, your Committee have to regret that the conditions of that task have interposed obstacles which will postpone for a longer time than was anticipated the realisation of their wishes, but they look forward with great confidence to the results of the patience, assiduity, and intelligence of those engaged upon it. Further help, however, is required; and should the present Meeting be disposed to adopt the suggestion to extend that task to twenty-*five* volumes, as has been suggested to them by some members of their body, they trust with confidence to the augmentation of the staff of workers in the cause. The support given to the proposal to publish the 'General Index' by the private subscriptions of the members has been most liberally responded to.

"Following upon the special excursion made from the Metropolis to Guildford last year, and acting upon the principles and circumstances which guided that Excursion, your Committee have to report that, early in July last, a special excursion was made to Berkhamsted in Hertfordshire, under the guidance of Mr. G. T. Clark.[4] The subject-matter was in every way an excellent one, and it afforded the opportunity of a most able and eloquent address from Mr. Clark upon the ancient castle of that place, and to Mr. Parker upon its very interesting church; but the members who attended upon the occasion was by no means so large as could have been wished, although the interest evidenced by the Earl of Brownlow, the Marquis of Hamilton, and other inhabitants of the locality visited, must be a source of great congratulation.

"On the occasion of their last report your Committee had to refer to their efforts, in conjunction with other learned Societies, to induce her Majesty's Government to vote a grant of money in aid of researches upon

[4] *See* Report of this Excursion at p. 407.

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the site of the Temple of Diana at Ephesus. It is with feelings of the greatest satisfaction that they are now able to express their gratitude for the consideration paid to those representations, which they have good reason to know will produce a most excellent result.

"The member of your Executive to whose lot it has fallen of late years to prepare this portion of your proceedings, can only apologize for this very imperfect *resumé*, by pleading his many avocations on behalf of the Institute.

"Among the members and friends of the Institute who have been taken from us during the past year will be found some worthy of special observation.

"The first on the list is that of the Rev. Richard Kirwan, M.A., Rector of Gittisham, and Rural Dean. Long known as a parochial clergyman of great energy and ability, his acquirements in all the studies connected with his profession were considerable. He entered keenly into the pursuit of science in several branches, upon which he lectured at different Institutions with considerable ability, and charmed his audiences with his brilliant addresses. He was an active member of several scientific Societies in Devon, and his sad end has left a blank which will not be easily filled. It was greatly owing to his kindly and earnest interest in Archæological pursuits that the present meeting has been held in the capital of that county, in the antiquities of which he had so long taken a most active interest. Though not a member of the Institute, he had long been most intimately known and highly esteemed by many of our leading supporters, and all who were present will recall with feelings of high gratification the able and eloquent discourse given by him at the monthly meeting of the Institute held in London, on the 5th March, 1869, in which he related the result of his explorations of sepulchral barrows on Broad Down near Honiton. This was in continuation of a memoir previously contributed by him, and printed in vol. xxv. of the Journal, in which the remarkable cup of shale found in one of those barrows is figured. On several occasions Mr. Kirwan kindly contributed objects for exhibition at the Meetings of the Institute, and in the volume of the Journal published in the year in which his untimely decease occurred are two most valuable memoirs on the 'Prehistoric Archæology of East Devon.' His sympathies were most earnestly engaged on behalf of the then projected Meeting of the Institute in Exeter, and the success of that gathering which we now so gratefully recognise was doubtless much owing to the zeal, intelligence, and skill with which he supported the project.

"The Rev. Herbert Haines. He was a very cordial auxiliary at the Gloucester Meeting, being at the time one of the Masters of the College School. On that occasion he gave a lecture on the origin and history of memorial brasses, which he embodied in a valuable 'Manual' upon the subject which will long be highly esteemed.

"E. C. Hakewill, Esq., of Playford, Suffolk, a somewhat recent Member of the Institute.

"The Rev. F. Massingberd, Chancellor of Lincoln Cathedral. He was a valuable friend to the Institute on the occasion of the Meeting in that city, and contributed excellent memoirs on 'The Battle of Winceby,' and on 'The Grecian Stairs, Lincoln,' to the proceedings on that occasion. He was one of those to whom special thanks were voted at the conclusion of the Meeting on the motion of the Bishop of Lincoln, who took the opportunity

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of recommending to careful perusal Mr. Massingberd's 'History of the Reformation.'

"Sir William Tite, M.P. A member of the Institute from its earliest formation, he has on many occasions given his valuable services upon the Council of the Institute in various capacities, and enriched the exhibitions at its meetings during a long series of years by numerous and valuable specimens of rare and precious MSS., early printed books, and other objects.

"Sir Frederic Madden, K.H. An original member of the Institute, and for many years the distinguished Keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum, he was one of the earliest friends and supporters of the Institute. His contributions to the 'Journal' are too numerous, too varied and valuable, for even a detailed reference to them here. They will be found to spread over a vast range of subjects, and to be distinguished by their deep research and careful reasoning, and by the pleasant manner in which information is conveyed by them. Sir Frederic Madden had also during several years given his services as a member of the Executive of the Institute.

"The Rev. Professor Sedgwick, of Cambridge, who had greatly assisted the Institute in the meeting held there, claims a grateful record, as do also Major-General Fox, a distinguished numismatist, and Mr. S. T. Teulon, an accomplished architect, both for many years members of the Institute.

"Special notice should be taken of the demise of the Very Reverend the Dean of Winchester, Dr. Garnier. He was the heartiest of patrons and helpers on the occasion of the first Meeting of the Institute in Winchester, of which he was a Vice President, and in which he took a very active part, contributing much to the success of that Congress by his genial and cordial hospitality, and by the facilities he afforded for the formation of a temporary museum in the Deanery.

"Your committee close this list of departed friends and helpers by recording with feelings of the deepest pain and sorrow the recent and sudden death of Dr. Wilberforce, late Bishop of Winchester. He was one of the earliest and most earnest friends of the Institute, and at its first meeting, when Dean of Westminster, he delivered a most eloquent address "On the nature and value of the study of Archæology." While Bishop of Oxford he attended many of the annual meetings of the Institute, and was ever ready to give his active support to the cause he had advocated from the beginning so eloquently and genially. When the Institute again held their Annual Meeting in the county where those gatherings commenced, Dr. Wilberforce, then Bishop of Winchester, officiated most ably and cordially as President of the meeting held at Southampton in 1872. The President of the present Congress has done justice to the high claims to your regard of this lamented and most highly gifted member of the Institute.

"Your Committee now beg leave to submit the following names of members retiring in due course from its administration, or whose places are vacant, and their recommendation of others for the vacancies so caused.

"In the list of Vice-Presidents, the death of Sir William Tite has caused a vacancy which your Committee propose to fill by the transfer of Sir John Lubbock, Bart. M.P., from the Council. The other members retiring are, the Rev. J. B. Deane, F.S.A., John Hewitt, Esq., R. R. Holmes, Esq., F.S.A., the Lord Zouche, Charles Tucker, Esq., F.S.A.; *Auditor*, R. H. Soden Smith, Esq., F.S.A. In their places they have to recommend—*Senior Auditor*, R. H. Soden Smith, Esq., F.S.A., R. Fisher, Esq., F.S.A.,

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F. Ouvry, Esq., F.S.A., H. Vaughan, Esq., J. G. Nichols, Esq., F.S.A., and Colonel Pinney. *Auditor*, J. Stevens, Esq."

Mr. Fairless Barber moved the adoption of the Report and Balance Sheet; this was seconded by the Rev. J. F. Russell, and carried unanimously.

The Rev. W. Dyke referred to the conditions and regulations for making the General Index which had been kindly taken in hand by several members. He expatiated on the great advantage of extending the work to twenty-five volumes, adverted to in the Report, which he proposed, and the necessity of more workers coming forward. Some observations were made upon the subject by Sir J. Maclean, Mr. Barber, the Rev. C. W. Bingham, and others, and the proposed extension of the range of the Index having been seconded was approved, thanks being also voted to Mr. Dyke and Mr. Lee Warner, for their labours and attention to the subject.

The proposed place of meeting for 1874 being brought forward, Mr. Burtt stated that suggestions had been made as regards Glasgow, Colchester, and Ripon or Richmond in Yorkshire. As to Glasgow, matters were not as yet sufficiently advanced for the consideration of its claims, though the idea was very favourably entertained. As to Colchester, the feeling was exceedingly gratifying and cordial, but no formal invitation had yet arrived; and the same might be said as to Ripon or Richmond. Mr. Barber strongly supported the idea of a meeting at Ripon next year, and said he knew a very cordial invitation was on its way from the Corporation. The Rev. W. Dyke proposed that the subject be referred to the decision of the Council in London. This was seconded by Mr. Beresford Hope, and after some observations by Lord Talbot de Malahide, was carried unanimously. Thanks having been voted to the Chairman, the meeting was dissolved.

The Section of Antiquities assembled at 10 A.M., Mr. W. Pengelly in the chair. Mr. G. W. Ormerod resumed the reading of his memoir on "The Rude Stone Remains on the Eastern side of Dartmoor." A short discussion took place, and Mr. Tregellas then announced the further proceedings of the day, and the meeting was adjourned.

At 10 A.M., a considerable party, among whom were Lord Talbot de Malahide, the Mayor of Exeter, Mr. Beresford Hope, M.P., and Mr. Freeman, started under the guidance of Mr. J. H. Parker, and Mr. W. Cotton, to examine the various objects of interest in the city. The route was from the Guildhall, in which Mr. Parker commenced his remarks, to the "Priory Hall," probably the hall of the Archdeaconry, the Archdeaconry and Deanery, the hall of the Vicar's College, in which Mr. Freeman took the opportunity of making some remarks upon the building, and also upon the Chapel of St. Olave which they had just passed. Thence the party passed to the church of St. Mary Arches, the hall of the Tuckers or Weavers, the old bridge over the Exe, the remains of the city wall, and Bamfylde House. The day was very fine, and the perambulation left but one regret—that the time at disposal was so limited.

At 2 P.M. a large company assembled in the Cathedral to hear the promised discourse by Archdeacon Freeman. The discourse was illustrated by numerous drawings and plans, and by many original documents relating to the structure which have been lately arranged and calendared by Mr. Stuart Moore, and are in excellent condition. Commencing his remarks in the transepts, the party were taken in succession into the Choir,

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the Lady Chapel, the Nave, and the Chapter House. Here the Archdeacon's able and lucid discourse, which was listened to with great attention, and occupied fully two hours, was brought to a close,[5] the lecturer concluding by introducing Mr. Stuart Moore to speak upon the subject of the stained glass in the cathedral windows. Mr. Moore, in the course of his observations, exhibited a series of drawings and tracings of the patterns and devices used in the windows, together with specimens of modern glass to supply that which had been lost or destroyed.

In the Chapter House were displayed many of the MSS. treasures of the Cathedral, including the Exon Domesday, with the leaf which had long been missing, and which was restored by Sir Walter C. Trevelyan, Bart.

At 8 P.M. the Episcopal Palace was thrown open for a Reception by the Right Reverend the Bishop of Exeter, who, with Miss Temple, received the company. The party was very numerous, comprising the members of the Institute, and the principal visitors to the Meeting, and many of the neighbouring nobility and gentry who had been specially invited. The whole of the commodious rooms of the Palace were made available for the occasion, and a very agreeable evening was enjoyed.

Friday, August 1.

The Historical Section met at 9.30 A.M., Sir JOHN MACLEAN, F.S.A., in the Chair. The Secretary of the Section (the Rev. C. W. Bingham), read "Notes on the Will of Nicholas Bradbrooke, 1399—1400," by Mr. E. W. Bradbrooke, F.S.A. The testator described himself as an "unworthy canon of the Church of Exeter" and made many bequests for religious purposes.

Mr. T. LIDSTONE, of Dartmouth, brought under notice some new facts relating to Thomas Newcomen, the inventor of the steam-engine. It appears that in 1651 Thomas Newcomen was a merchant at Dartmouth. Newcomen was apprenticed to an ironmonger at Exeter, and thus acquired much practical knowledge, which was afterwards of so much value to him. In 1729 he went to London to patent his great invention; but, before his purpose was accomplished, he was attacked by fever, and died in a fortnight. Mr. Lidstone spoke strongly of the neglect experienced by the great inventor and his family, of whom the county had good reason to be proud, and detailed several new facts relating to them. Mr. Lidstone then exhibited an ancient ring, which had been recently dug out of an orchard, a few miles from Dartmouth.

In the interval, before the reading of the next memoir, the Chairman adverted to a portion of Mr. Freeman's discourse, "The Place of Exeter in the History of England," in which he thought justice was hardly done to the loyalty of the city. If that loyalty was conspicuous in their reluctance to receive the first William, it was equally so in their behaviour to the second William. Referring to Macaulay's History, he said that, instead of being welcomed with open arms, the citizens closed the gates against him; and the next day, when they opened them, no public reception was given him, though strongly urged, and the Mayor was not to be seen. The bishop and clergy left the city. The City of Exeter on that occasion was

[5] This has since been published under the title, "The Architectural History of Exeter Cathedral. By P. Freeman." (London, Bell and Sons; Exeter, Eland.)

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true to its motto, "*Semper fidelis.*" Passing to another subject, the Chairman read a curious and very important paper relating to the Cathedral. It referred to differences between Archdeacon Hellyar and the Dean and Chapter in the year 1638.

Mr. W. Cotton read a memoir on "Royal Letters and other Documents among the Municipal Records of Exeter." Selections from this very interesting contribution will be given in a future portion of the Journal.

Dr. Drake, of Fowey, read a memoir on "Sir Francis Drake" (printed at p. 358).

At 8 A.M. a considerable party, but necessarily limited on account of the various arrangements which were necessary, had started in carriages for the excursion to Dartmoor. Among them were the Earl of Devon and the Hon. H. D. Fortescue, together with Miss Temple, Miss Ellacombe, and several other ladies. Passing through Moreton Hampstead, and Chagford, amid very picturesque scenery, the road was continued to Teigncombe. Here the carriages could go no further, and they were sent to Gidley to meet the party for the return journey. At Chagford Mr. Ormerod had joined the company, and he proceeded at once to lead the way for the pedestrians up a narrow gullet, filled with boulders, called "Featherbed Lane." This was formerly a pack-horse road, when tin-streaming was carried on in the neighbourhood. From this narrow way a short walk brought the party to the first of the circular huts, where a halt was made, and some discussion took place. Thence the route was continued, past various objects of interest, to Kestor, from which a fine view was obtained, and where a considerable pause was made. The road was then taken still more to the south towards Gidley, and many very singular and interesting evidences of early occupation were passed and commented upon, Mr. Ormerod especially referring to those discussed in the memoir he had read in the Section of "Antiquities." After a long ramble Gidley was reached, where the Rev. A. Whipham joined the party, and, under his guidance, the castle and church were examined. In a farm-house, kindly lent for the purpose, an excellent dinner was served, at which the Earl of Devon presided. After dinner Mr. Ormerod gave a summary of what had been visited, and Lord Devon expressed the pleasure experienced by the day's excursion, which had been carefully directed by Mr. Fairless Barber. After a visit to the church at Chagford, the party resumed their carriages for Exeter, where they arrived at about half-past nine.

At 12.10 P.M. another party, among whom were Mr. Beresford-Hope, M.P., Mr. J. H. Parker, C.B., and Mr. E. A. Freeman, started from Queen Street Station for Okehampton. Here luncheon was provided at the White Hart Hotel, at which Mr. Hope presided. The Vicar of Okehampton, the Rev. W. Holley, kindly offered himself as local guide, and the company at once proceeded to the castle. This is picturesquely situated, on the summit and eastern slope of a tongue of rock, in the valley of the little river Okement. In the absence of Mr. Clark, who had been unfortunately called away, Mr. Parker discussed the principal points of the plan and structure. The keep of the castle is at the top of the hill, the hall and chapel a little lower down. There are no remains of any earlier structure than of the thirteenth century. The whole plan can be made out, but the remains are small. The chapel is rather more perfect than the rest; the hall, with the buttery and kitchen, can be traced. Mr. Freeman added some observations, and a little amicable contention arose upon

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that long-debated question,—the extent of building in stone during the eleventh century. In the Hall Mr. Beresford-Hope made some general remarks upon the losses which the Institute had experienced of late years among its more prominent members; he then paid a high compliment to the Rev. E. Hill for the excellent style in which he had formerly conducted the excursions, and congratulated those present on the manner in which Mr. Burtt had endeavoured to emulate him in that respect. A move was then made for the parish church, which was rebuilt in 1842, having been burnt down. Passing through the pretty grounds of the Vicarage, the party returned to the station and started for Crediton. Here Mr. King kindly officiated as *cicerone*, and carefully expounded the history and fabric of the remarkable church, and touched upon that of the bishopric formerly located there. The claim of Crediton to be the birth-place of the famous Winfred, better known as St. Boniface, was not accepted by Mr. Freeman, who also made some general observations upon the church and the ancient bishopric of the West. After accepting the kindly proffered hospitalities of the Rev. C. F. Smith, the party returned by railway to Exeter, where they arrived at about eight o'clock.

On this and the preceding day Flower Shows were held on Northernhay by the Devon and Exeter Botanical and Horticultural Society, at which many members of the Institute availed themselves of the privilege of entry kindly acceded to them by the Society, and greatly enjoyed the beautiful display made on the occasion.

Saturday, August 2.

This was a busy day for the Excursion department of the Congress. At 10 A.M. a special train started from St. David's Station for Powderham, at the invitation of the noble President of the Meeting, the Earl of Devon. His Lordship met the archæologists at the station, which had been improvised for the occasion, and kindly guided them to the church. It is a good example of a Devonshire parish Church of the fifteenth century, which has been carefully restored, It has a good western tower, and the parclose screens are preserved. Passing through the picturesque scenery of the beautiful domain of Powderham, the party then proceeded to the castle, on the principal terrace of which his Lordship had a large coloured plan displayed, showing the periods of construction of the building, and upon which he gave a full and interesting discourse. The wall of the old hall remains with the usual three doorways at the servants' end, but it has been divided by a modern partition wall, and the present staircase is made at the lords' end of the hall. Two of the towers are old, with the old newel staircases; in the chapel the corbels of the roof are carved as heads, and one of the heads has a mitre, which seems to identify the building as having been the chapel, though it was used as a barn for a considerable period and only restored to use as a chapel by the present Earl. The greater part of the house is modern, or thoroughly modernised. Mr. Freeman and the Rev. J. Earle joined in the discussion which ensued—Mr. Earle suggesting the derivation of "Powderham" from "polder"—at the termination of which Lord Talhot de Malahide proposed a vote of thanks to the Earl of Devon. This was passed with acclamation, and, under the guidance of his Lordship, the party passed through the fine rooms of the castle, in which are stored many objects of remarkable interest and beauty. Luncheon was served in the handsome

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dining hall. A large picture, said to have been painted by Canon Peter, here attracted much attention, and Mr. Scharf made some observations upon it in answer to his Lordship's request. Lord Talbot de Malahide, in the name of the company, expressed their great gratitude for the manner in which they had been received by his Lordship, and for their many obligations to him in the course of the meeting. He had always thought that if they could be sure of his Lordship's support the success of the Congress was assured. The remarks of Lord Talbot were warmly applauded by all present, and were acknowledged by the Earl of Devon in appropriate terms. The walk to the station was then resumed, and on the train leaving his Lordship was heartily cheered.

Passing through Dawlish and the charming coast scenery of the district and of the Teign, the route for the day took an inland turn to Totnes, which was reached at about 2 o'clock. Some of the chief objeets of interest in the town were inspected, including the guildhall, which comprises the remains of the priory; and in the castle Mr. Ashworth made some observations somewhat in the spirit of the antiquaries of old who believed in King Brut—to whose memory is there not a stone consecrated in one of the main streets? Mr. Freeman thanked Mr. Ashworth for a refreshing "bit of history"—the Brutus of whom they had heard was not the same that stabbed Cæsar in the Senate. In the church a remarkable rood-screen of stone somewhat stirred the enthusiasm of the party, who, in reply to Mr. Parker's appeal, earnestly protested against its destruction, of which the intention was rumoured but afterwards disavowed. At Totnes the party were divided, many of them taking the steamer for Dartmouth. Those who were to continue the route in carriages proceeded to the Seymour Hotel for dinner, at which the Ven. Archdeacon Freeman presided. After an excellent repast the route was taken to Dartington Hall, by invitation of Mr. Champernowne, who received the party.

Dartington Hall is a very remarkable house of the fourteenth century, in the period of transition between the Decorated and the Perpendicular style. The style is quite consistent with its history, that it was built by the Duke of Exeter in the time of Richard II. At first sight it appears to be of two periods, but on further examination the singularity in its construction is accounted for by its rough workmanship. Most of the structure seems to have been intended either for farm-buildings on a very large scale, or as a sort of barracks for retainers, and the history would seem rather to indicate the latter. Considerable alterations of a later period have been made in the details without rebuilding the walls. It consists of a very large quadrangle, with a fine Hall at the south end of it, and a dwelling-house attached to the west end of the Hall, behind the daïs, occupying the south-west corner of the quadrangle. This dwelling-house for the family has been inhabited by successive generations, and the interior entirely refitted according to the ideas of a later period, the floors not being on the old level. The Hall is very fine, and has a good porch with a groined roof, on a boss in the vault of which are the arms of Richard II. The roof has been destroyed and the windows have been altered, larger windows being inserted in the time of Henry VIII. or later; the corbels of the roof are for the most part of the earlier period, but two of them were inserted when the windows were altered, and have the angels usual in the time of Henry VII. At the back of the daïs is a very large fireplace, an unusual feature in that position.

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At the lower end of the Hall are the usual three doorways to the buttery and pantry, and the passage to the kitchen between them, and a fourth doorway to the left in the corner, which leads to the staircase to the apartments over the offices, in the place usually occupied by the solar or guest-chamber. This part has been partly rebuilt by Pugin, and altered considerably. Behind the other offices is the kitchen, a detached building, which has been connected with the house by a wooden passage, now destroyed. The kitchen has three fireplaces, one of which has been for the oven; the windows of it are of the form called the square-headed trefoil or the shouldered arch, but each window is of four lights, divided by a transom and mullion, and only the heads of the lights are of that form—which is a very unusual one to be used throughout an entire building as it is here.

The Hall windows were probably also of the same form and size originally (which appears to have been a fancy of the architect);[6] but they were afterwards found too small for a hall, and larger windows were inserted. The western side of the large quadrangle consists of a series of small dwellings in two storeys, with external entrances and no internal passage, and the two doorways over each other, with stone steps up to the upper floor. The stone steps are an addition, but there must have been wooden steps in the same position originally, as there is no other access to the upper floor; they appear to have been intended for the use of retainers, probably for farm labourers only, rather than as servants' chambers. At the other end of the large quadrangle, opposite to the Hall, is now a large stable, with a hay-loft over it, the roof of which is almost like a hall roof, at least more finished than a barn roof usually is; and in this hay-loft is a fireplace, which is part of the original construction; and this shows that it was not originally a hay-loft only. It seems to have been a sort of servants' hall for the retainers. The entrance must have been originally by steps. This apartment is divided by a rough stone wall, cutting off about about a fourth part at the end further from the fireplace and the present entrance, but the wall is built in among the timber-frames or truss of the roof in a singular manner, and is not ancient. The present entrance is from the end, at the north corner of the great quadrangle; the original entrance was on the side from the quadrangle, of which the marks remain in the wall from a flight of steps like the other chambers; but perhaps this was never built of stone,—the alterations have been made at some early period. At the further end of this loft, or hall, is a large barn, standing on the ground in the usual manner, and there is a round-headed roadway under this end of the loft, cutting off part of the stable. This appears to be part of the original plan, as a road for carts and horses into the quadrangle. On the other side of the great quadrangle is a series of other offices, and at the back of them, are *necessaria*, or garde-robes, of the fourteenth century. There is no trace of a chapel, but the church almost touches that part of the house which was the dwelling-house of the family. It stands on higher ground, and overlooks the whole house, which was built on the side of the bank or promontory on which the church stands.

The lord's entrance to the great hall is through the porch from the great

[6] This form is common in the fourteenth century, and small doorways and windows in a tower or on a staircase, but very rare as a general form for all the windows of a large building. It has been adopted by Mr. Waterhouse for the new front of Balliol College, Oxford, but the effect is not pleasing.

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quadrangle; the screens are gone, but the servants' door remains opposite to the lord's door, and there are remains of the servants' court and offices at the back of the hall, with the kitchen on one side, and apparently a servants' cloister on the other side, now in ruins. There are no signs of any fortifications, excepting a fosse. An old plan of the district is extant, on which several castles or posts for the defence of the river Dart are represented, and Dartington is the highest up the river, as if it had been intended to be used as barracks to supply the rest in times of war. The whole structure and arrangement is singular and perhaps unique, and on a very large scale. There are some similar large castles in the North, near the Scottish border, probably for the same purpose—as garrisons would be better provisioned in such a place, and the other forts could be supplied with men when required.

On comparing notes it was found the attractions of Dartington had been so engrossing, that time would not permit the whole of the programme of the afternoon to be carried out, and so the route was at once taken for Berry Pomeroy, it being decided to omit Compton altogether. At Berry is a very interesting church, in which are some good examples of Jacobean and other monuments, including that of the Rev. John Prince, long Vicar here, and so well known for his work "The Worthies of Devon." At the distance of about a mile, after descending a narrow winding road, the castle, the ancient mansion of the Seymour family, is reached. Here Mr. Parker discoursed upon the special features of the structure—a castle originally built by one of the powerful barons of the reign of John, but of which little is now remaining—the fine ruins which now attract so much notice belonging to the sumptuous mansion engrafted upon the older building by the Protector Somerset. Time pressed too hardly upon the company for any long stay to be made, and the word to advance was again given. It was found impossible to reach Torquay in time for the 7.15 train, as arranged, so it was decided the drive should be to Paignton, and an *avant-courier* was despatched to give notice of the probably late arrival of the party at the Station. In spite of every exertion, however, the Station was only reached in time to know that the last train had just started. A special train was telegraphed for, and the carriages were again resumed for Torquay. After some delay a special train was obligingly sent, and the return to Exeter was not completed till shortly after midnight.

The section of the party which broke off at Totnes for Dartmouth had a very gratifying afternoon. Nothing could exceed the placid beauty of the river as the steamer conveyed the company down the stream, passing many a place of interest or fame in mediæval times. Dartmouth, distinguished in mediæval times for its maritime enterprise and widely-extended commerce, was at length reached and the company disembarked on the "New Ground," facing the Esplanade. Mr. Lidstone and Mr. Lhoyd kindly undertook to conduct the party over this singularly interesting town, and very numerous and varied were the objects of interest to which attention was directed—the old houses in the Butterwalk, the church of St. Saviour, the Castle, and the revived "Newcomin Cottage" being the chief points of attraction. After an excellent repast at the Castle Hotel, the party returned to Exeter in good time by the ordinary train from Kingsweare Station.

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On Sunday the Lord Bishop of Exeter preached an eloquent and impressive sermon in the Cathedral. The Mayor and Corporation attended in state, and there was a large attendance of Members of the Institute and visitors. The text was the 11th verse of the 10th chapter of St. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians, "Now all these things happened unto them for examples; and they are written for our admonition upon whom the ends of the world are come."

Monday, August 4.

The Section of Antiquities met at 10 A.M., Mr. W. PENGELLY in the chair. Mr. W. C. BORLASE, F.S.A., read an elaborate memoir, illustrated by numerous sketches and drawings, on "The Vestiges of Early Habitation in Cornwall." (Printed at p. 325.)

Mr. C. SPENCE BATE, F.R.S., read a memoir on "Grimspound."

Mr. R. N. WORTH read an essay on "The Ancient Mining Implements of Cornwall." This will be given in a subsequent portion of the Journal.

Thanks having been voted to the authors, the meeting adjourned.

The Historical Section met at the "Athenæum," at 10 A.M., Sir JOHN MACLEAN, F.S.A., and Vice-president of the Section, in the chair. The Rev. F. T. COLBY read a long and carefully prepared memoir on "The Heraldry of Exeter." (Printed at p. 235.) Considerable discussion was excited by this very interesting account.

Mr. T. KERSLAKE, of Bristol, then read a memoir, entitled "The Celt and the Teuton in Exeter." (Printed at p. 211.)

Dr. DRAKE concluded the proceedings of the Section by reading a memoir on "Dowrish." This is the name of a seat of one of the most ancient families in Devonshire, who took their name from the place, near Crediton, in the parish of Sandford. It is situated on a hill commanding a view of the surrounding country and its fine scenery. Approaching it from Sandford, a stream is crossed by Dowrish Bridge—a name which recalls associations which once inspired the peasantry with awe. Here, it was said, the last of the family occupying the mansion, was thrown from his horse at night and his neck broken, as a judgment for alienating the estate. The family had been one of mark in the county by reason of its antiquity and its alliances. In the great hall is a marble table, in which is inlaid a suit of cards, to one of which a hand is pointing. This is said to commemorate a game at *piquet* between the cousins Dowrish and Northcote, when Dowrish staked the manor of Kennerleigh on the game, which his opponent won by seeing his adversary's cards in a mirror.

Thanks having been voted to the readers of the memoirs, the meeting was dissolved.

At 12.15 P.M. a large party left Queen Street station for an excursion to Forde Abbey, &c., by special train. The train stopped near the road leading to the Abbey, and the numerous company walked through a pleasant lane, and an avenue of fine trees to the Abbey. Here they were received by Mr. Evans, the owner of the property, who most courteously invited them at once to partake of an excellent luncheon which had been provided in the

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hall, once the refectory of the Abbey. After justice had been done to this hospitable entertainment, and for which the Earl of Devon expressed the cordial thanks of the Institute, Mr. Parker gave a discourse upon the building.

Here are considerable remains of a very fine Cistercian Abbey, still inhabited as a gentleman's house, by the descendant of the person to whom it was granted at the Dissolution. The greater part of the building is of the Perpendicular style, and this is what catches the eye on approaching it, especially the fine cloister and the hall, with the doorway tower between them. These are of the time of Henry VII. and VIII., and the great hall, built for the increased establishment, had not been completed at the time of the Dissolution, as is seen by the roof. The oldest part of the existing building is the Chapter-house, which is of transitional Norman character, but very late in that style. A considerable part of the building is of the time of Robert de Courtenay, who was Abbot in 1242. To this part belong especially the Dormitory, with its small lancet windows. The wall is nearly perfect under this though it is sadly undermined. The substructure under this is finely vaulted, and is divided into several chambers or cellars, and probably always was so; only the partitions have been of wood, and have generally been destroyed. The original Hall, or refectory, is also on the upper floor. It has a fine timber roof of the time of Henry VI., but is in a bad state of repair, having been long neglected.

A perambulation of the remains of the ancient structure having been carefully made, and their principal points discussed, Mr. Evans requested the party to roam at will through the various rooms of the mansion to inspect the objects of interest therein. In one saloon is a finely moulded ceiling by Inigo Jones, who made many alterations in the mansion, and in another room is some fine tapestry given by Queen Anne to one of the Gwyns, then her Secretary at War; and many articles of bijouterie, buhl-work, ancient furniture, &c., attracted much attention in the various rooms. This pleasant ramble ended, the party re-assembled in the Chapter House to hear some concluding remarks from Mr. Parker, terminating in the expression of hearty thanks to Mr. Evans for the very gratifying visit to Forde Abbey.

The railway carriages were again in requisition, the train leaving at 4 P.M. for Ottery Road station. Here carriages were in attendance to take the party to Ottery St. Mary, where they arrived shortly before five o'clock. After a general examination of the beautiful church, Mr. Hayward ascended the pulpit, and gave a brief epitome of its history, and of its chief and numerous points of interest, its special peculiarity being that of its great resemblance to the Cathedral of Exeter. Mr. Parker made some supplemental observations, especially upon the "Consecration Crosses" which are numerous, and similar to those in St. George's Chapel, Windsor. The route was then taken to Cadhay House, a mansion built by John Haydon, a bencher of Lincoln's Inn, who married the heiress of Cadhay, and was buried in the church of Ottery in 1587, with some additions in the time of James I. There are several good features in the elevation, and some excellent chimneys on one of the wings, and the house having undergone but very trifling "improvement as to the exterior" presents many interesting points. The return journey was then resumed, and Exeter was reached at about half-past eight o'clock, and the Excursions of the Meeting were very agreeably brought to a close.

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TUESDAY, August 5.

At 10 A.M. a considerable party, including the Earl of Devon, the Mayor of Exeter, Sir J. Maclean, Rev. Canon Cook, Mr. Parker, Mr. E. A. Freeman, and a number of ladies, assembled at the Guildhall for a perambulation of the ancient walls of Exeter, under the guidance of Mr. Freeman. The skies were not propitious, the weather being unfavourable for the first time during the meeting. Proceeding down North Street to the Crown and Sceptre yard, Mr. Freeman took his stand upon a pump-trough, and gave his auditors some interesting particulars concerning the City walls. At that point they could see the wonderful way in which the wall had been patched. The City had stood a great number of sieges, and of course at each siege some part of the wall would be beaten down and built up again. Thus, they saw that the wall ranged from very ancient work at the bottom to modern brickwork at the top. He then dwelt at some length upon the arguments for and against building in stone in the eleventh century, referring to the walls of Exeter as an illustration. He did not say that the wall before them was the work of Athelstan—all he said was that he could not find any reason why it should not be so. Mr. Kerslake's admirable paper on the previous day had cleared up a great difficulty in his (Mr. Freeman's) mind. Mr. Parker saw no reason to doubt that a portion of the wall was of the time of Eathelstan.

The party then went into Bartholomew Street, and standing by the side of the Cemetery rails, a good notion of this part of the fortifications was obtained. Exeter was doubtless originally a hill fort, strongly defended by nature before it was defended by art. The company walked along the side of the Cemetery on portions of the wall, and at the top of the lane leading to Exe Street, Mr. Freeman pointed out the fine remains of the wall that were to be seen in the garden in front of Bartholomew Terrace. The course of the wall was followed to West Street, where the advent of so large a party caused no little astonishment. Making a pause at the West Gate, Mr. Freeman continued his observations. At the Quay Gate another pause was made, and some discussion occurred between Mr. Freeman and Mr. Kerslake. This was one of the most historical spots in the city. Although it was not stated in words, it was pretty certain that Queen Githa and her companions must have got away from the city by that gate, by sailing down the Exe, when William the Conqueror marched in at the East Gate. The steep Quay Lane was next ascended, the party looking at another portion of the wall in tolerable preservation, from Mr. Pike's garden. Trinity Church, the site of the South Gate, was the next resting-place. Mr. Freeman considered this was a very grand gate, or rather that there were two gates. There were two enormous towers here, with a prison, and church over the gate. Some of the party present recollected the old debtors' prison on the spot. The party proceeded down James Street, and entering a garden there had a good view of the Quay Gate, and gained a good notion of the form of that part of the city. The grounds of the Bishop's Palace were then reached, and Mr. Freeman then discoursed upon the Close and its defences, and the ecclesiastical establishment of the Bishopric.

Passing into the Chancellor's garden, and making a short stay at the Chancellery, where the Rev. Chancellor Harrington made some observations on the site, the party proceeded by the East Gate to the Exeter

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Grammar Schools grounds. The Rev. H. Newport, the Head-Master of the School, received the company and pointed out the more important features of the establishment, founded by Bishop Grandison in the year 1332, and also related many interesting circumstances in its history. On the party leaving, the Earl of Devon thanked Mr. Newport on behalf of the visitors for his instructive outline of the history of old and new St. John's, Exeter. Time not allowing for the perambulation being extended further, a cordial vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Freeman for his instructive remarks, and the party broke up.

At Noon the concluding meeting was held in the Guildhall. On the motion of the Mayor, the chair was taken by the Earl of Devon. After some preliminary observations the Chairman called upon Mr. Parker, C.B., to move the first resolution. Mr. Parker moved that the best thanks of the meeting were due to the Mayor and Corporation of the City of Exeter, for the use of the Guildhall, and the liberal hospitality shown to the Institute on the occasion of their visit. This was seconded by Mr. Stephen Tucker (Rouge Croix), and carried with acclamation.

The Mayor said that he received the vote which they had just been pleased to pass, with feelings of very great satisfaction. After referring to the great success of the Meeting, and regretting that they had been obliged to leave out many objects of great interest, he concluded by assuring the Members of the Institute that their visit had given the greatest possible pleasure to the citizens of Exeter.

Mr. Tregellas moved a vote of thanks to the contributors of essays and memoirs to the Meeting, who have by their labours contributed so much to the advancement of the purposes of the Institute. The Rev. J. Fuller Russell seconded the resolution, which was carried with applause.

Mr. E. A. Freeman, in acknowledging the vote of thanks, said that the Meeting had at least cleared away a popular delusion that he and the Venerable Archdeacon of Exeter were one and the same person (Laughter). He admitted that he had taken some interest in the Meeting, and had tried to get the antiquities of Exeter worked out by the best man in his own subject, but he had not been so successful as he could have wished. He was thankful for the local help they had received—it was most requisite that the local enquirer and the general enquirer should work together, They had been received as well as they possibly could have been received, and he returned his best thanks for that reception.

Archdeacon Freeman expressed the pleasure he felt at the clearing up of any doubts as to the identity of Mr. Freeman with himself, and they would now take their respective positions. They had listened with great interest to the lecture of Mr. Freeman upon a special phase in the history of Exeter. It had been the desire of the Bishop, and of the Dean and Chapter, to give a hearty welcome to the Institute. He thought the Institute had been fortunate in the contributions of memoirs, and he was glad as far as his own endeavours went to have rendered an account of the history of the Cathedral.

Sir John Maclean, F.S.A., proposed that the best thanks of the Meeting be given to the Local Committee for their very valuable help in making the preliminary arrangements for the Meeting. This was seconded by Mr. Burtt, and carried unanimously.

Mr. H. S. Ellis, for himself and his colleague Mr. Gidley, expressed his acknowledgments of the vote, and said it had been a matter of surprise that

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Exeter had not been visited by the Institute many years ago. As a member of the Committee for the works upon the Cathedral, he would make an observation on the criticism upon those works. He wished, as the Institute had brought into Exeter so many persons well able to give advice in such a matter, that they would, in justice to those who were labouring hard to find out and do what was right, tell them in what they thought they were wrong. A proposition had been made to remove some houses near the Cathedral, and it was important to know if that suggestion was approved by those able to form an opinion in such matters.

Mr. FREEMAN advised them not to pull down anything, and especially with only the idea of making a view; much harm had been done elsewhere by that process. Ancient houses were as much a part of the Cathedral foundation as the Cathedral itself. Archdeacon Freeman said the houses in question were not ancient houses, and it was not intended to touch any old buildings. He was not prepared to accept the counsel not to pull down anything. The Chairman remarked that he thought if Mr. Freeman knew the subject of Mr. Ellis's observations, he would be inclined to agree with the remarks of the Archdeacon.

The Rev. R. P. COATES moved a vote of thanks to the contributors of objects to the temporary Museum of the Institute and of paintings to the portrait gallery. In doing so, he alluded to the great kindness of her Majesty as a contributor, and specified many noblemen and others by whose liberality so valuable and interesting a collection had been brought together. This was seconded by Mr. Atkinson, and carried with applause. It was acknowledged by Mr. Gidley, who alluded in feeling terms to the gap caused by the lamented death of the Rev. R. Kirwan, who had very strongly encouraged the visit of the Institute to Exeter.

Mr. MOORE (the Town Clerk) thought that the advantage of examining the collection of valuable and curious objects in the Museum ought not to be limited to the Members of the Institute. There were many to whom the opportunity of seeing them might be given after the purposes of the Meeting had been answered, and he thought arrangements ought to have been made for that purpose. Mr. Burtt explained that the Museum was formed solely for the purposes of the Meeting,—that it was really impossible to keep it together after the Meeting broke up, and it had been tried in other places and failed. Some discussion followed, and Sir John Maclean promised to bring the subject before the Council.

Mr. F. H. DICKINSON then moved that the cordial thanks of the Meeting be given to the Earl of Devon, the Lord Bishop of Exeter, the Mayor and Town Council of Exeter, Mr. Walrond, Mr. Champernowne, and Mr. W. Herbert Evans, for their cordial and hearty hospitality to the Institute. To this was added an expression of thanks to the Bishop for the admirable sermon delivered by him on the previous Sunday, and a request that it be printed for circulation. This was seconded by the Rev. H. T. Ellacombe, and carried with acclamation. It was acknowledged by the Chairman.

Sir JOHN MACLEAN said that the Institute had received a right Royal reception in Exeter, and he thought they should mark their sense of it in some other way than by mere words. He would not occupy the time by remarks, but would move a Resolution:—"That steps be taken to leave with the City of Exeter a more enduring memorial than is expressed in words, however heartfelt and sincere, of the sense which the Royal Archæological Institute entertains of the cordial reception and the splendid hospi-

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tality bestowed upon it upon this occasion of its visit to this famous and loyal city; and learning that, unlike many other cities and boroughs in the Kingdom, Exeter does not possess a Chain of Office for the decoration of her Chief Magistrate, that a subscription be raised for the purpose of presenting to the City such an addition to the Civic Regalia, to be worn by the present Mayor and his successors on all public occasions for ever; and that the members of the Institute and Associate Members of this Meeting be invited to contribute to the fund. And further, that a Committee be appointed to carry out this object."

Archdeacon FREEMAN said it afforded him the greatest possible pleasure to second the Resolution, which was then put to the Meeting, and carried enthusiastically. Mr. Dickinson moved that a Committee be appointed to receive subscriptions. This was seconded by Mr. Burtt, and also adopted unanimously.

The MAYOR said that he should like to say a few words in acknowledgment of the handsome Resolution they had just passed. He could, however, scarcely find words to express the thanks which he felt to be due to the Chairman and to the Institute. Certainly no more appropriate testimonial could have been selected than that suggested, the want of a chain of office having very often been the subject of remark during attendances on public occasions, such as that of the late reception of the Shah of Persia.

A vote of thanks having been passed to the Earl of Devon for his kindness in presiding, the Exeter Meeting of the Institute was concluded.

The Museum.

This was formed, under the careful superintendence of Mr. W. R. Crabbe, F.S.A., in the old Bankruptcy Court in Queen Street, a nearly square room, of considerable dimensions, which had, however, been used for various purposes, so that the Director did not consider it quite safe to use the lighting apparatus, and there were in consequence no opportunities for evening *Conversazioni*. In the corners of the room were displayed the flags which were presented to Sir Francis Drake by Queen Elizabeth, and in one of the centre cases were shown the cap and scarf worn by him; and close to them was the bullet with which the great sea captain of the present century, Lord Nelson, was killed at Trafalgar. This curious relic is mounted in silver, and was brought from the Royal Collection at Osborne, by permission of her gracious Majesty the Queen, to whom it was presented by the surgeon who had extracted it. In the centre of the room were stands covered with armour and miscellaneous objects, tapestry was arranged against the walls; and round the sides of the room was one large continuous case similar to those so often seen at the Annual Meetings. A goodly show was made of objects of early date, the Royal Institution of Cornwall contributing from its well-filled Museum at Truro many flint arrow heads, celts, and other implements of stone in great variety. These were the products of the investigations of barrows in the West of England, and upon which the places of their discovery were duly registered. The two fine gold *lunulæ* found at Harlyn, near Padstow, and presented by H.R.H. the Prince of Wales to the Royal Institution were exhibited, as were a bronze bull, supposed to be Phœnician, found near the foundation of an old building at St. Just's Vicarage; two bronze daggers or spear heads found in a barrow in the parish of Pelynt; and two bronze armlets, found in a barrow on the Island of St. Mary's, Scilly. Other celts and imple-

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ments of stone and bronze were brought by Mr. J. Jope Rogers, Mr. Borlase, Mr. Le Neve Foster, Mr. Brooking Rowe, Col. Harding, and the Rev. W. Wills. A few other objects of the precious metal may also be specified, viz., a gold fibula, set with gems of a Scotch pattern, which was brought by the Rev. C. W. Bingham, and a gold torque from Ireland, brought by Mr. Potts. Other remains of the Roman and Saxon periods, including engravings of various objects, were represented by the contributions of the Royal Institution of Cornwall, Mr. Jope Rogers, who sent a "disciplinarium" of silver wire, with glass beads attached (engraved in "Archæologia," vol. ix.), Mr. Couch, Mr. Winslow Jones, Mr. Borlase, and Mr. Brooking Rowe. Lord Robarts sent a curious inscribed leaden figure from a Jew's house near Bodmin; and two wooden shovels, probably used in early tin works, were sent by the Royal Institution of Cornwall.

Of arms and armour, dispersed in groups about the room, or arranged on stands or in the cases, Mr. Crabbe, the Director of the Museum, brought a very fine two-handed sword, a Toledo sword, a silver-plated broadsword, a Turkish dagger, a dagger temp. Hen. VIII., &c.; Col. Harding sent a silver-mounted *couteau de chasse;* Sir John Pole contributed a full suit of plate armour, temp. Henry VII., two steel targets, a two-handed sword, and an executioner's sword; Mr. Fulford sent a fine beaked helmet of the time of Richard III.; and other specimens were furnished by Mr. Ellacombe, Mr. Tucker, &c.

Some excellent specimens of official paraphernalia and plate were supplied by the Corporations of Exeter and Dartmouth; and some interesting family plate was exhibited by Mrs. Wiss, Mr. Fulford, Mr. Jope Rogers, Col. Cocks, Mr. Crabbe, and the Rev. J. Gattey; Mr. T. Moore Stevens exhibited a very fine gilt salt and cover, with plate-mark of 1584; and Mr. Warren another with the year-letter indicating the date of 1580.

Of sculpture in ivory the examples shown were but few. The Rev. J. F. Russell contributing a fourteenth century statuette of the Virgin, and three devotional tablets; and other examples were furnished by Col. Harding, Mr. Crabbe, and Mr. Rogers. The same remark would apply to the display of enamels, of which Mrs. Henry and Mrs. Wiss sent some examples; Miss Henry contributed a plate of Limoges enamel of about A.D. 1580; Mr. Jope Rogers sent a pair of candlesticks of fine English work of the time of Elizabeth; the Rev. C. W. Bingham brought a fibula; and the Rev. J. Fuller Russell a twelfth-century plate of *champlevé* work.

Some interesting specimens of rings were shown. The Royal Institution of Cornwall sent two early examples; Mr. Archer brought a curious ring, having an antique cornelian set in silver, with an inscription; the Rev. C. W. Bingham brought two inscribed gold rings, and another of massive form, engraved with the five wounds of our Lord; Mr. Chanter, of Barnstaple, sent a gold ring, set with a sapphire, lately found near Pillon Priory; and Mr. Spiers brought a gymmel, or betrothal ring, with a Dutch inscription.

Of rare books, Mr. Kerslake brought the "Histoire Genealogique de la Maison Royale de Courtenay," Jenkins' Exeter, the "Devonshire Adventurer," and other local works of rarity; the Rev. J. Harding sent a "Hornbook," in a silver case, and a third folio of Shakespeare; Col. Harding sent the "Military Art of Trayning," London, 1622; and the Rev. T. Newport a Matthews' Bible of the year 1551. Among the MSS. Sir Stafford Northcote sent a roll of the descent of Henry VI. from the time of the Creation; the Rev. F. Hamilton sent several deeds of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,

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together with one supposed to be about the year 1199, before Exeter was governed by a Mayor; Mr. Gidley showed a parchment roll of the Mayors of Exeter of the year 1670; Mr. Jope Rogers brought several deeds of the reigns from Edward III. to Charles II.; Mr. Borlase a MS. Heraldry and Miracle Play; the Rev. J. F. Russell exhibited autograph letters by Archbishop Laud and other distinguished persons; and Mr. Lawrence, a rental of the priory of Launceston, two Books of Arms and one of Statutes of Exeter Cathedral. The Rev. J. F. Russell also brought the beautiful tablet painted by Hans Memling, described in vol. xvi., pp. 206—7.

Among miscellaneous objects may be specified some good specimens of old English and other pottery, shown by Mr. Crabbe, Mr. Brooking Rowe, Mr. Potts, &c.; a few impressions of seals, contributed by Mr. Jope Rogers; a curious iron lock from Colyton, made in commemoration of the battle of the Boyne, brought by the Rev. T. Wills; two rings cut from mediæval bells, shown by Mr. Ellacombe; and some specimens of tapestry and embroidery.

The exhibition of portraits of deceased worthies of the West of England, and other local subjects, was the largest and most interesting collection of paintings that has ever been made in connection with the Annual Meeting of the Institute. It comprised 188 pictures, of which a catalogue was printed and published.

The Central Committee desire to acknowledge the following donations in aid of the expenses of the Exeter Meeting, and of the general purposes of the Institute:—R. Dymond, 1*l.* 1*s.* F. Franklin, 1*l.* 1*s.* J. Geare, 1*l.* 1*s.* Rev. H. T. Ellacombe, 1*l.* 1*s.* Rev. J. Huyshe, 1*l.* Mr. Fulford, 1*l.* 1*s.* Rev. Canon Cook, 1*l.* 1*s.* J. E. Lee, 1*l.* 1*s.* W. Kendall, 3*l.* 3*s.* W. Cann, 1*l.* 1*s.* C. J. Follett, 3*l.* 3*s.* T. Ensor, 1*l.* 1*s.* W. R. Bayley, 5*l.* The National Provincial Bank, 5*l.* 5*s.* Rev. W. B. Kennaway, 2*l.* The Lord Blachford, 2*l.* 2*s.* Sir F. Drake, 1*l.* 1*s.* T. Andrew, 10*s.* H. C. Lopes, 2*l.* 2*s.* Rev. F. T. Colby, 1*l.* 1*s.* — Merivale, 1*l.* 1*s.* G. Cooper, 1*l.* 1*s.* R. Rouse, 10*s.* 6*d.* E. A. Bowring, M.P., 2*l.* J. H. Hippesley, 5*l.* W. Cory, 1*l.* R. Durant, 2*l.* 2*s.* E. Ashworth, 1*l.* 1*s.* W. Woollcombe, 10*s.* W. Birkett, 1*l.* 1*s.* Rev. J. Bockett, 1*l.* 1*s.* W. J. Richards, 1*l.* 1*s.* W. W. Digby, 2*l.* 2*s.* E. Snow, 10*s.* 6*d.* H. Wilcocks, 1*l.* C. S. Stuart, 2*l.* J. H. Batten, 1*l.* 1*s.* R. T. West, 3*l.* 3*s.* A. Drake, 1*l.* 1*s.* G. Townsend, 10*s.* 6*d.* Rev. Canon Lee, 1*l.* 1*s.* M. Kennaway, 1*l.* 1*s.* J. Parson, 2*l.* 2*s.* G. Stemson, 10*s.* 6*d.* The Mayor of Barnstaple, 2*l.* 2*s.* B. Andrews, 1*l.* 1*s.* Lady Hotham, 1*l.* 1*s.* J. Dixon, 2*l.* Rev. J. L. Galton, 1*l.* W. B. Scott, 1*l.* 1*s.* His Grace the Duke of Bedford, 5*l.* E. A. Sanders, 2*l.* 2*s.* J. Dawson, 2*l.* 2*s.* W. C. Rayer, 1*l.* E. Byrom, 3*l.* 3*s.* E. Drewe, jun., 1*l.* 1*s.* H. N., 10*s.* 6*d.* A. H. A. Hamilton, 1*l.* 1*s.* Rev. W. T. A. Radford, 1*l.* 1*s.* W. H. Peters, 1*l.* 1*s.* Rev. P. Williams, 10*s.* 6*d.* W. S. M. D'Urban, 1*l.* 1*s.* Rev. J. M. Hawker, 10*s.* I. Carew, 1*l.* Sir J. H. Kennaway, 3*l.* 3*s.* Deborah Bowring, 1*l.* The Lord Bishop of Exeter, 2*l.* 2*s.* Rev. P. L. D. Acland, 1*l.* 1*s.* W. T. Radford, 1*l.* 1*s.* A. Cartwright, 10*s.* Rev. Chancellor Harington, 2*l.* 2s. Mrs. W. Buller, 1*l.* 1*s.* C. H. Turner, 1*l.* 1*s.* C. H. Roper, 1*l.* 1*s.* J. Flamank, 10*s.* 6*d.* W. L. Vellacott, 1*l.* 1*s.* The Lord Sidmouth, 2*l.* 2*s.* H. S. Ellis, 1*l.* W. B. Kingdon, 1*l.* 1*s.* T. Gardner, 1*l.* 1*s.* Rev. E. Fursdon, 1*l.* The Hon. G. M. Fortescue, 2*l.* 2*s.* The Lord Clifford, 2*l.* 10*s.* The Lord Robarts, 2*l.* 2*s.* A. W. Franks, 2*l.* J. Henderson, 3*l.* O. Morgan, M.P., 3*l.* C. S. Greaves, 2*l.* Very Rev. Archdeacon Freeman, 1*l.* 1*s.* Mrs. Arden, 1*l.* 1*s.* J. L.

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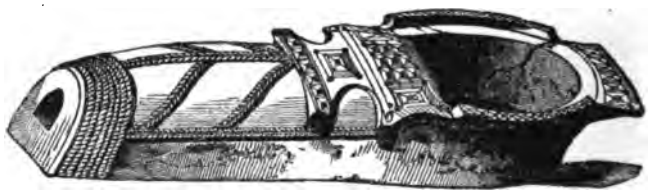
Notices of Archæological Publications.

HISTORY OF ANCIENT POTTERY, EGYPTIAN, ASSYRIAN, GREEK, ETRUSCAN, AND ROMAN. By SAMUEL BIRCH, LL.D., F.S.A. New and revised edition. London: John Murray, 1873.

As a text-book for the English student of ancient pottery, Dr. Birch's work has remained unrivalled since it was first issued, in two volumes, in 1857. The present edition has been rendered still more useful, both by being compressed into one volume, and by various additions to the text. But most important is an admirable index, together with a list of the names of places and makers which occur on specimens. The work is thus more available to those who wish to pursue the subject; and the author has given copious references to all the principal books and other authorities. Some idea of the care with which these notes have been compiled, and of the immense amount of research needed for such a history as this, may be formed if we single out one page relating to the subjects depicted on Greek vases, where we find the references to exceed one hundred.

In order to demonstrate the value of this book, we may offer the following brief remarks on its contents. Dr. Birch begins with three chapters on Egyptian and Oriental Pottery, in which he gives an exhaustive description, not only of vessels made of baked earth, but also of the bricks of Egypt and Babylon, and the various processes used in their manufacture, and a very interesting account of the inscriptions on terra-cotta lately found and deciphered, particularly of those from Nimroud, in which the British Museum is so rich. We are able to reproduce the woodcut of a



Supposed Sassanian coffin.

terra cotta coffin from Warka, believed to be the ancient Ur of the Chaldees. The author also describes and illustrates the enamelled wall-tiles of ancient Egypt and elsewhere, and gives a full account of the principal forms of the cups and vases to be seen in sepulchral paintings, especially those of which examples remain in modern collections. Nor are the toys, small figures, scarabæi, finger rings, and amulets of various kinds omitted. There is something, too, about Jewish and Phœnician pottery, and on the chief discoveries recently made of such objects.

Next, the author turns to Greek pottery, of which he treats, as might be expected, *con amore*. Commencing with the etymology of the term "ceramic art," and other similar designations, he treats of his subject under three divisions, according to the process employed. First, he speaks of sun-dried clay; secondly, of baked but unglazed clay; and lastly, of porcelain

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The last night of Troy.

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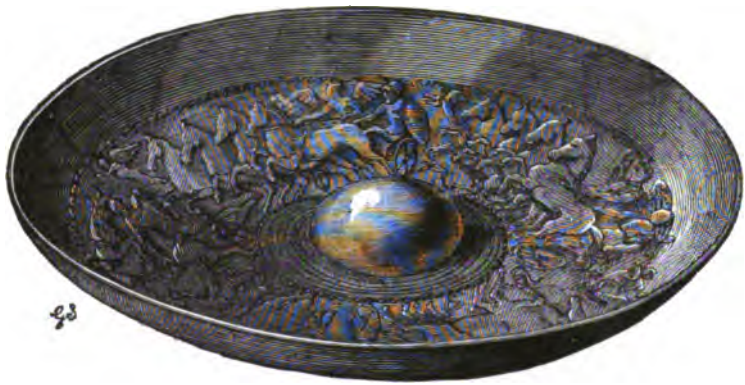
or baked clay with a glaze. The first portion occupies him very briefly, as unbaked bricks were not long used in Greece, and no remains seem to have survived. Dr. Birch then goes at some length into the history and application of terra-cotta, the methods of making it, and its uses for tiles, bricks, friezes, statues, cones, dolls, lamps, and so forth. He also tells of the colouring applied to it, and of the principal manufactories and makers. Next we have vases of this material, casks, amphoræ, with the names stamped on them, and funereal urns. The third chapter commences the most important portion of the book, and that, perhaps, more specially interesting. Glazed vases, painted with subjects, occupy a couple of hundred most exhaustive pages. We are told that about 20,000 examples are known to be now in existence in public and private collections; and the chief sources, sepulchral and otherwise, from which they have been drawn are described and illustrated with woodcuts of great beauty.



Greek moulded ware.

Dr. Birch next speaks of the subjects depicted. This part of his book, as we have already mentioned, is made the more valuable by an immense number of references in foot-notes. A kylix from Vulci is figured in colour. It represents Homer in the Samian Pottery, and is very curious as showing the various processes employed in making these vases. Another beautiful coloured plate is a kylix painted with revels, and was also found at Vulci. There are several other chromo-lithographs of a similar character, and many woodcuts, the most interesting being two of a vase in the Museum at Naples, representing the last night of Troy. Among the subjects, in addition to those derived from the legends of the various deities, he notices many examples illustrating the Herakleid, the Theseid, the Kadmeid, the story of Œdipus, of the Calydonian Boar, the Minotaur, Orpheus and Eurydice, Orion, the poems of Stesichorus, and the plots of other epics. Strange to say, agricultural and homely scenes seldom occur, and the comedies afforded subjects for very few vases. The conventional ornaments of pottery—the fret, the helix, the acanthus, and a most careful essay on the inscriptions, occupy the next chapter, after which we find a very exhaustive and complete account of the Greek Potteries, and the names and works of potters who have been identified. Then follows an enumeration of the names given to different classes of vessels; the lekythos, hydria,

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rhyton, and so on, with a description of the various cups, such as the diskos, pinax, oxybaphon, and others. A geographical chapter concludes the Greek part of the book.

Red Samian bowl.

A single chapter on Etruscan pottery comes next, and then we have five on Roman, including of course the omnipresent Samian ware, of which the annexed cut represents a fine example, with the name of its maker, Divix, a Gaul; and one on Celtic, Teutonic, aud Scandinavian pottery. British work is noticed at full length, whether as Roman or Anglo-Saxon, and many particulars are given of the kilns which have been found in our island. To these, however, a further addition is contributed by the contents of the present volume of the Journal, describing the kilns of the New Forest. (See pp. 319—324.)

The value of such a book as this can hardly be over-rated. Some readers will regret that the necessity of including as much as possible within very narrow limits has made the author omit much that might be called merely entertaining, and if a fault be found with the work it will be on these grounds. The Greek, the Egyptian, or the Roman ceramic art would have been sufficient, if fully worked out, for one volume. But, apparently, Dr. Birch's object has been, not to write so much for the entertainment as for the instruction of his readers; and his book will doubtless be read chiefly by those who, without the inclination or industry needed for accurate study, employ themselves upon the hard facts which labourers like him have assembled after a lifetime of painful research. No doubt it is well that merely popular books should be written; but, as in the case of Sir Gardiner Wilkinson's Egyptian works, or Mr. Layard's on Nineveh, we wish the original discoverer should be the person to profit by the popularity of his subject. An expansion of one chapter or one division alone of this book would form an attractive and most readable volume for the general public.

W. J. L.

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Archaeological Intelligence.

Some idea of the fruitfulness of the Roman soil in antiquities, and of the extent of excavations carried on in that city and its neighbourhood during the past year, under the direction of the Archæological Commission, and with the sanction of the Italian Government, may be formed from the following list of objects secured during that period :—

17 statues,
24 busts,
6 basso-relièvi,
7 sarcophagi,
2700 fragments of sculpture,
125 inscriptions on marble,
14,900 coins,
8 rings,
2 *colliers* of gold,
700 stamped bricks,
2050 stamps from amphoræ,
217 lamps of terra cotta,

and various objects in bronze of the estimated approximate value of some £8000 sterling. The Forum has been completely unearthed ; also great part of the Palatine, of the Thermæ of Caracalla, of Ostia, and of Hadrian's Villa.

The Annual Meeting at Ripon, for which the arrangements are now getting well forward, is fixed to commence on Tuesday, July 21.

The General Index to the first Twenty-five volumes of the Journal of the Institute is in progress, and will be published at the price originally announced for that to *Twenty* volumes, viz., One Guinea. Subscribers may forward the amount by P.O. order to the Secretary.

The church of St. Mary, Pembroke, one of those structures remarkable for a combination of features of a military type with the ecclesiastical, has long been in a state of great decay. A movement is on foot for its restoration under the charge of Mr. Buckeridge. A Committee has been formed to aid in raising the necessary funds, and communications may be made with the Hon. Sec., W. O. Hulm, Esq., Pembroke.

The International Congress of Orientalists is to be held in London in the course of the summer, when the languages, archæology, ethnology, and the arts and sciences of the various Oriental countries will form the subjects for discussion. Communications should be addressed to Robert K. Douglas, British Museum, London.

Some interesting remains of an early structure, probably of the original manor house, have been found in the course of the demolition of the old "Manor House" on Chiswick Mall. The remains consist of carvings of

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foliage and grotesque figures, as well as wrought mouldings in Oxfordshire stone, all of the later Norman period. These have been built into the walls of the house of the Tudor period, of which there are many remains also, which in its turn gave way to the structure of the eighteenth century, now demolished. Chiswick belonged to the church of St. Paul, London, and in the time of Elizabeth was leased to the church of Westminster by Gabriel Goodman, Prebendary of Chiswick and Dean of Westminster. During his time additions were made to the manor house, and it was long used as a sanatorium for the Westminster scholars.

The tower of the very interesting Church of St. Mary, Guildford, visited by the Institute in 1872 (*see* vol. xxix. p. 366), and subsequently the subject of a memoir by Mr. J. H. Parker, C.B., has been lately pronounced by the architect, Mr. Woodyer, to be in an unsafe condition; which he ascribes to the alterations made in the structure at various times. It is to be hoped that timely precautions will prevent any great harm resulting, but for these it is said that pecuniary aid is much needed.

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